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# WORKING PAPERS ON PORNOGRAPHY AND PROSTITUTION

## Report # 8

VOLUME I

### VANCOUVER FIELD STUDY OF PROSTITUTION

### RESEARCH NOTES

by  
J. Lowman

POLICY, PROGRAMS  
AND RESEARCH BRANCH

RESEARCH AND  
STATISTICS SECTION







VANCOUVER FIELD STUDY  
OF PROSTITUTION  
RESEARCH NOTES

J. LOWMAN  
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CHAPTER I  
THE VANCOUVER FIELD STUDY OF PROSTITUTION:  
RESEARCH NOTES

INTRODUCTION





## CHAPTER I THE VANCOUVER FIELD STUDY OF PROSTITUTION: RESEARCH NOTES

### INTRODUCTION

As part of the Justice Department's program of research on prostitution in Canada, this study has been designed to fulfill two main purposes:

- a) to describe the form, nature, and experience of prostitution in Vancouver and
- b) to describe the activities of agencies and institutions involved with the control of prostitution in Vancouver.

We have concentrated on Vancouver as the site of fieldwork for two reasons: since a) Vancouver has been the location for many of the most publicized events relating to prostitution in Canada - particularly legal precedents, law enforcement styles and public interest group activities - then b) our budget and limited time would be most efficiently utilized by concentrating on this one location in the British Columbia segment of the National study.

### STUDY ELEMENTS

While the study essentially contains two major foci - the prostitution business and the control business - the various elements of field research have been designed in such a way that they cannot be simply dichotomized into two subgroups reflecting these foci - the very form that prostitution assumes is often intimately related to the style of control exercised. Instead the nine substudies constituting the whole are designed to offer a variety of perspectives on the business of prostitution and control, and to represent the opinions and attitudes of those most directly involved with prostitution - the police, social service personnel, prostitute clients and the prostitutes themselves. As well as taking this quasi-ethnographic approach we have also examined official images of prostitution constructed in police statistics and by news media accounts of the prostitution and control businesses. These are supplemented by two analyses which attempt to assess the incidence and frequency of different styles of prostitution. The first, a system of counts, has been designed to provide information about levels of street prostitution in various areas of the city at different times; the second provides a description of the incidence

of certain types of off-street prostitution as measured by the temporal frequency of newspaper advertisements for escort services, certain types of outcall body rubs, and other organizations or individuals offering sex for a fee (with, it should be noted, a large margin of possible error resulting from the many judgement calls that have to be made when classifying advertisements as offering the possibility of sex for sale). The final component of the analysis synthesizes information from the other studies to offer a general overview of the economics of prostitution.

#### A CAPSULE DESCRIPTION OF FORMAL STUDY COMPONENTS

1. COLLECTION OF OFFICIAL POLICE STATISTICS ON PROSTITUTION OFFENSES: In the first part of the study we examine official police statistics on prostitution-related charges to provide a background context for the various studies that we conducted. This material provides a portrait of police activity and of the effects of various key court decisions on changes of law enforcement style. Federal and Provincial statistics have been collected for the period 1974-1983, and for Vancouver for the period 1975-1983. The statistics are broken down into charges for 3 different categories of offence - procuring, bawdy house and "other" prostitution (soliciting and living off the avails). The statistics also depict the numbers of males, females and juveniles charged under each offence. (For the period 1975-78 the juvenile's gender is distinguished. In 1979 and thereafter juveniles appear in a single category. Adult males and females are distinguished throughout the period).

2. THEMATIC ANALYSIS OF NEWSPAPER ARTICLES: As a way of providing background information for the Vancouver prostitution survey we have conducted a thematic analysis of articles appearing in a variety of Vancouver Newspapers (The Sun, Province, Courier, Star, and West Ender) in order to provide a chronological chart of significant events ("significant", that is, in terms of their newsworthiness) related to prostitution in Vancouver (law changes, police enforcement strategies, changes in patterns or type of prostitution, interest group activity, etc.). The analysis provides the recent historical context of the development of patterns of prostitution in Vancouver, and also an insight into the media construction of prostitution as a pressing social problem in the city.

Four different sources have been used to compile an inventory of articles on prostitution for the period 1976-1983.

A. Vancouver Public Library Newspaper clippings file. The staff of the Vancouver Library keep a number of clipping files taken daily from several British Columbia newspapers, one of which covers the subject of prostitution. Articles dating back to the early 70's are included in this file, but it was not until 1975 that a fairly complete coverage of news articles (as suggested by other sources) was gathered.

B. The Simon Fraser University Library has a subject index of British Columbia Newspapers, but only covering the period up to June '79 (the index for the period July '79 to 1983 is being microfilmed and is thus not available at the time of writing). The subject index includes prostitution.

C. The Canadian Newspaper Index consists of a subject index from a number of the largest newspapers across Canada, including the Vancouver Sun and the Province.

D. The author's own clipping files of local newspaper coverage of prostitution (dating back to 1977.)

3. POLICE INTERVIEWS: A series of interviews with vice squad detectives and police patrol officers working the three team areas in which the majority of Vancouver's street prostitution is held to occur. An interviewer administered an 82 item questionnaire covering descriptions of prostitution-related law enforcement activity and informal control measures, problems with law enforcement, attitudes to proposed legal changes, and general characteristics of prostitutes and prostitution in Vancouver.

A total of 15 police officers were interviewed. Questionnaires were distributed to six other patrol officers (the interview format was designed in such a way that it could be used as a self-administered questionnaire), five of whom returned the questionnaires in time for them to be included with the analysis of the interviews. The total sample is made up of 7 vice-squad officers and thirteen patrol officers.

4. SOCIAL SERVICES QUESTIONNAIRE: A mail out questionnaire sent to 274 institutions and organizations which either form part of the institutional social control system (mental health, welfare, etc.) or offer support services that prostitutes or sexually procured juveniles might use. The purpose of this survey was to produce a portrait of the extent, nature and structure of social services that might be used by or be imposed on prostitutes and sexually



procured juveniles, the levels of their use, and the attitudes of social service personnel to prostitutes and prostitution. Self-administered questionnaires were sent to a variety of services throughout the Greater Vancouver area, ranging from Federal, Provincial and Municipal programs, to private agencies and volunteer organizations. Services included the Provincial Government's Ministry of Human Resources, probation services, legal assistance program, community centres, neighbourhood houses, youth clinics, hospitals, rape crisis centres, group homes, church organizations, psychiatric services, women's groups, and various charitable organizations and volunteer services. The questionnaire sought to gain information about sources of funding, types of service provided, types of clients serviced, success of the organization in relation to its mandate, nature and type of referrals, actual experience with servicing of prostitutes and sexually procured juveniles, and attitudes towards legal and other changes in the social reaction towards prostitutes and prostitution.

66 questionnaires were returned.

5. INTERVIEWS WITH PROSTITUTES AND SEXUALLY PROCURED JUVENILES: A series of in-depth interviews, some of which have been tape-recorded, structured by an 81 question interview schedule. The purpose of these interviews has been to gain an insight into the nature of prostitution from the perspective of the people selling sexual services in terms of: the working experience; hazards of the work; the impact of control efforts; the economic costs and gains of the profession; attitudes towards customers, social services, police, the law, and residents groups; reasons for different styles of prostitution; factors responsible for "choice" or lack of choice of prostitution as a profession; and characteristics of the social background of persons interviewed.

A total of 48 prostitutes and juveniles were interviewed (including 33 females, 9 males, 4 transsexuals and 2 transvestites).

6. TRICK INTERVIEWS: In the same way that we hoped to gain some insight into the lives, experiences and attitudes of prostitutes, the trick interview schedule was designed to offer a general profile of customers in terms of their social background, present social status, attitudes towards the control of prostitution, the reasons for their demand for prostitutes, the frequency of their use of prostitutes and their general attitudes towards prostitutes both as

sexual partners and as a distinctive status group.

Unfortunately only 4 interviews were completed with the result that our investigation has produced very little information to directly describe those people about whom a great deal has been said, but very little is known from first hand survey experience. Despite this disappointing response to our survey of customers, a series of questions in the prostitute interviews has allowed us to build a general descriptive profile of the customer as seen through the eyes of 48 prostitutes and sexually procured juveniles.

7. STREET PROSTITUTE COUNTS: In order to gain information about the incidence, extent and characteristics of street prostitution in Vancouver we systematically counted the number of prostitutes and juveniles working in Vancouver's four main strolls. The counts fulfilled two main purposes:

a) The counts provide some very general information about levels of street prostitution in various areas and at different times of day, week and season, the ratios of different types of prostitutes (males, females, transsexuals, juveniles), their working hours, their frequency of contacts with clients and the incidence of disturbances of the peace.

b) Previous research has consistently shown that the location, incidence and style of prostitution is intimately linked to the nature, style and extent of control measures (Reckless, 1933; James, 1975; Shumsky and Springer, 1981; Symanski, 1981; Lowman, 1983). Given that a number of proposals for law change were being actively debated by both Federal and Municipal legislators, if there were a change of law or enforcement style during the study period, we would be able to directly gauge its effect on patterns of incidence of street prostitution. In fact, two major developments did occur during the four month study period; the activation of a municipal street nuisance by-law against some fifty persons alleged to be prostitutes in Vancouver's West End and the appearance of "Shame the Johns", a residents group whose members actively picketed prostitutes and customers in the West End stroll.

80 street counts were completed during the period March 5 - June 22. These were supplemented by a series of counts completed in 1982-83 by the Vancouver police.

#### 8. ESCORTS, BODY-RUBS

AND OTHER ADVERTISED SERVICES: While the task of estimating

levels of incidence of street prostitution is fairly simple because of its visibility, a series of problems occur in estimating the incidence and characteristics of off-street prostitution precisely because of their lack of immediate visibility. Nevertheless off-street prostitutes require the same conditions as other prostitutes or any service occupation for that matter - access to clients. We suspect that major media for facilitating the off-street trade are the newspaper or magazine advertisement and the telephone. Our strategy has thus been to examine patterns of advertising in the Vancouver telephone yellow pages and in various newspaper publications in order to gain some very general ideas of the number of businesses and individuals involved in this kind of trade, and to trace any changes in the numbers and types of advertisements that have appeared during the past ten years. (The problems of coding these ads make for very rough estimates). We have examined advertisements in two daily Vancouver newspapers, the Sun and Province, for the period 1975-1983, the West End - a weekly West End neighbourhood newspaper - for the period of 1978-1983 (the newspaper first appeared in 1978), and the Vancouver Star Weekly since its inception in 1977. We also tabulated the number of escort agencies advertising each year in the Vancouver telephone yellow pages from 1960 to the present, although here again a margin of error occurs to the extent that several escort services may not directly or indirectly offer sex for sale.

9. ANALYSIS OF THE ECONOMICS OF PROSTITUTION: The final study component involves a general analysis of the economics of prostitution. Despite the fact that prostitution is first and foremost a business, very little information exists about the economics of prostitution either in terms of the dollar value of the business itself, or of the costs of different types of control whether they involve the criminal justice system or the welfare service system. In this study we draw information from both data collected in other study components (particularly the prostitute interviews, and social service questionnaires) and from secondary sources, in order to develop a general profile of prostitute earnings and the costs of working, and the cost structures of different types of control response especially in terms of the three alternative scenarios for legal change discussed by our research subjects - criminalization, decriminalization and legalization. Although at various stages we do refer to specific costs of such things as Police task forces, revenues for fines, costs of various kinds of social services, etc., much of the discussion cannot proceed beyond a broad conceptual level in which we try and identify the systems of costs that should be taken into

account in such an analysis - much of the cost information is simply not available for a detailed study





CHAPTER II  
OFFICIAL STATISTICS

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A PORTRAIT OF PROSTITUTION CONTROL

Our discussion of prostitution in Vancouver begins with a description of police control efforts as measured by the number of prostitution charges (bawdy house, procuring, living off the avails, soliciting) laid since 1974 in Canada as a whole, in British Columbia and in Vancouver. The National and Provincial statistics used here were published by Statistics Canada, the Vancouver statistics were published by the British Columbia Ministry of the Attorney General.

We would have liked to have included conviction statistics in our analysis at this point, but we discovered that, incredibly, prostitution offenses were lumped together with other sexual offenses in the only conviction statistics available. The statistics we present do not therefore necessarily provide an accurate impression of the success of police investigations which led to prostitution related charges. We know, for example, that in 1978 approximately 100 soliciting charges, laid as a result of the special police task force on prostitution in Vancouver in 1977, were dropped following the Hutt decision (see Appendix A, pp. 22-26). Nevertheless, the statistics do give a reliable indication of control efforts during the past 10 years. Because of the combined effect of law changes (the removal of "Vagrancy C" and introduction of the public soliciting charge) and statistical recording changes, our time series prostitution data begin in 1974, and because of various time lags in the publication of annual statistics, the time series data end in 1981 or 1982.

The charge statistics are presented in both tabular and graphic form. The graphics immediately follow the text, the tables are included in APPENDIX H. In the discussion we concentrate on the graphic presentations of the data since the trends in the statistics are best comprehended visually. The purpose of this discussion is to provide a commentary on the various groups of tables provided, and to describe the main trends in the prostitution charge data. Wherever possible we contrast trends in Canada as a whole with trends in B.C. and then examine the Vancouver statistics specifically. The figures depict the number of charges, the types of charge and the persons charged. Since the figures are subdivided into 17 discrete clusters, the discussion proceeds with a description of each. The majority of the discussion focuses on the first figure presented, an illustration of prostitution charges in

Canada and British Columbia. It should be noted that over 90% of the prostitution charges in British Columbia were laid in Vancouver.

FIGURE 1 (Tables 2,4 and 5):

-displays the overall number of prostitution charges laid in Canada between 1974 and 1982. The bar graphs indicate the numbers of different types of charges. The categories "bawdy house" and "procuring" speak for themselves. The category "other" combines charges for both "soliciting" and "living off the avails". Police sources suggest that the majority of these charges (probably more than 95%) were for soliciting, a suggestion confirmed in the case of Vancouver by the fact that very few charges appear in the category "other" after 1978, a reflection of the impact of the Hutt decision on enforcement of the soliciting law. FIGURE 51 indicates that after the Hutt decision in 1978 virtually no charges in British Columbia fall within the category "other": - those that do are almost exclusively for "living off the avails".

When it comes to the trend of the statistics, the graphs speak for themselves; between 1974 and 1982 there has been a persistent reduction in charges. Much of this reduction is attributable to the decreasing frequency of soliciting charges, an effect which is much more noticeable in British Columbia than in Canada as a whole. The graphs also reveal that much popular wisdom about street prostitution in Canada may be quite misleading, at least in the case of Vancouver. One of the main reasons offered to explain the increase in street prostitution in Vancouver, and in the rest of Canada, has been the impact of the Hutt decision on attempts to control soliciting. The Hutt decision is generally believed to be the main reason for the decline in the number of soliciting charges. The graphs reveal, however, that the decline in the number of soliciting charges began in 1974, not in 1978. In Vancouver the trend was reversed in 1977 as a result of the police task force mentioned above. The effect of this task force on the Canada-wide statistics was to interrupt the otherwise steady decline in the number of soliciting charges laid annually. It is also worth noting that in 1973, the first year the soliciting law was in effect, 800 charges were laid in Vancouver alone. The inclusion of this figure makes the decline appear even more conspicuous. The question is - what caused the decline? One possible answer is that the amount of street prostitution declined. In the case of Vancouver, this possibility appears to be highly unlikely. Research conducted in 1974 (Layton, 1975) and in 1977 (Forbes, 1977) indicates that street prostitution flourished in the period 1973-1977 at the same time that the number of soliciting charges declined. Also we have found that prostitution in Vancouver's West End did not begin as a direct consequence of the Hutt decision, as

many local politicians, journalists and anti-street prostitution activists have claimed. As recently as July 5th, 1984, for example, a Vancouver journalist claimed that "it was a decision of the Supreme Court of Canada in the 1978 Hutt case...that led to the the proliferation of prostitutes harassing people in their own neighbourhoods" (Vancouver Sun). In fact, the decision appears to have only reinforced an already existing trend. As we show in Chapter VIII, one might have expected to find anywhere in excess of 30 prostitutes and juveniles in the West End stroll - at least before the movement of the prostitutes out of the area following the recent nuisance injunction in June of this year. But what none of the local commentators appears to have realized is that street prostitution has existed in the West End since at least 1972. In that year an article appeared in the Vancouver Sun entitled "Worried Davie Street Looks for Cure: Sleazy Elements Rooted in Quality Area", a discussion of the "problems" caused by the high visibility of adult prostitutes and juveniles in the area. One person quoted in the article claimed to have counted 30 prostitutes in the Davie Street area - a number similar to that recorded in many of our counts conducted in 1984 (for a map of the Vancouver strolls as they were located in 1978, see Appendix A, p. 21). My statement in the paper included in Appendix A (finished before the present study was begun) that prostitution in the West End was "extremely limited" prior to the closure of the Penthouse Cabaret appears now to be incorrect.

Rather than the Hutt decision acting as a catalyst for street prostitution, the closure of the Penthouse Cabaret at the beginning of 1976 (see Appendix A) probably had a greater impact on levels of street prostitution, but again can hardly be considered the cause of the development of the West End stroll (although it did seem to be largely responsible for the development of prostitution on Georgia Street). The fact that no less than approximately 1,400 soliciting charges were laid in Vancouver in 1973 and 1974, many of which were laid against repeat offenders, attests to the ineffectiveness of the street soliciting law. Similarly in the 1977 anti-street prostitution police task force many of the charges laid were against repeat offenders (see Appendix A, p. 24).

The explanation which seems to best fit the trend in the statistics, at least in the case of Vancouver, is that police found the soliciting law generally ineffective in prohibiting street prostitution and devoted progressively less effort to its enforcement. Until 1978, when the Hutt decision effectively made the soliciting law redundant, enforcement efforts would only be reinvigorated during periods of public pressure, as was the case with the



Vancouver police task force in 1977. We similarly indicate later in the report that the Vancouver by-law introduced in 1982 had virtually no perceivable impact on levels of street prostitution in Vancouver (see Chapter VIII).

FIGURES 2 - 5 (Tables 2 - 5):

-depict various prostitution charges in British Columbia as a percentage of the Canadian total. Figure 2 shows that there has been a relative decline of prostitution charges in British Columbia in relation to the rest of Canada, with the exception of bawdy house charges in B.C. have maintained a relatively constant ratio of the offenses in Canada (Figure 3, Tables 4 and 5). In the case of procuring, the ratio fluctuates, but the fluctuation is almost irrelevant - between 1974 and 1981 only 666 procuring charges were laid in Canada; an average of 74 per year. These statistics show that almost no action is taken against the customers of what are erroneously called "juvenile prostitutes" (if prostitution is a contract between consenting adults, anyone under the age of consent cannot, by definition, be a "prostitute!"), each one of whom commits a criminal offense by virtue of procuring a juvenile for sexual purposes.

When it comes to "other" offenses, "soliciting" and "living off the avails", FIGURE 3 indicates a substantial reduction in the contribution made by British Columbia to the overall number of charges in Canada. This is because Vancouver police rarely laid soliciting charges after 1979, although in 1974 B.C. accounted for nearly one third of the Canadian total.

FIGURES 6 and 7 (Tables 4 and 5):

-resummarize the bar graphs shown in FIGURE 1 to indicate the proportion of the total constituted by the various types of charge. These proportional bar graphs again indicate the declining significance of "other" offenses (ie. soliciting) as a proportion of the total.

FIGURES 8-11 (Table 4):

-depict the number of males and females charged with prostitution offenses in Canada generally.

FIGURES 12-15 (Table 5):

-depict the number of males and females charged with prostitution offenses in British Columbia.

It is clear from FIGURE 8 that generally there has been a reduction in the difference between the number of females and males charged for prostitution-related offenses such that in 1978 and 1981 more males were charged than females. The number of males charged steadily increased between 1974 and 1978 while the number of females charged declined. The decline once again reflects the demise of the soliciting law, a law which, as FIGURE 2 illustrates, was enforced almost exclusively against female prostitutes, not their customers; the male component of the "other" category presumably reflects the inclusion of "living off the avails" charges with soliciting in the official records.

This trend towards the parity of the rates at which males and females are charged is not recapitulated in British Columbia, where women have consistently been charged more frequently than men (FIGURE 12, Table 5). The decline in soliciting charges here too accounts for the decline in charges against women. The decline in charges against men is more difficult to account for, but it probably reflects the impact of discretionary aspects of law enforcement.

FIGURES 9 and 13 depict bawdy house charges in Canada and B.C.. The most noteworthy aspect of the two graphs is that while charges for bawdy houses increased generally in Canada after 1979, in B.C. they decreased. The proportion of charges laid against women for this offense also appears to be higher in B.C. than elsewhere in Canada.

FIGURES 20 and 14 show charges for procuring, of which there are very few. More men are charged than women. FIGURE 14 again shows a marked decline in the number of charges although the change in absolute numbers is relatively small. In 1980 and 1981 the law was simply not enforced (for an insight into the reasons why see Chapter IV generally).

FIGURES 16-20 (Table 4):

-indicate prostitution charges against juveniles in Canada generally (the age varied by province during this time period).

FIGURES 21 and 22 (Table 5):

-indicate prostitution charges against juveniles in British Columbia.

FIGURE 16 shows the overall number of charges against juveniles between 1974 and 1981 in Canada generally for procuring, bawdy house and other offenses (again probably almost all of these were for soliciting). FIGURE 17 shows the ratio of boys and girls charged (gender breakdowns were not included in the official records after 1978). By far the greatest proportion of charges were for soliciting with girls charged at a far higher rate than boys. In British Columbia the situation is more disproportionate - only one boy was charged with a prostitution offense in B.C. between 1974 and 1981. Girls in B.C. were charged almost exclusively with soliciting. Elsewhere in Canada some bawdy house and procuring charges were laid against juveniles, but these amount to only 75 charges in the eight years for which the statistics are available. A total of 315 prostitution-related charges were laid against juveniles in Canada during the period for which we have records.

FIGURE 23 (Table 6):

-depicts the percentages of males, females and juveniles charged for all prostitution offenses in Canada. As noted earlier, women are charged at a higher rate than men, and adults are charged at a much higher rate than juveniles. The disproportionate share of women reflects the general reluctance to charge male customers because of the interpretation of the soliciting law (see Appendix A, pp.3-8).

FIGURES 24-26 (Table 6):

-indicate the proportions of males, females and juveniles for each category of charge. The high proportion of males in the category "other" in 1978 (FIGURE 26) reflects the impact of the Hutt decision that year in dramatically reducing soliciting charges against women.

FIGURES 27-30 (Table 9):

-depict the proportion of boys and girls charged under the various prostitution statutes. With the exception of procuring offenses, for which only a few boys were charged, most of the juveniles were female.

FIGURES 31-34 (Table 7):

-depict the proportion of males, females and juveniles charged for prostitution-related offenses in British Columbia.

FIGURE 32 indicates that the proportion of women charged with bawdy house infractions in B.C. is increasing relative to males, a reversal of the trend elsewhere in Canada (FIGURE 24).

FIGURES 36-50 display a number of different expressions of the contribution of prostitution offenses in British Columbia to the Canadian total.

FIGURES 36-39 (Table 8):

-depict the percentage of prostitution charges laid in B.C. in relation to the rest of Canada for all offenders, males, females and juveniles. The figures consistently indicate the declining contribution of British Columbia to the total number of prostitution charges in Canada.

FIGURES 40-42 depict persons by gender charged with bawdy house offenses in B.C. and the rest of Canada.

FIGURES 43-46 depict persons by age and sex charged with procuring offenses in B.C. and the rest of Canada.

FIGURES 47-50 show the same breakdowns as they pertain to "other" offenses.

Although there is obviously a certain amount of redundancy in FIGURES 36 through 50 to the extent that they summarize the same information in a variety of ways, they do emphasize the overall reduction of the contribution made by B.C. to the total number of offenses. It is clear from FIGURE 47 that much of the decline can be accounted for by the persistent reduction in soliciting charges (the category "other"), a trend which applies as much to males (FIGURE 49) as it does to females (FIGURE 48).



FIGURES 51-61 (Tables 11-14):

-depict prostitution charges laid in Vancouver itself.

FIGURE 51 shows the charge rates for different types of offenses and the overall rate during the period 1975-1983.

FIGURE 52 depicts the proportion of different kinds of charge.

FIGURES 53-61 depict the monthly totals for each year of bawdy house, procuring and "other" charges.

FIGURE 51 once again indicates the decline in prostitution charges, a decline reflecting the reduction and disappearance of soliciting charges. The graph gives a misleading impression by virtue of beginning in 1975. This gives the erroneous impression that 1978 marks the major transition point in charges against soliciting. It should be remembered that in 1974 there were approximately 600 soliciting charges, and in 1973 there were 800. To this extent FIGURE 1 gives a much better impression of prostitution law enforcement trends in Vancouver. The difference between these two graphic representations indicates how the judicious choice of the beginning date for a time series analysis can significantly influence the impression the results convey - to begin an analysis of police statistics on prostitution charges in Vancouver in 1975 seriously distorts the image of trends in charge rates that have occurred.

FIGURE 52 read in conjunction with FIGURE 51 shows that although charges against bawdy houses have declined since 1980, because of the low number of other types of charge, bawdy house charges are now the most prevalent. That fact in itself bears serious consideration - the more the bawdy house law is enforced, the more the "telephone" prostitutes' business is jeopardized, and the more reason there is for prostitutes to meet their customers on the street.

FIGURES 53-61, depicting the monthly charge rates for bawdy house, procuring and "other" offenses between 1975 and 1983, provide a useful reference point for subsequent discussions of particular time periods, law enforcement efforts and other events described at various points in this report.

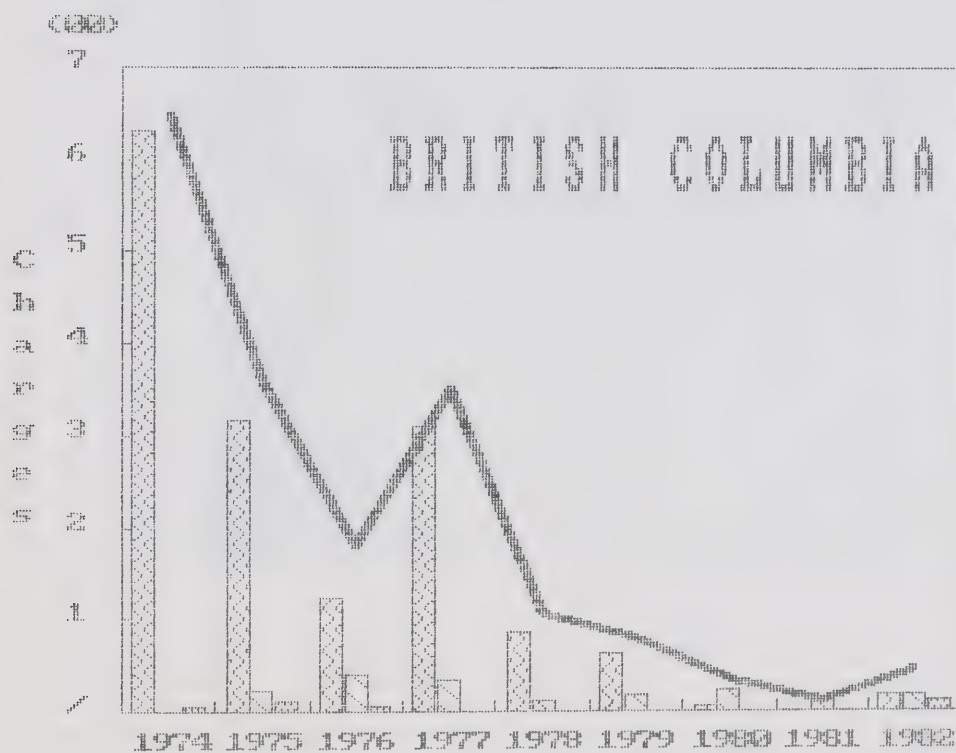
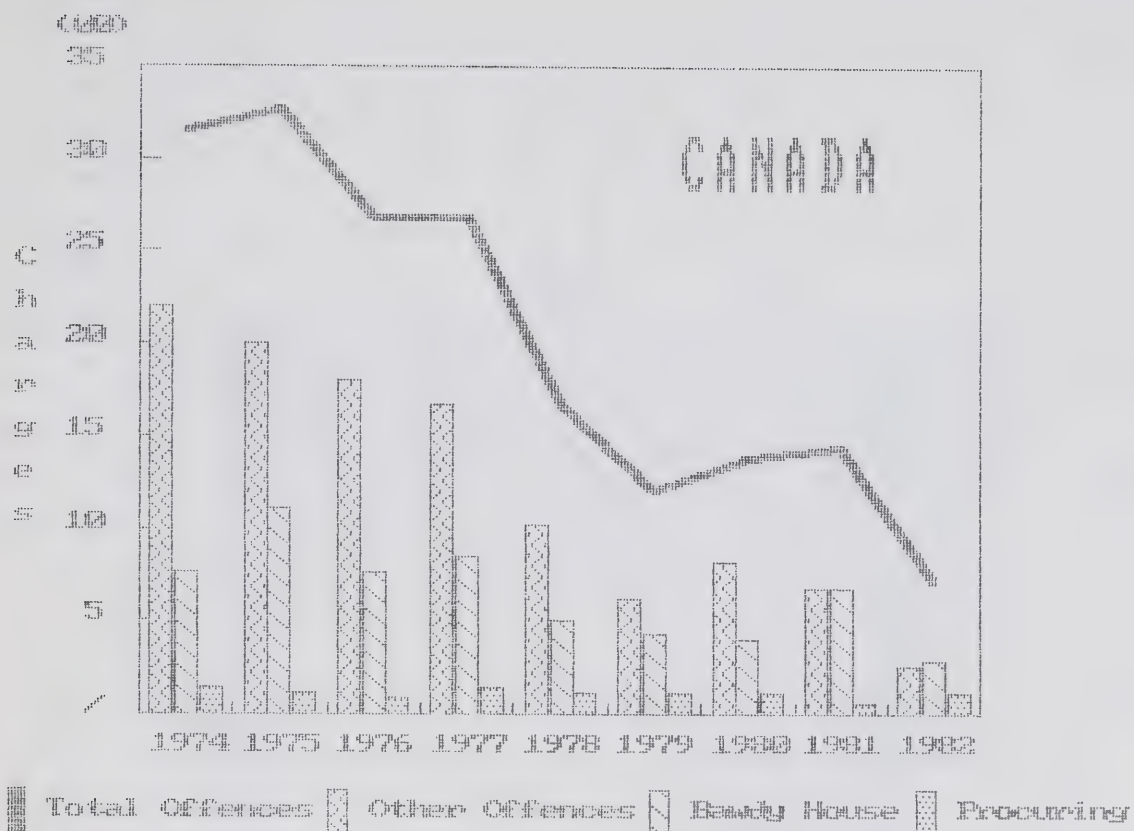
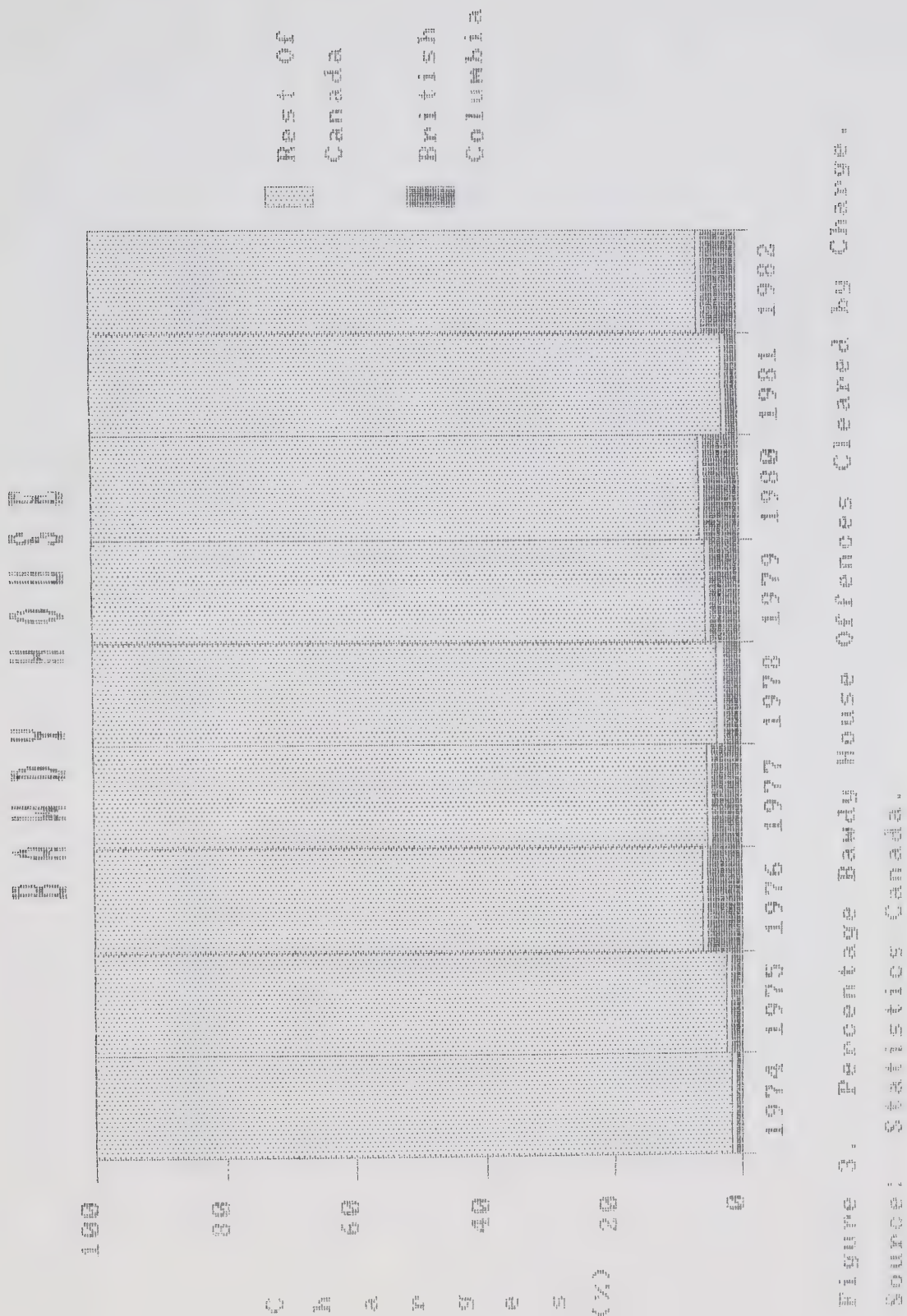
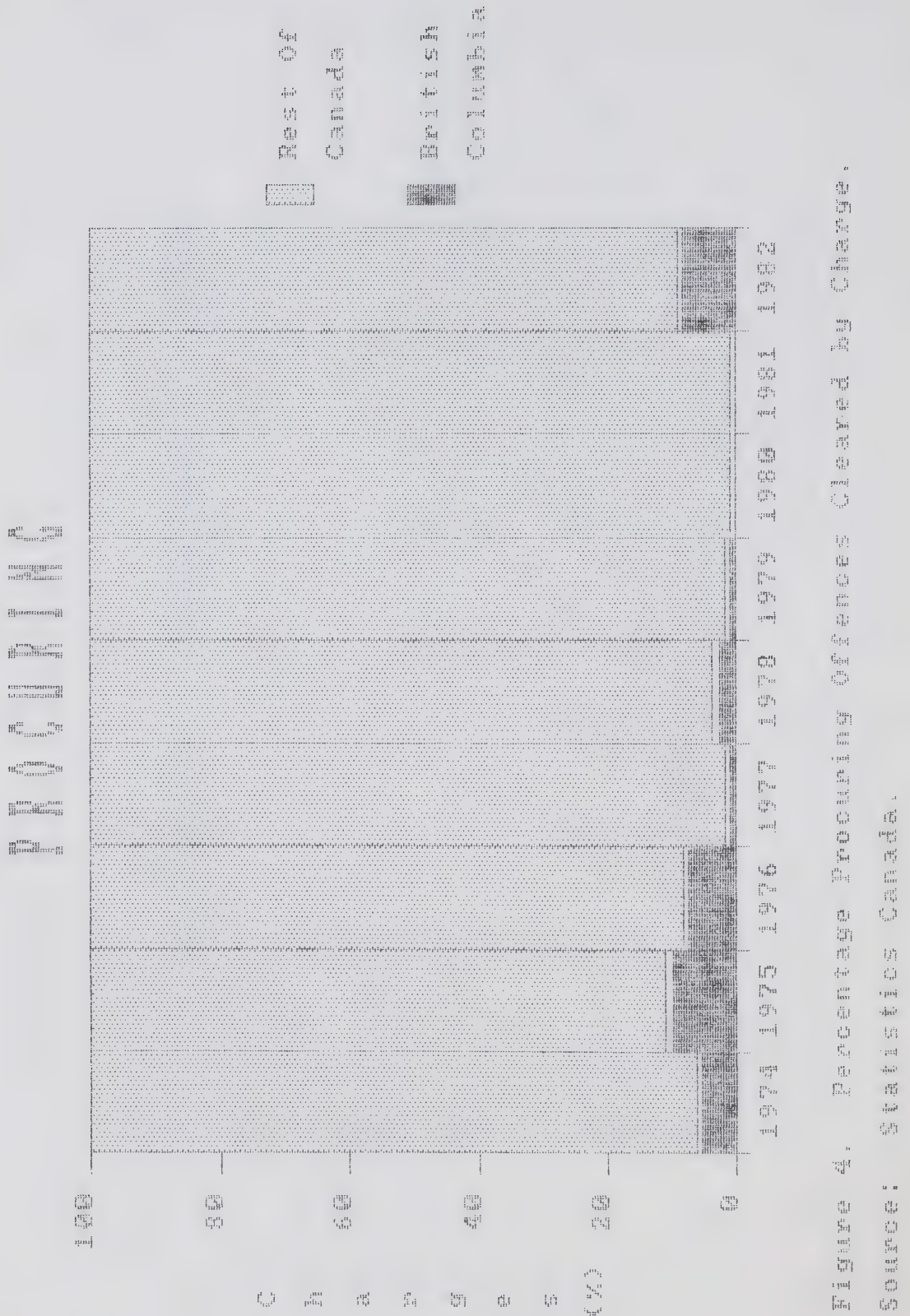


Figure 1. Prostitution Offences Cleared by Charge.  
Source: Statistics Canada.

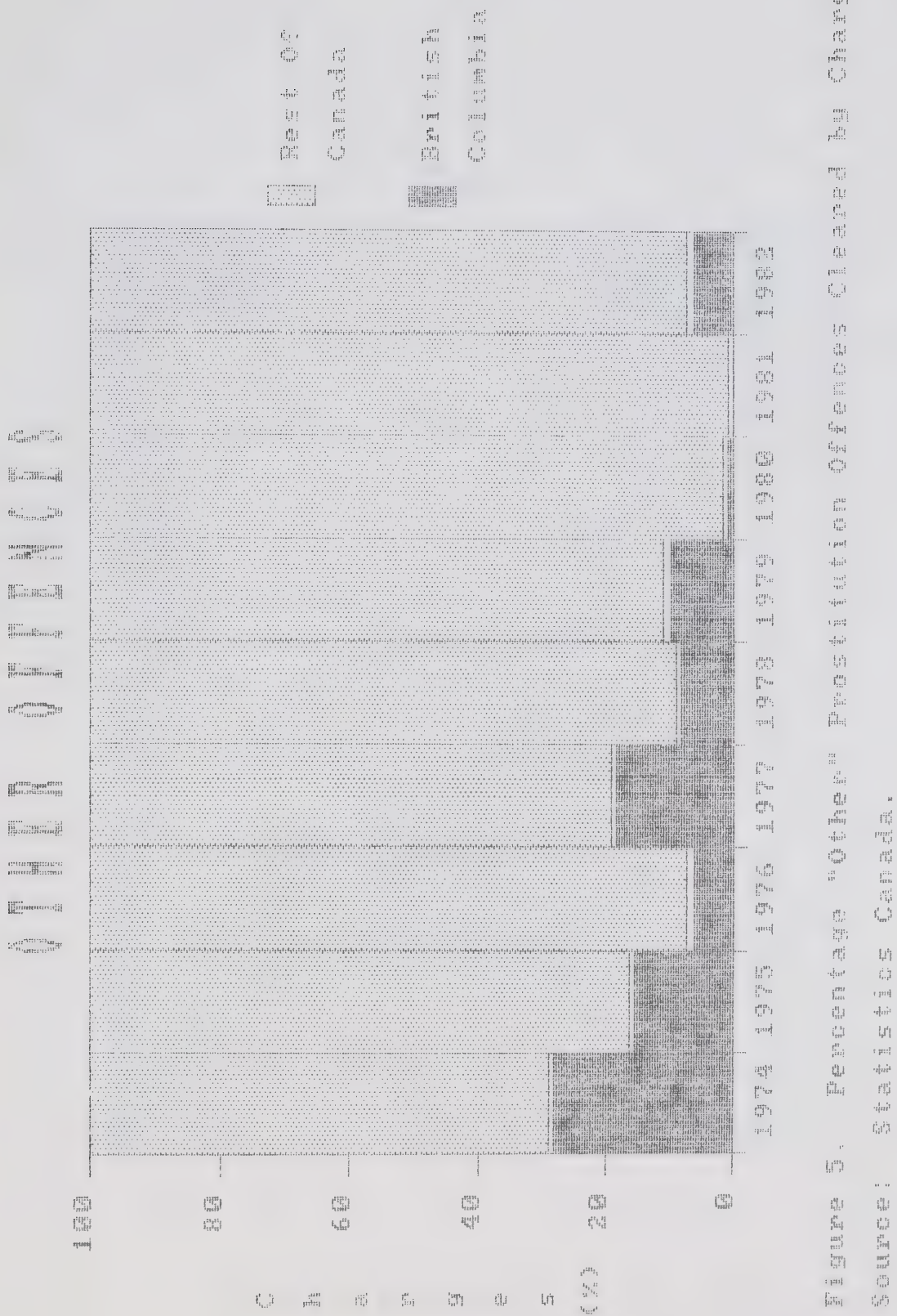


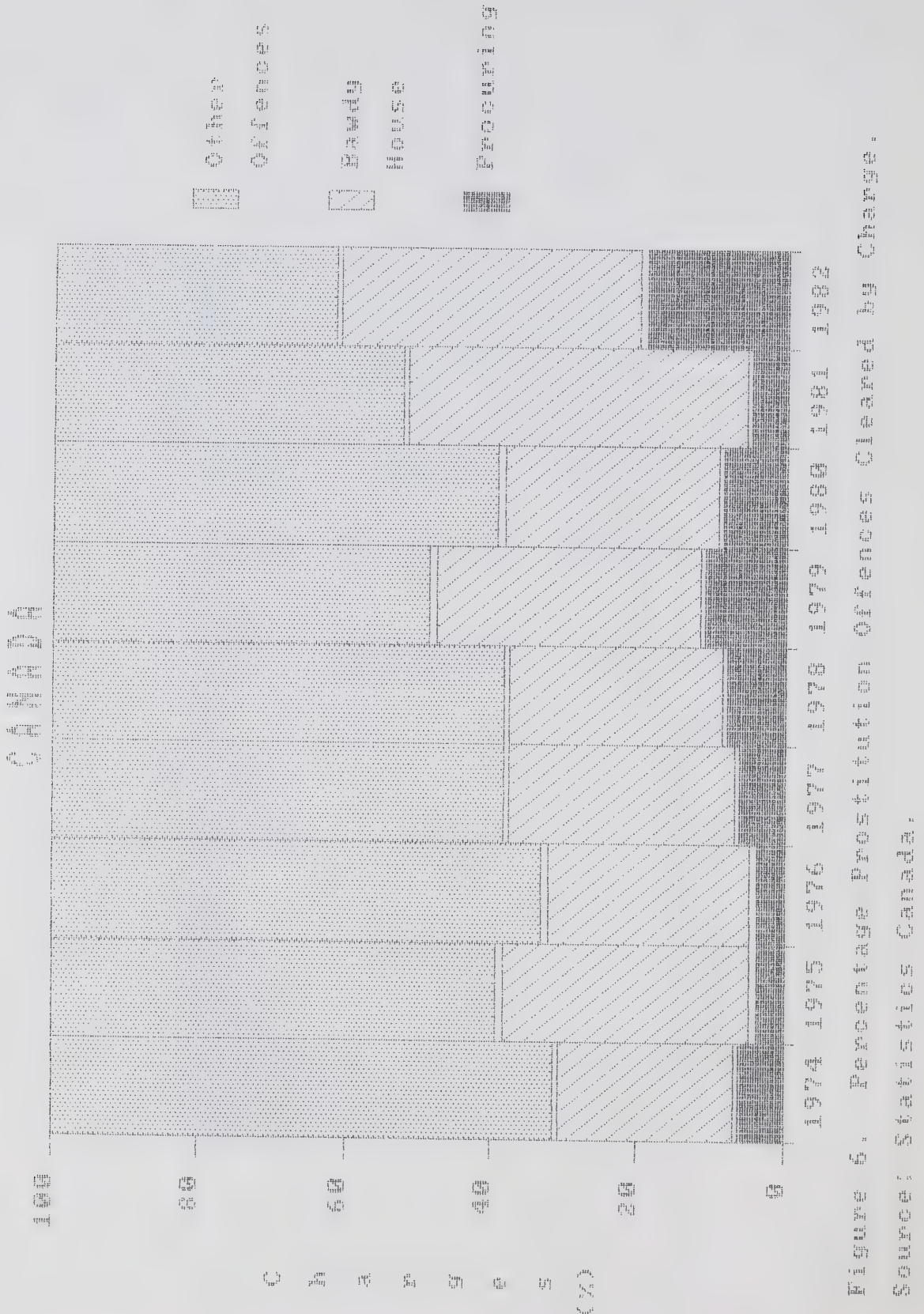
Figure 1 shows a schematic diagram of the experimental setup for the study of the effect of the magnetic field on the properties of the polymer. The diagram illustrates the arrangement of the polymer sample, the magnetic field source, and the measurement system. The polymer sample is placed in a container, and the magnetic field is applied to it. The measurement system is used to monitor the properties of the polymer during the experiment.

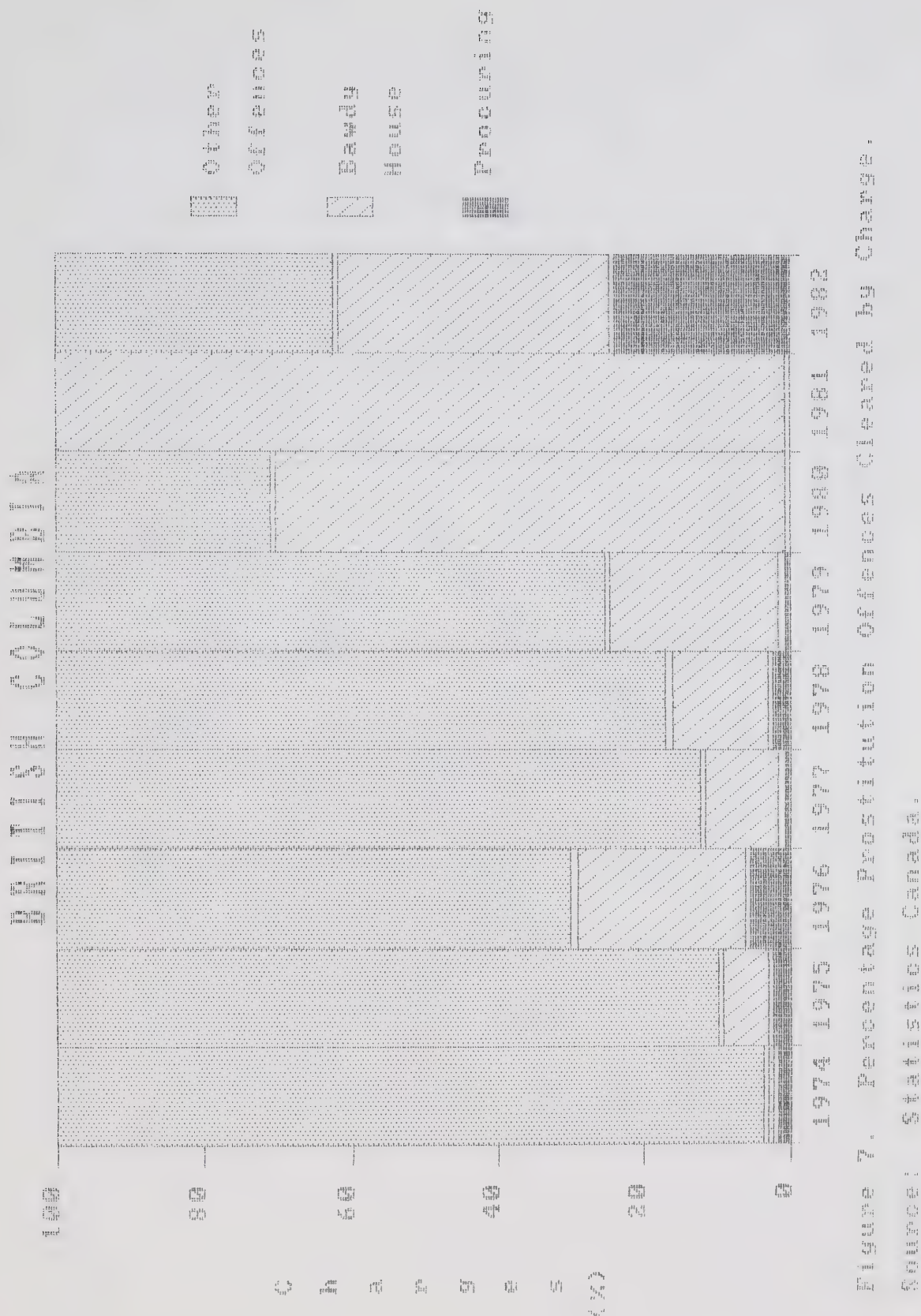














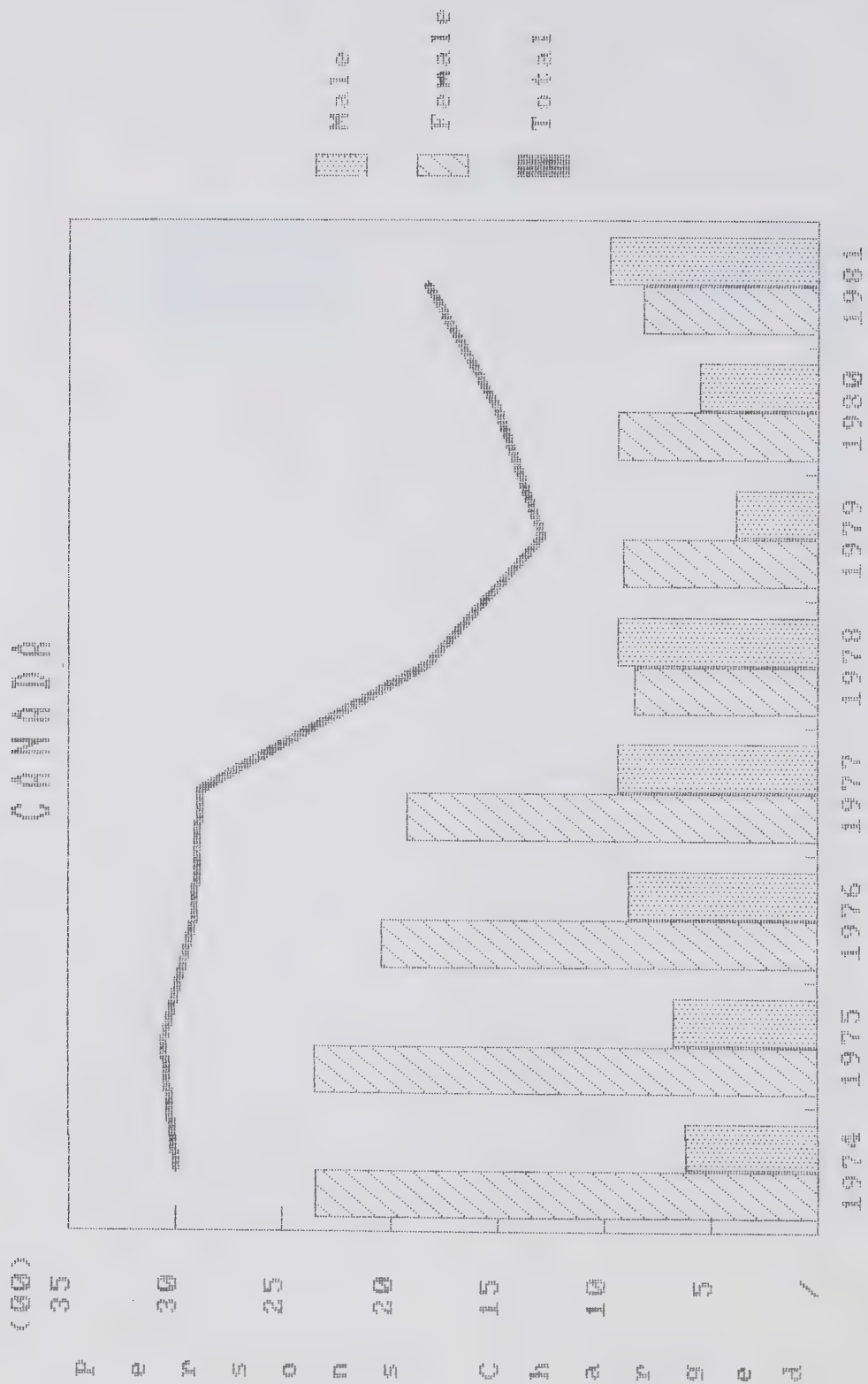
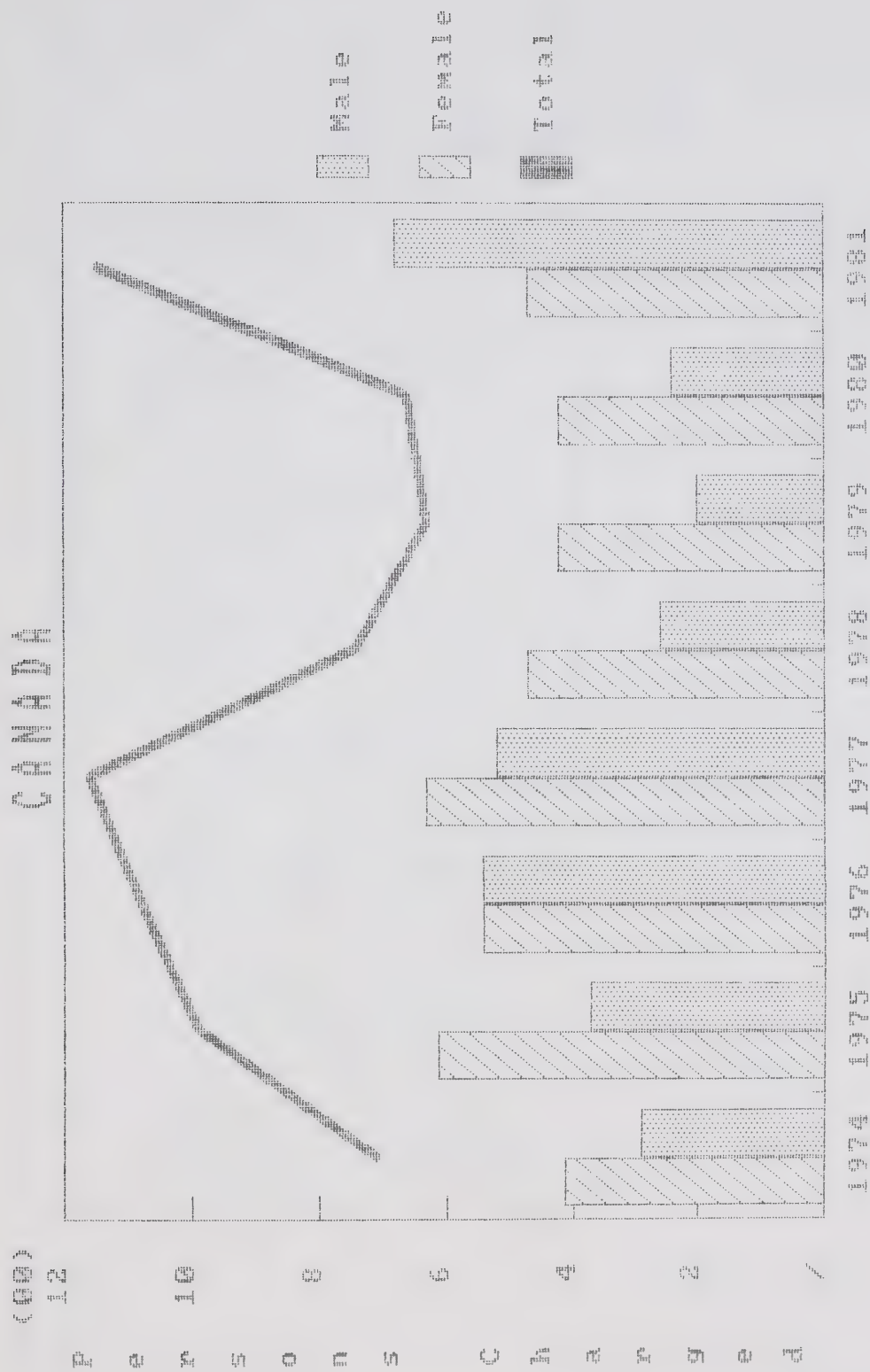
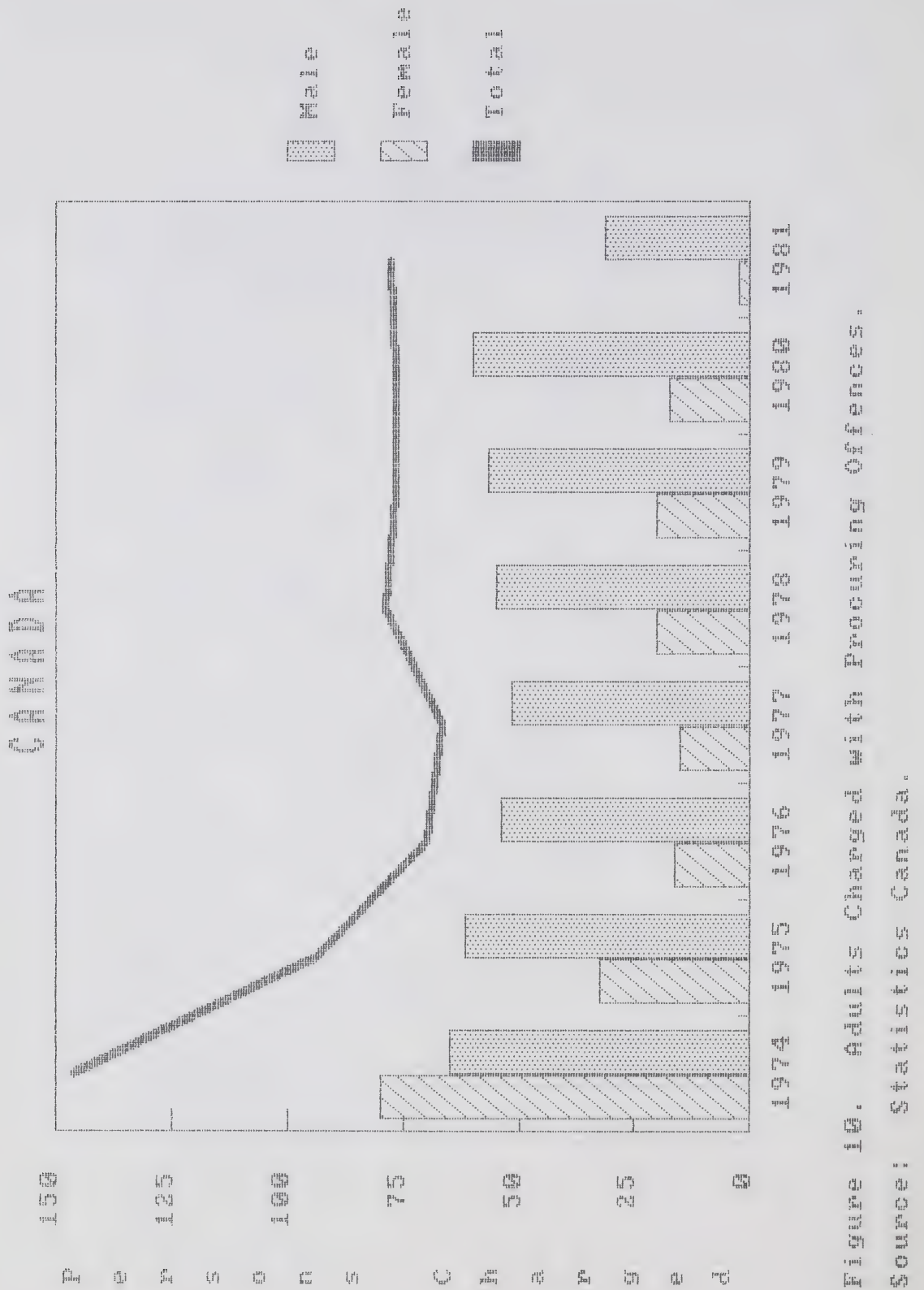


Figure 8. Adults Charged with Possession Offenses.

Source: Statistics Canada.





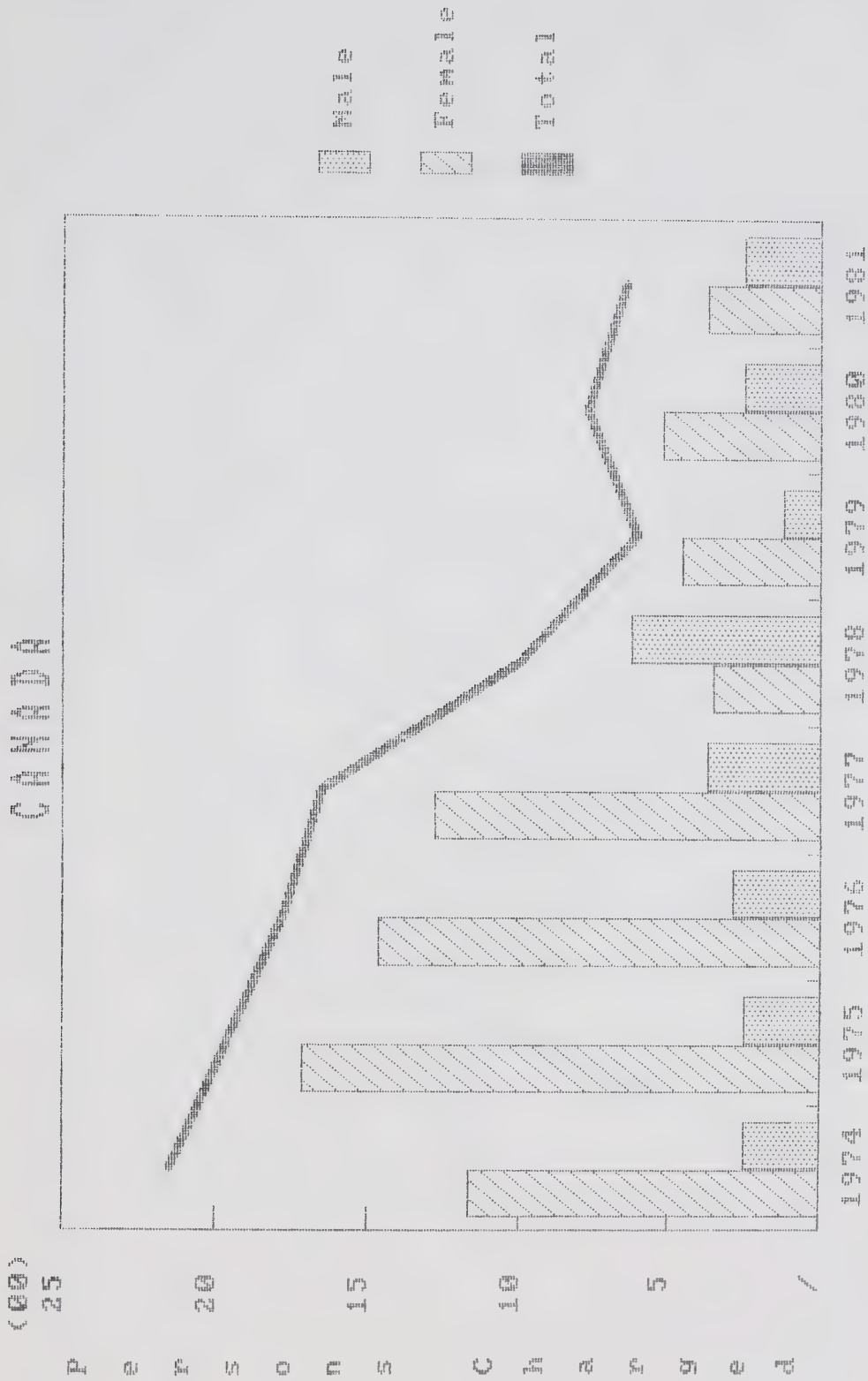


Figure 11. Adults Categorized with "Other" Offences.

Source: Statistics Canada.

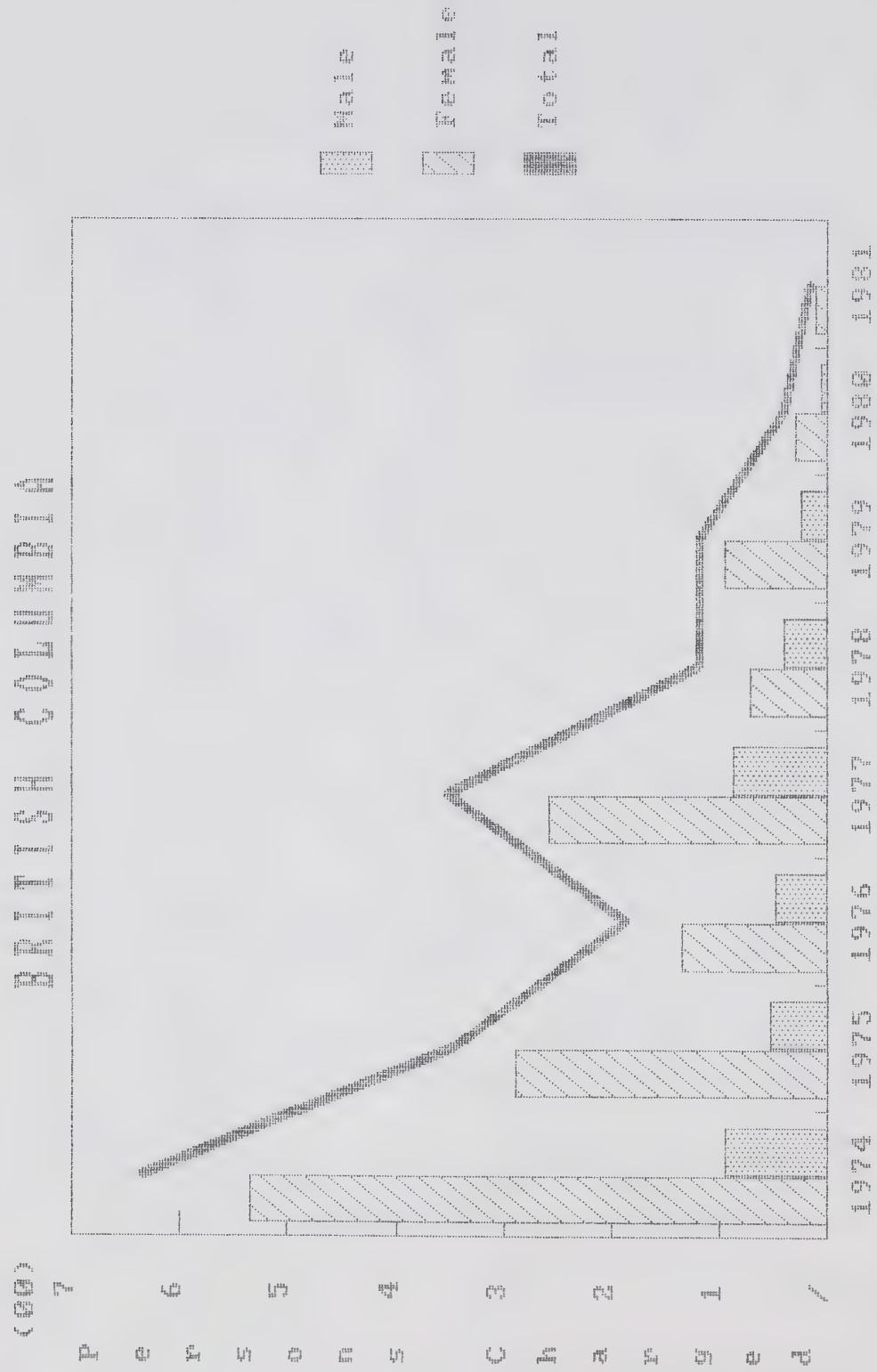
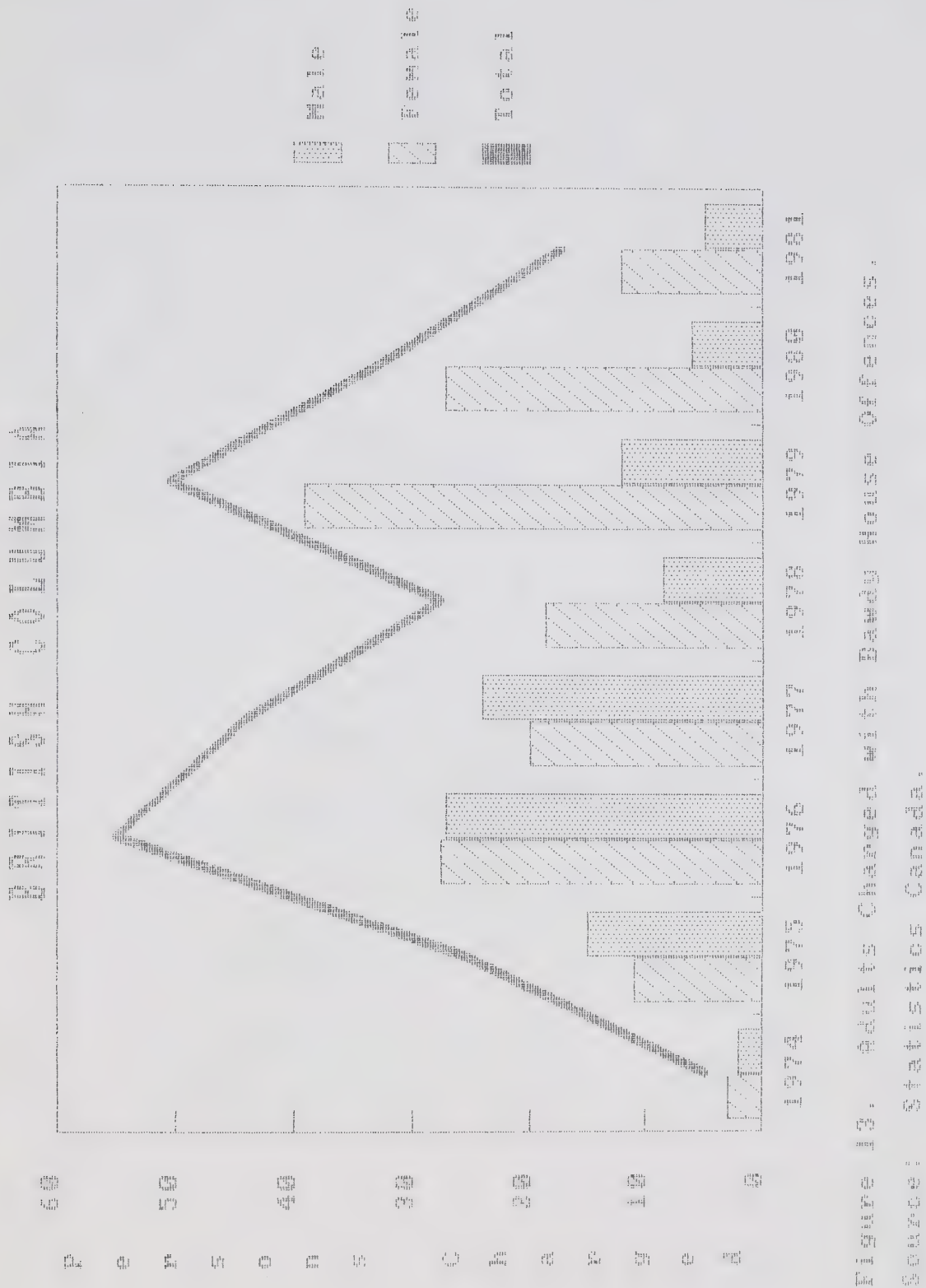
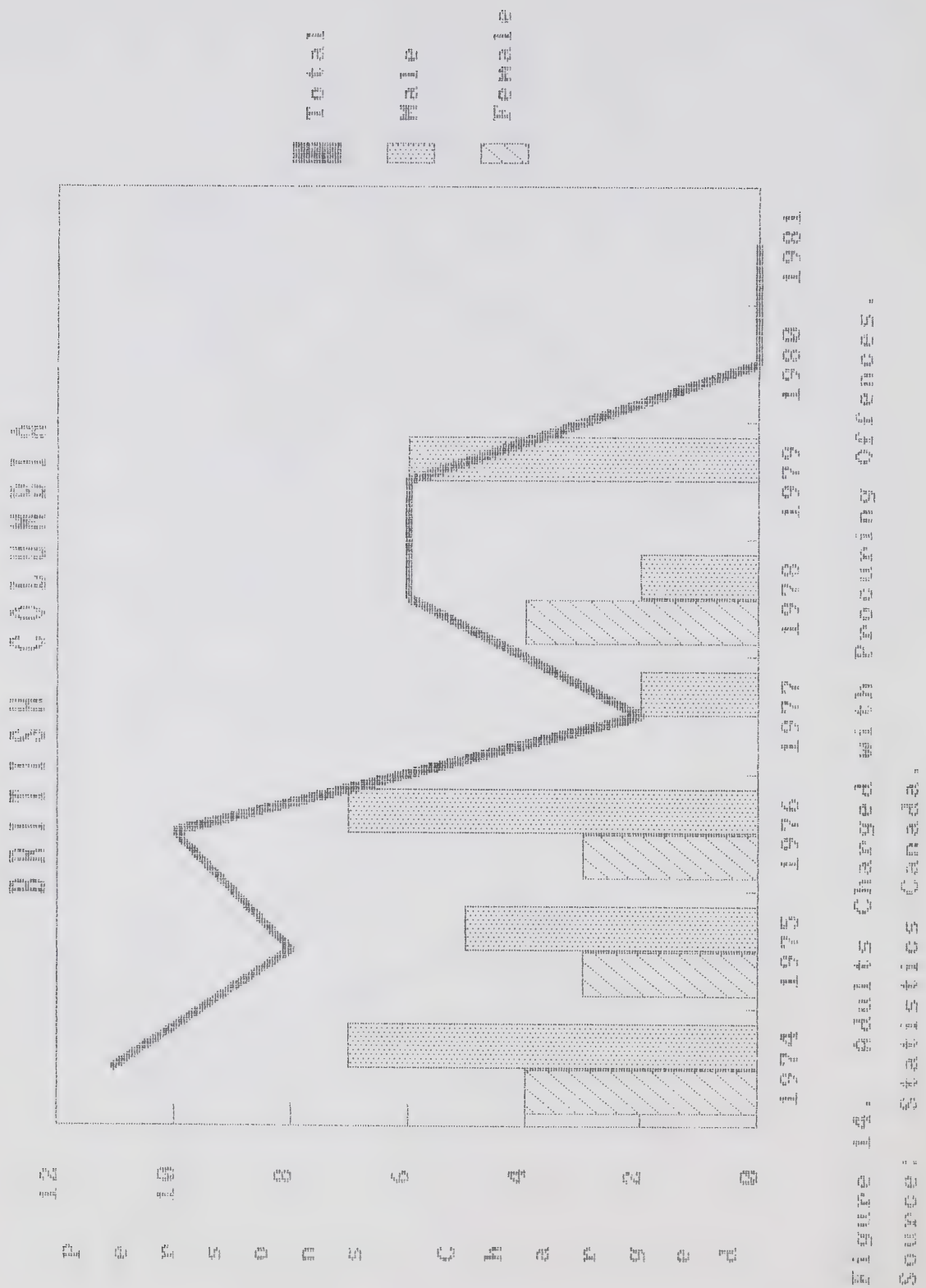


Figure 12. Adults Charged with Prostitution Offences.  
Source: Statistics Canada.







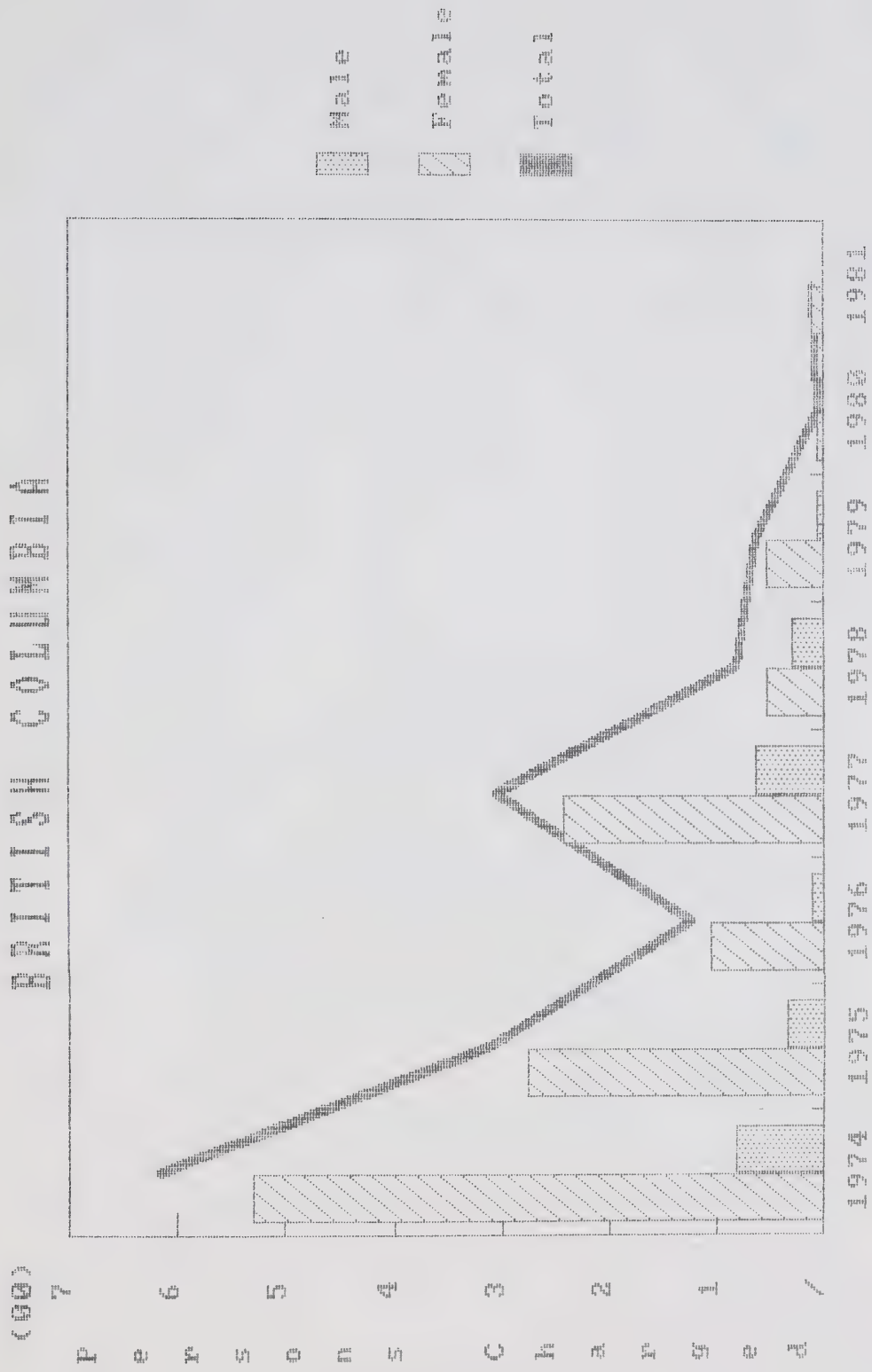
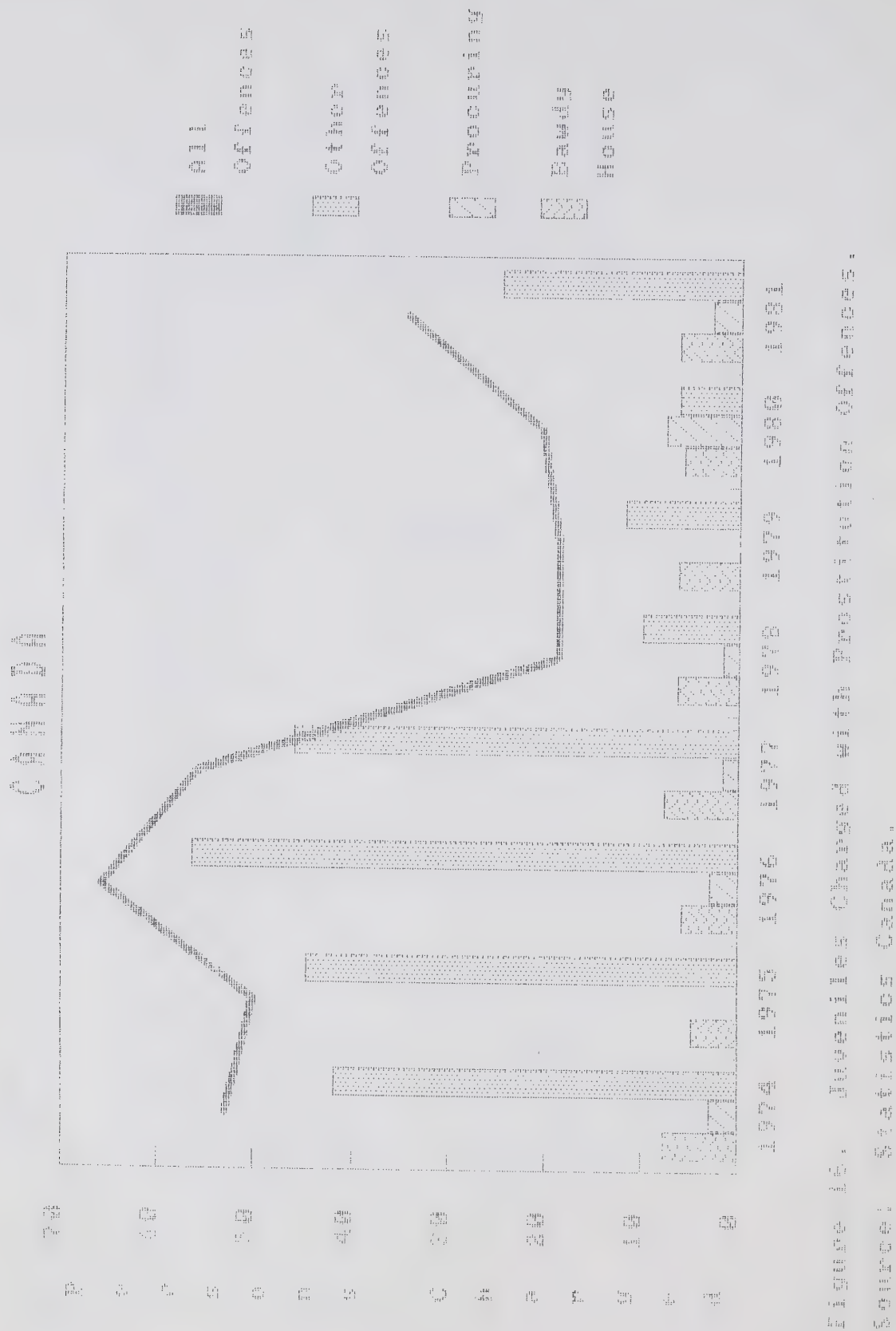
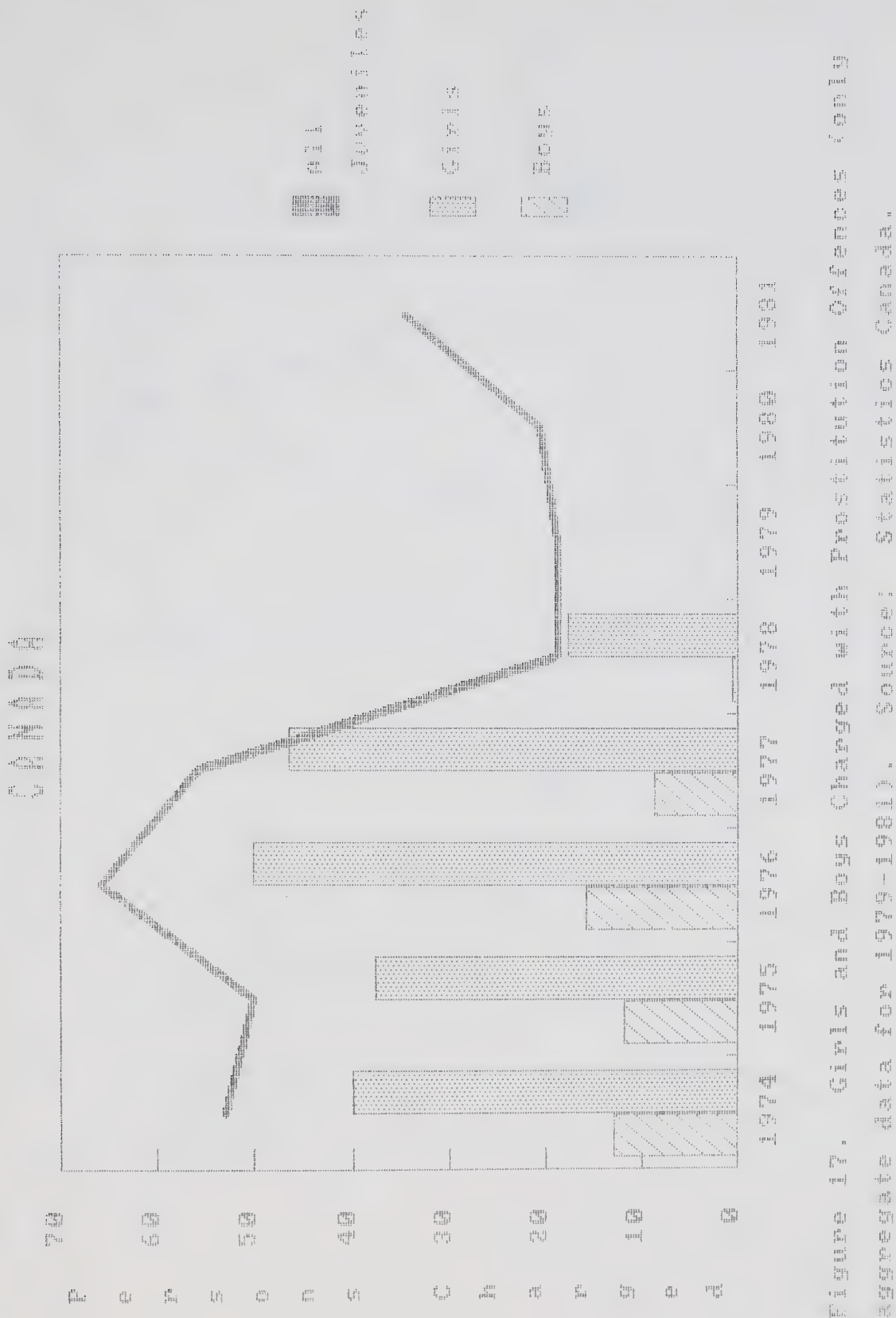


Figure 15. Adults Charged with "Other" Offences.

Source: Statistics Canada.





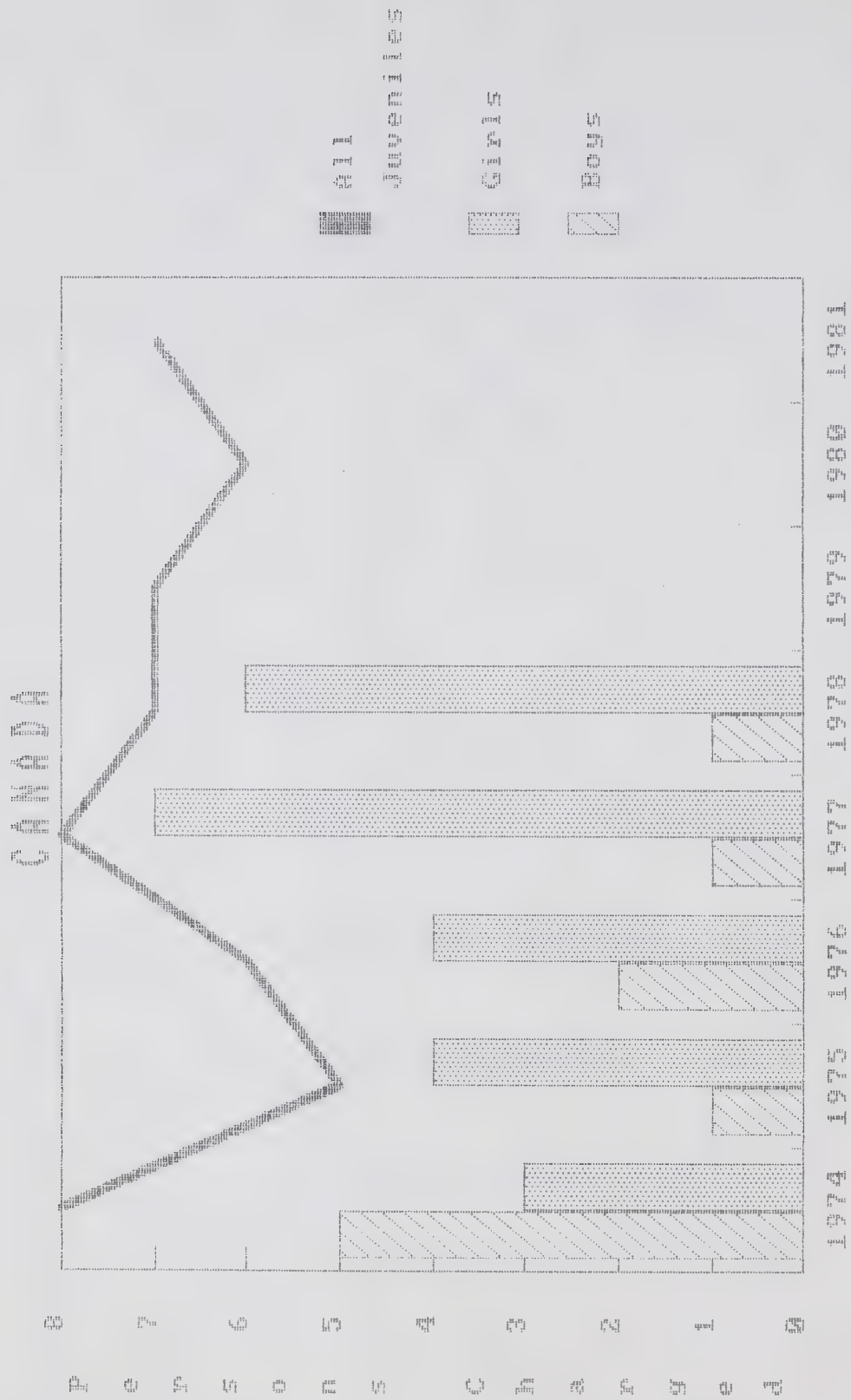
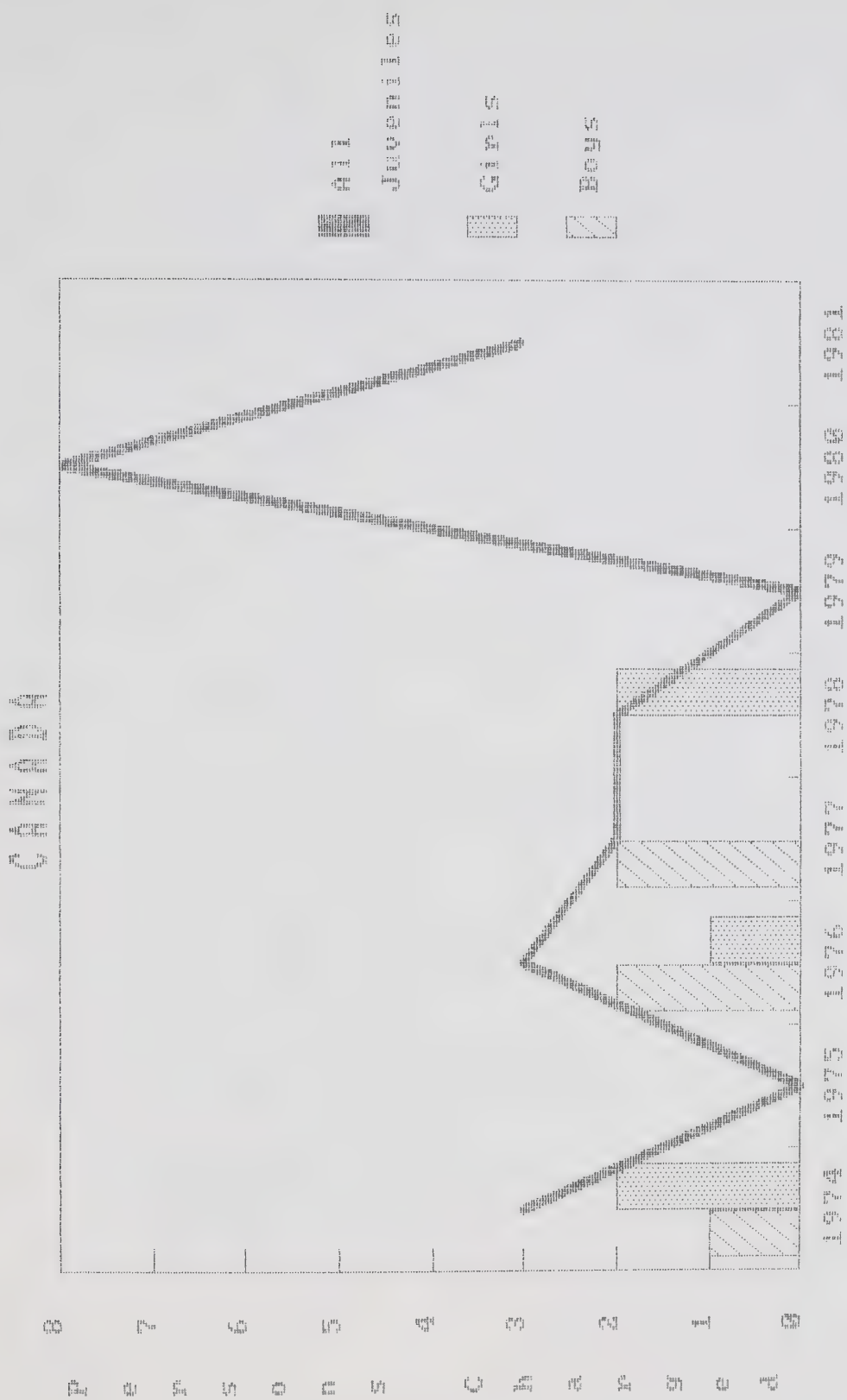


Figure 10. Girls and Boys Charged with Peccary Hares Offenses Compared. Source: Statistics Canada.

Figure 1. Comparison of the results of the two methods for the determination of the total amount of the substance in the sample.





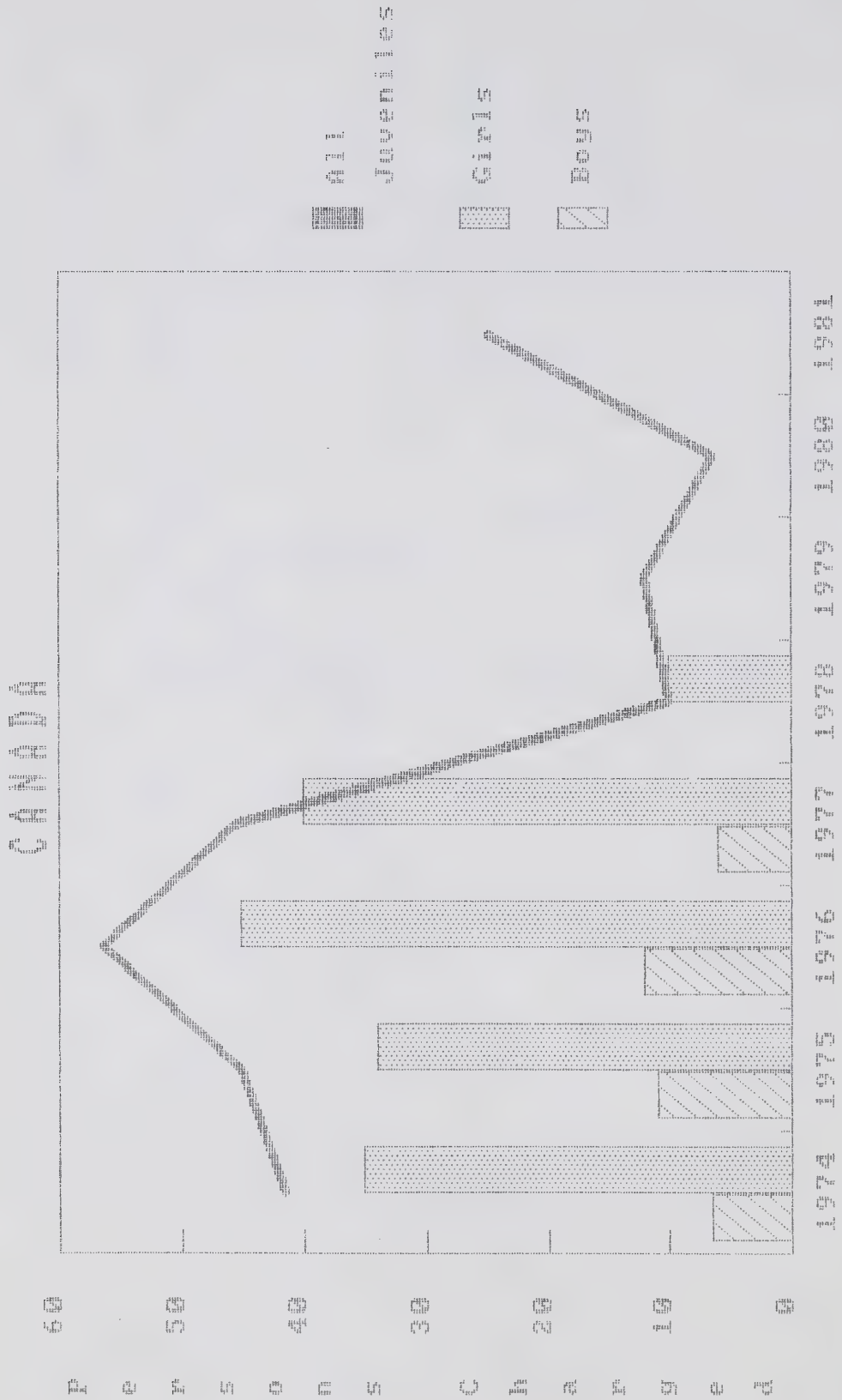
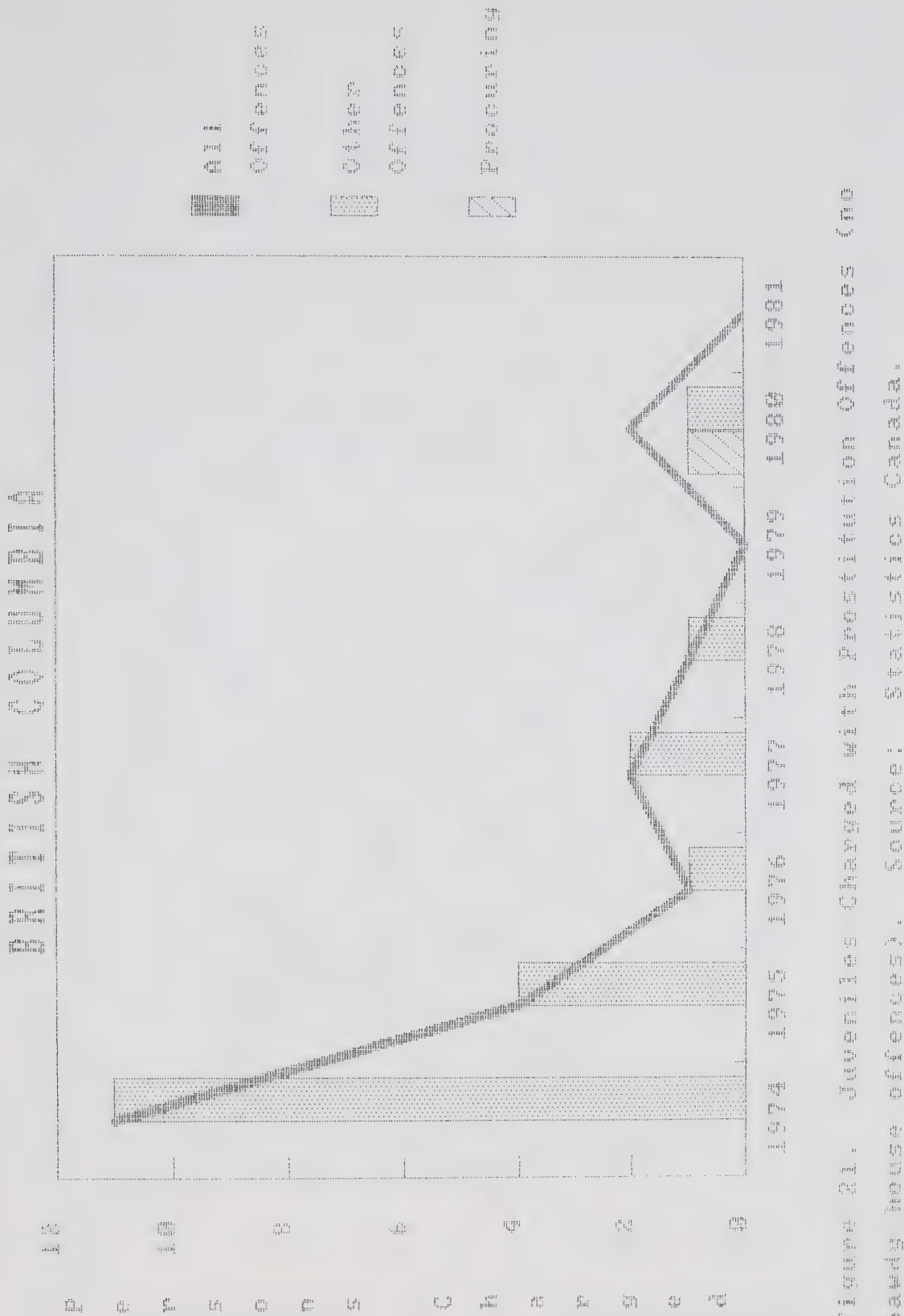
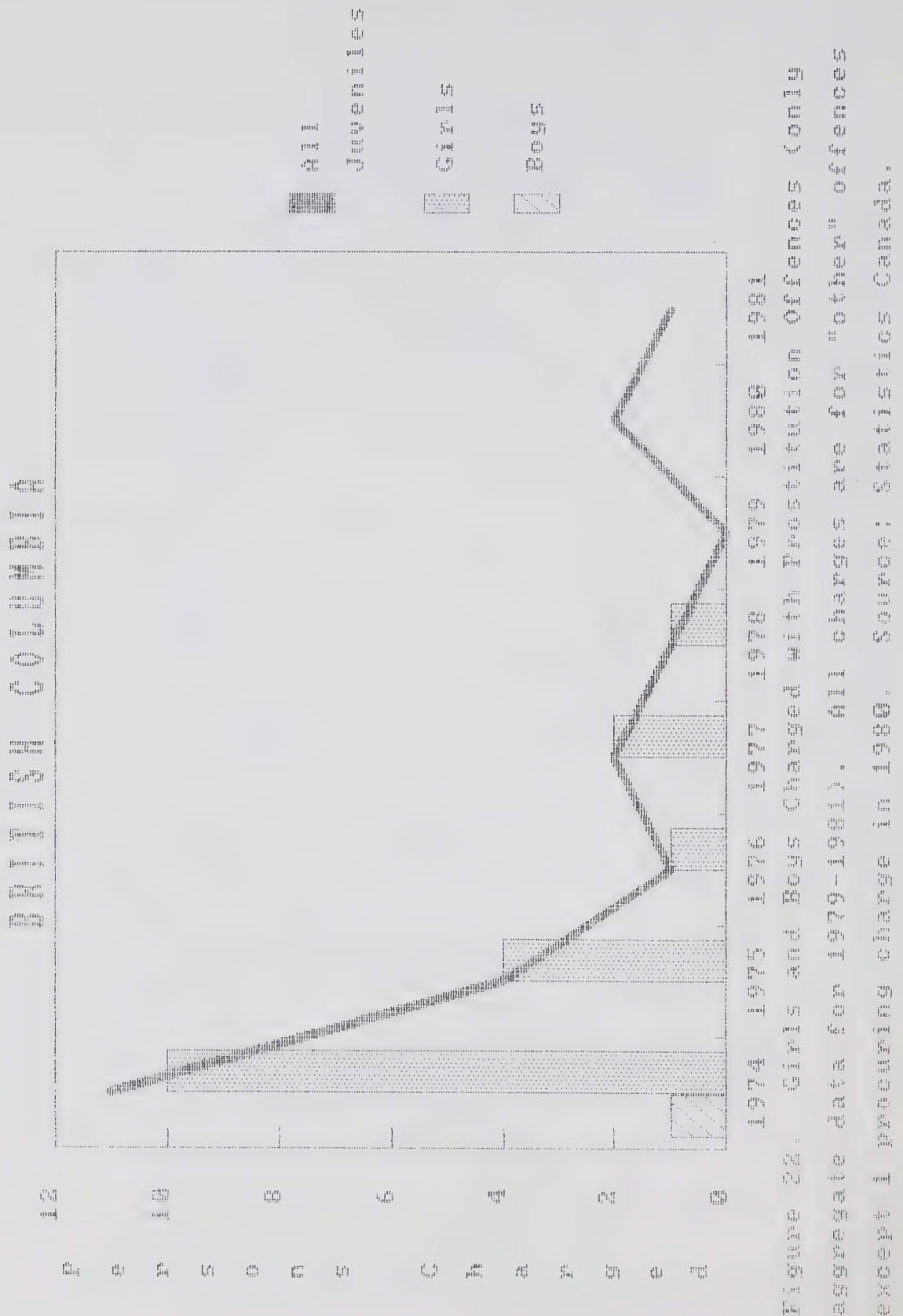
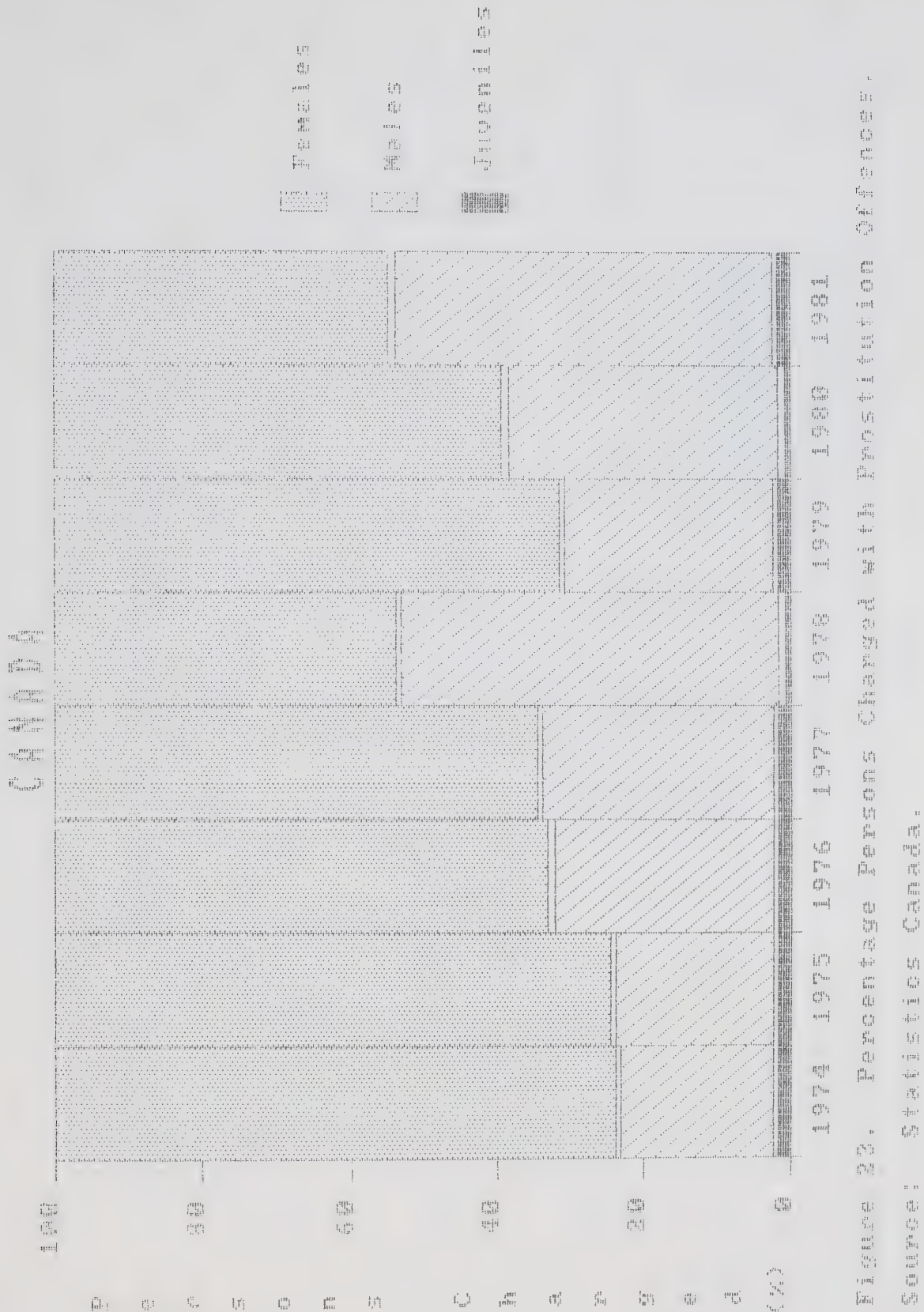
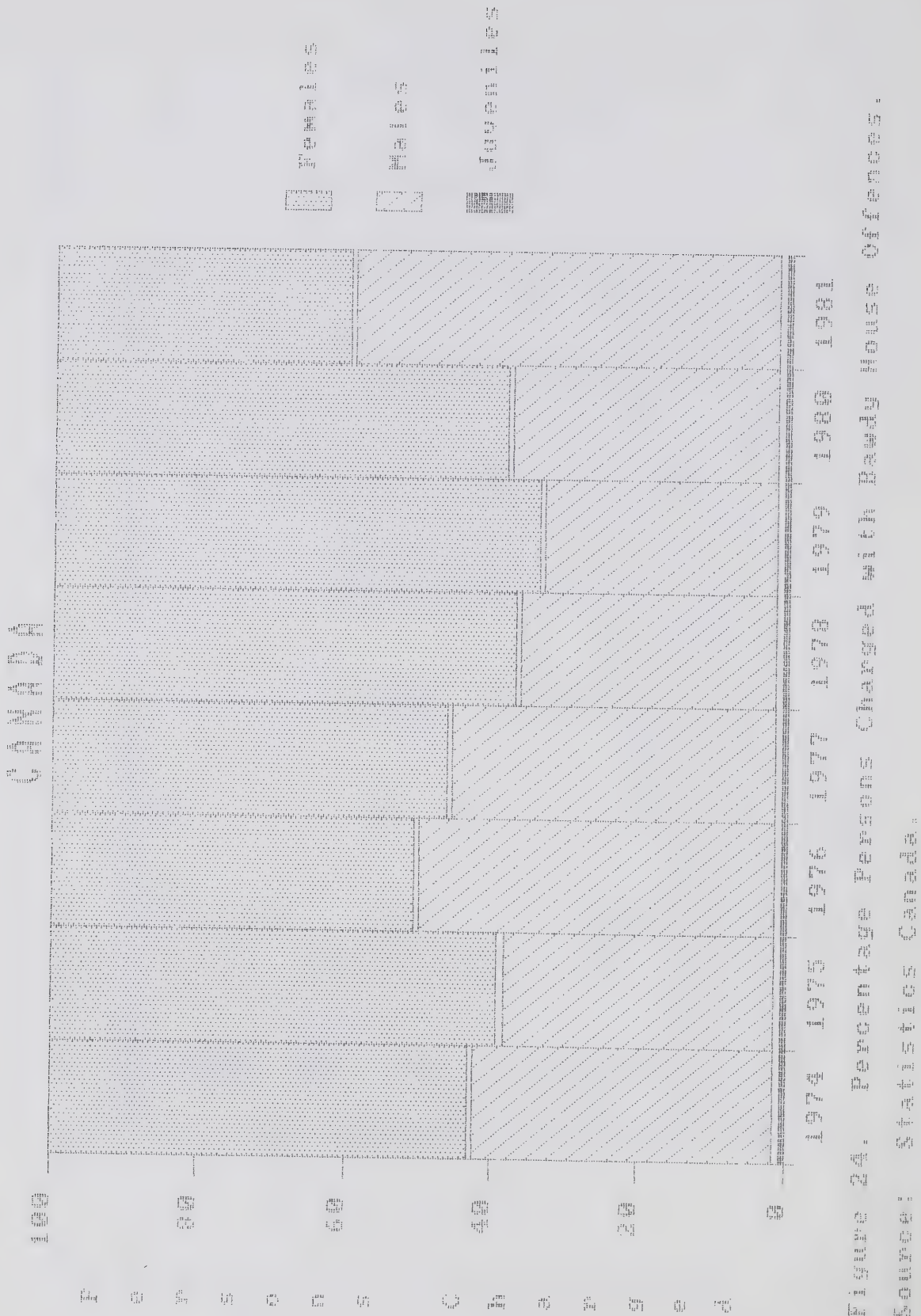


Figure 1. Comparison of the results of the two methods for the years 1961-1971. The results of the two methods are compared for the years 1961-1971. The results of the two methods are compared for the years 1961-1971.

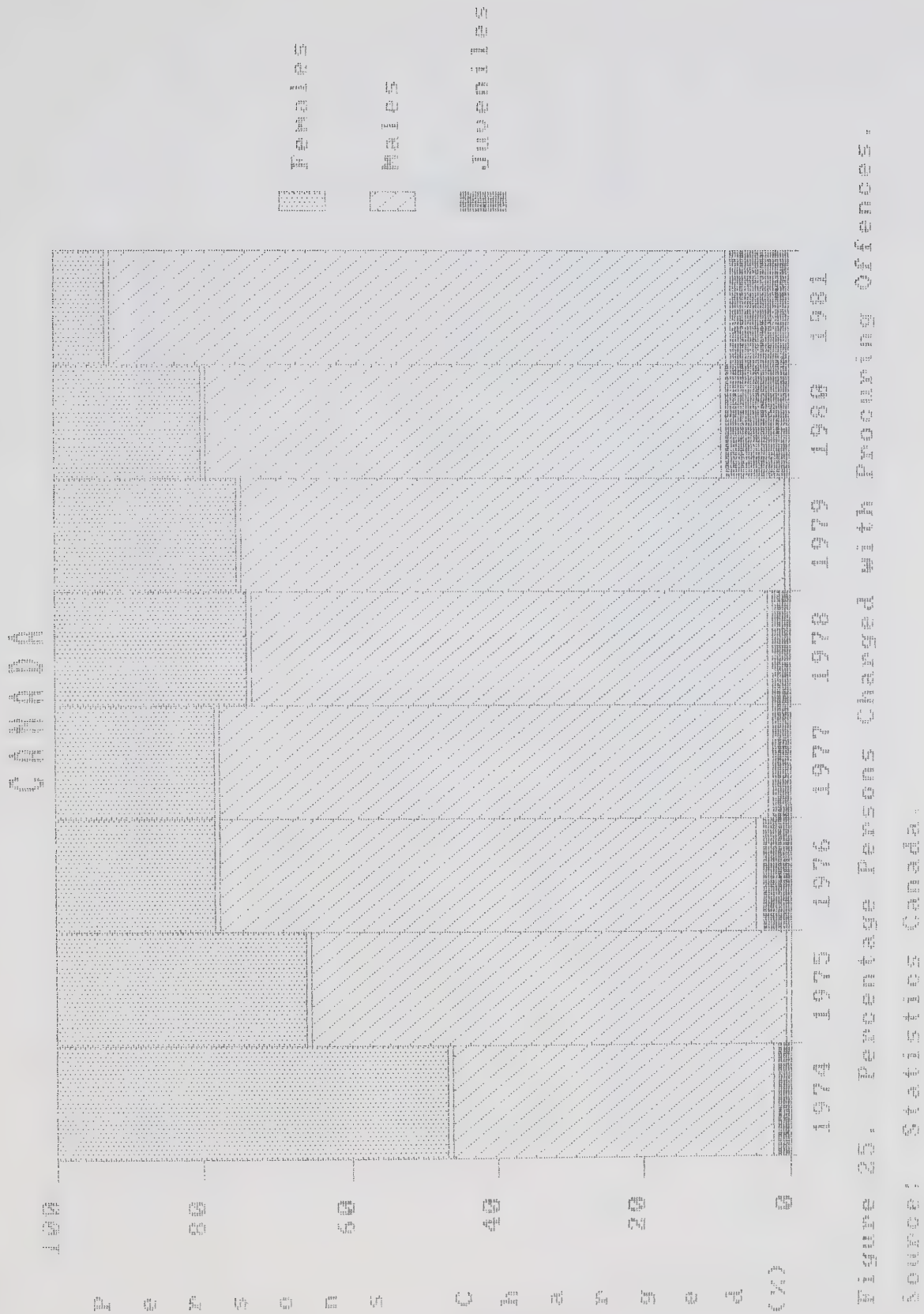




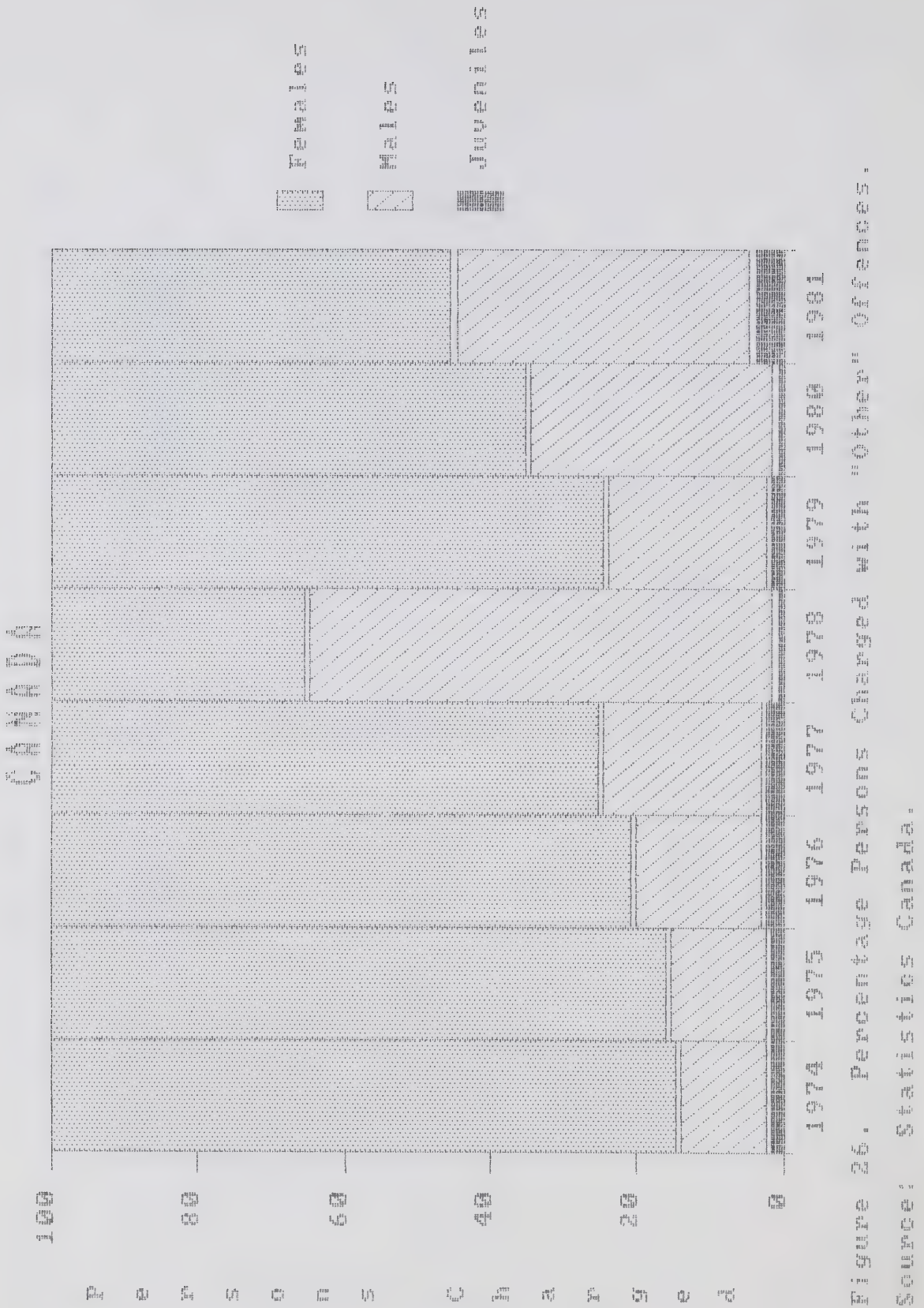


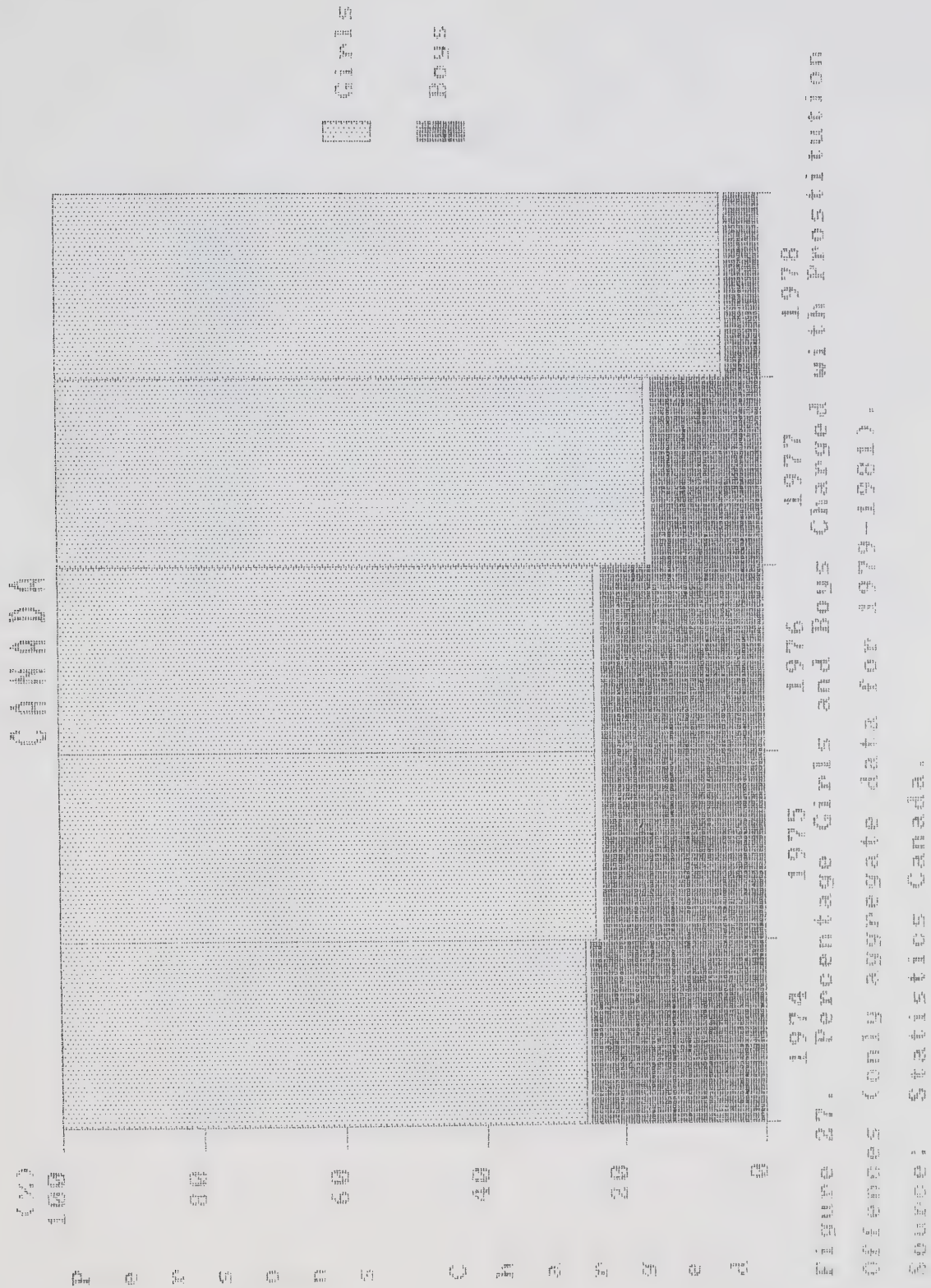






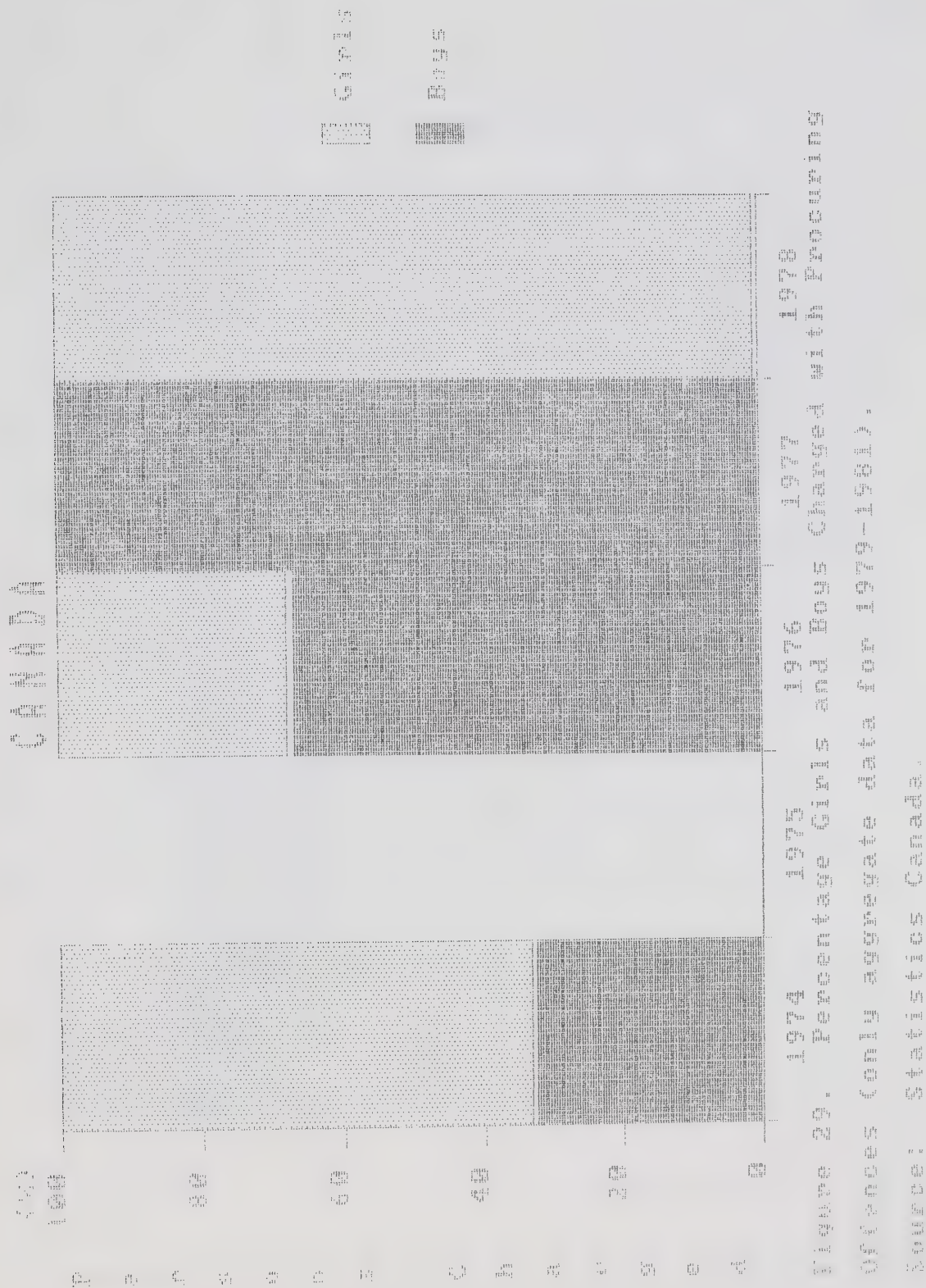




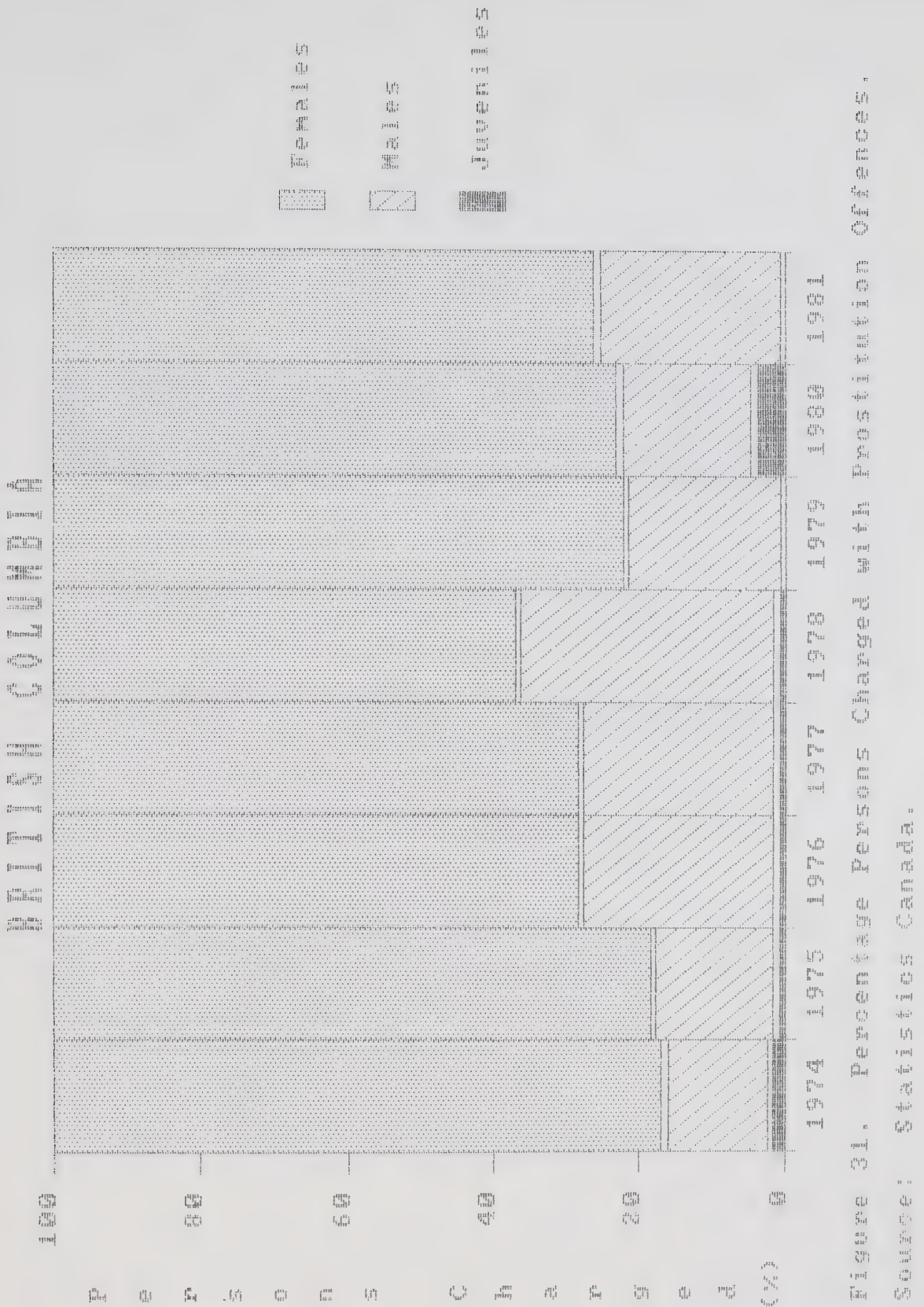




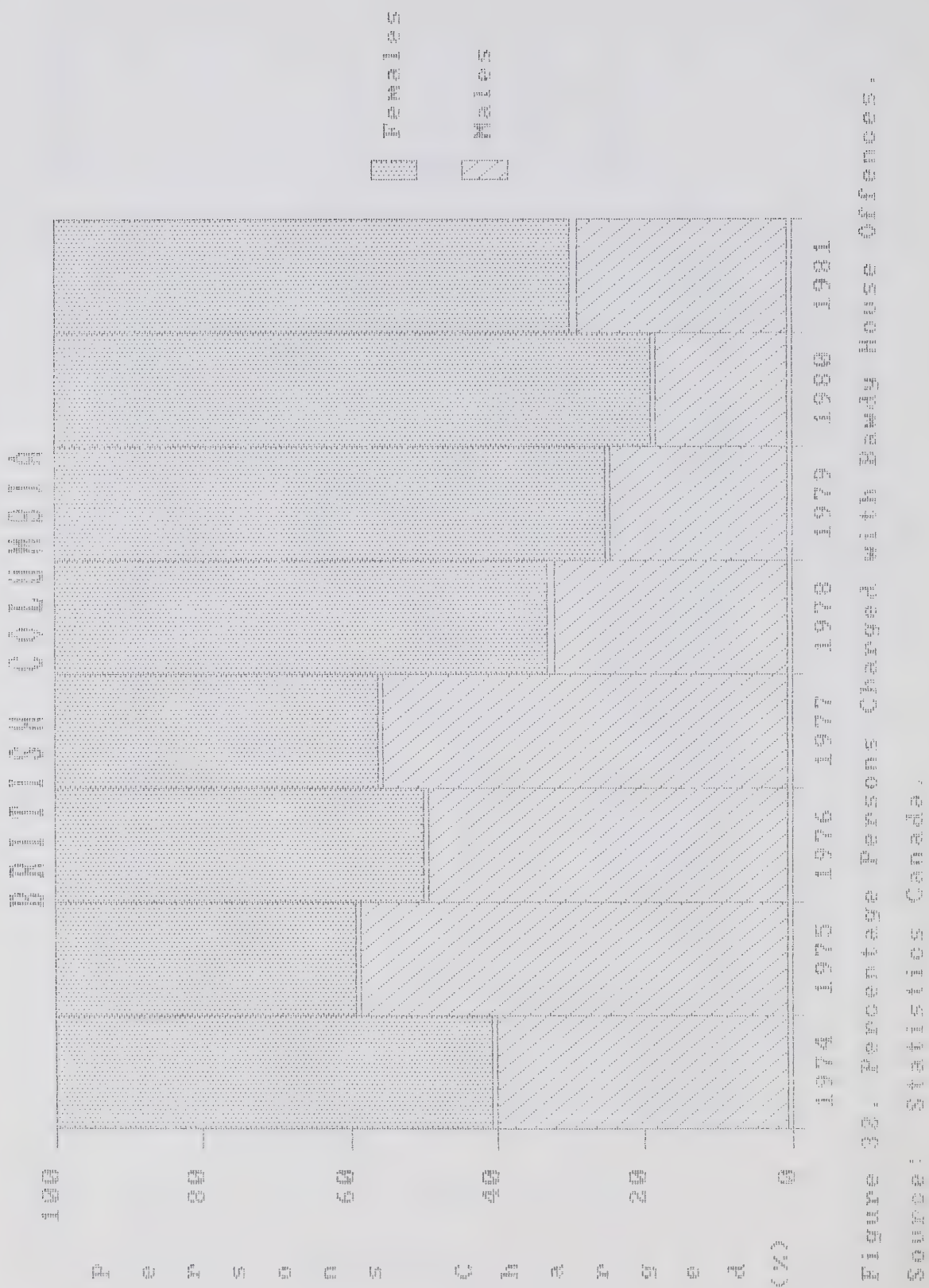


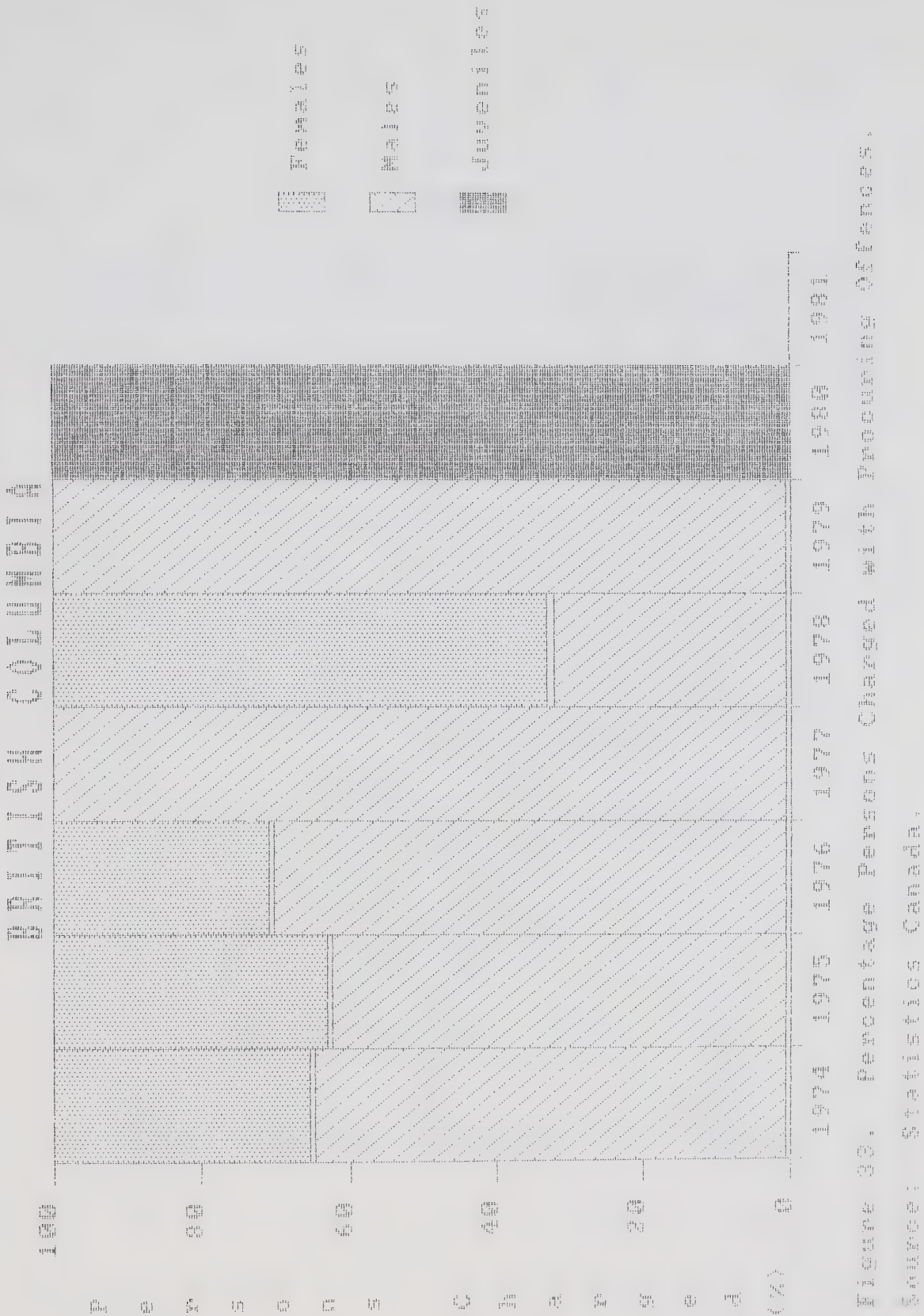


The diagram consists of a large grid of small squares, arranged in a roughly rectangular shape. The grid is divided into several sections by lines, and there are various labels and symbols around it. At the top, there are several small diagrams and labels, including a large 'X' and a large 'Y'. The grid itself is filled with small squares, some of which are shaded or have different patterns. The overall appearance is that of a technical drawing or a map.







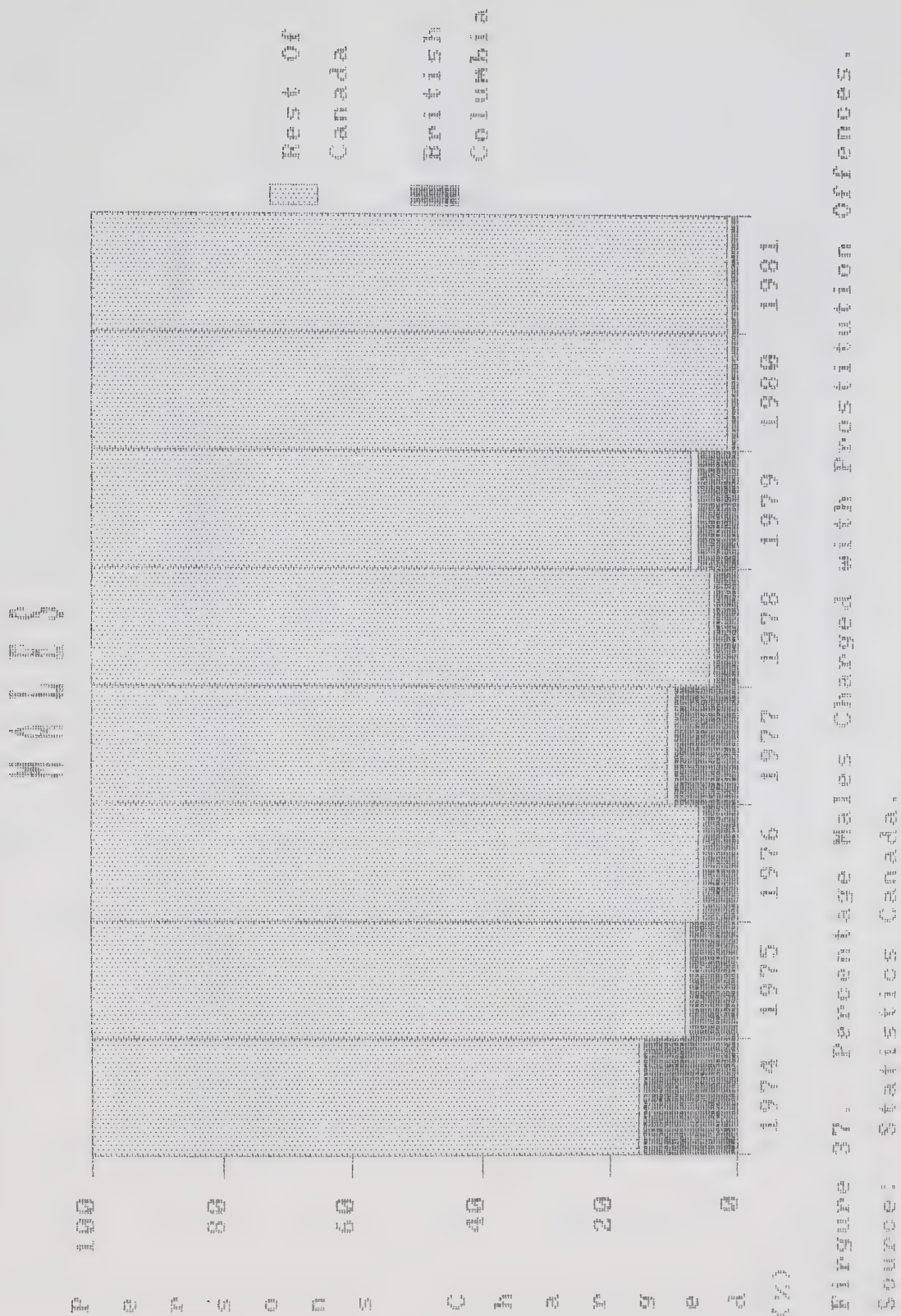


[illegible]

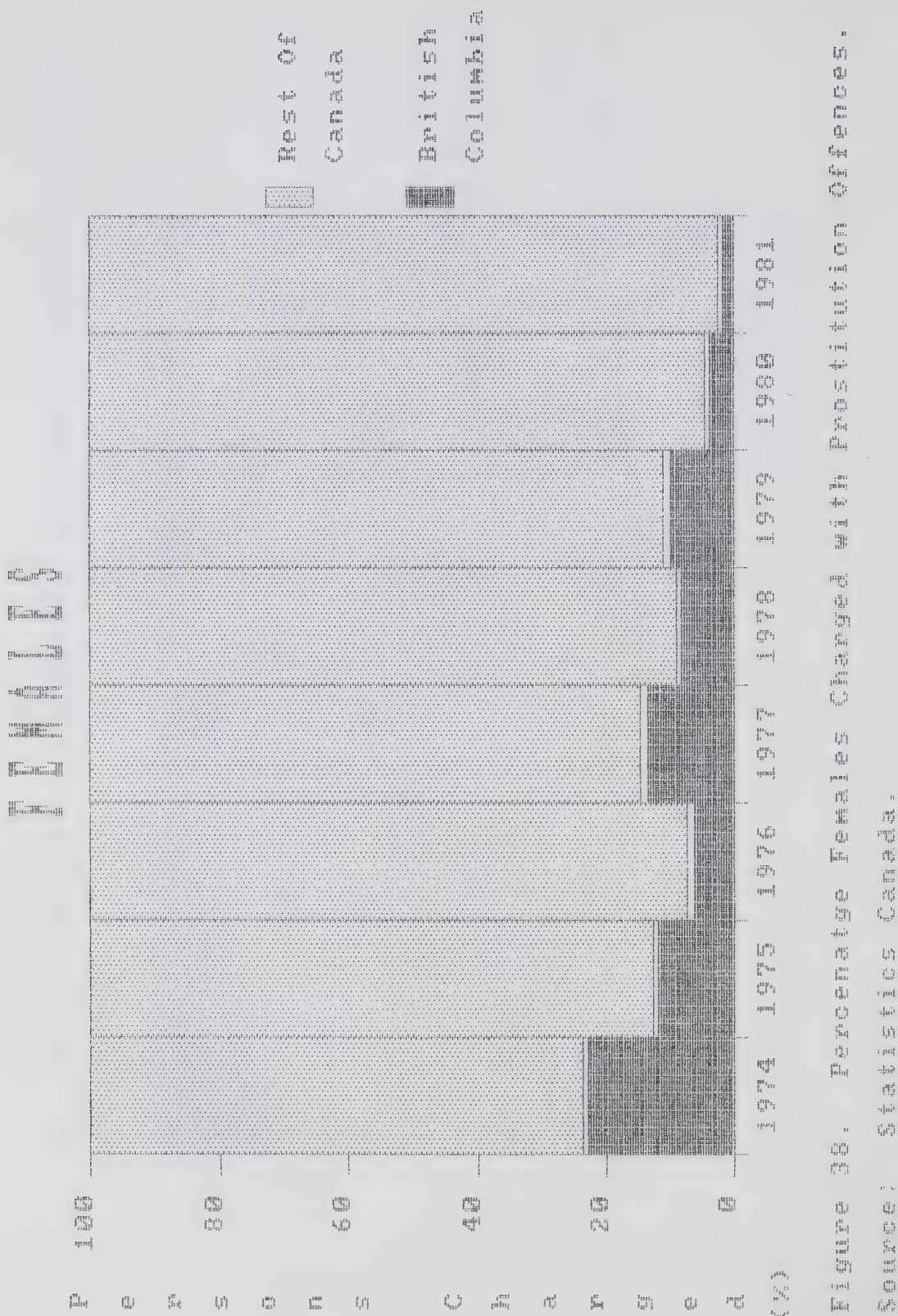




This technical drawing illustrates a complex mechanical assembly, possibly a pump or engine component. The main body is a large, rectangular structure with a grid-like internal pattern, suggesting a cast or machined block. Various internal components, including valves, pistons, and connecting rods, are visible within the main structure. The drawing is highly detailed, showing numerous small parts and their interconnections. Labels and dimensions are present throughout the drawing, providing specific information about the components and their assembly. The overall layout is organized, with the main assembly centered and various sub-components and details arranged around it for clarity.







Technical drawing of a mechanical assembly, likely a pump or motor component. The drawing shows a cross-section of a housing with internal features like a rotor and stator. The drawing includes a title block at the top left, a scale bar at the top center, and a large rectangular area with a grid pattern representing the main body of the part. Various dimensions and tolerances are indicated throughout the drawing.

[illegible]

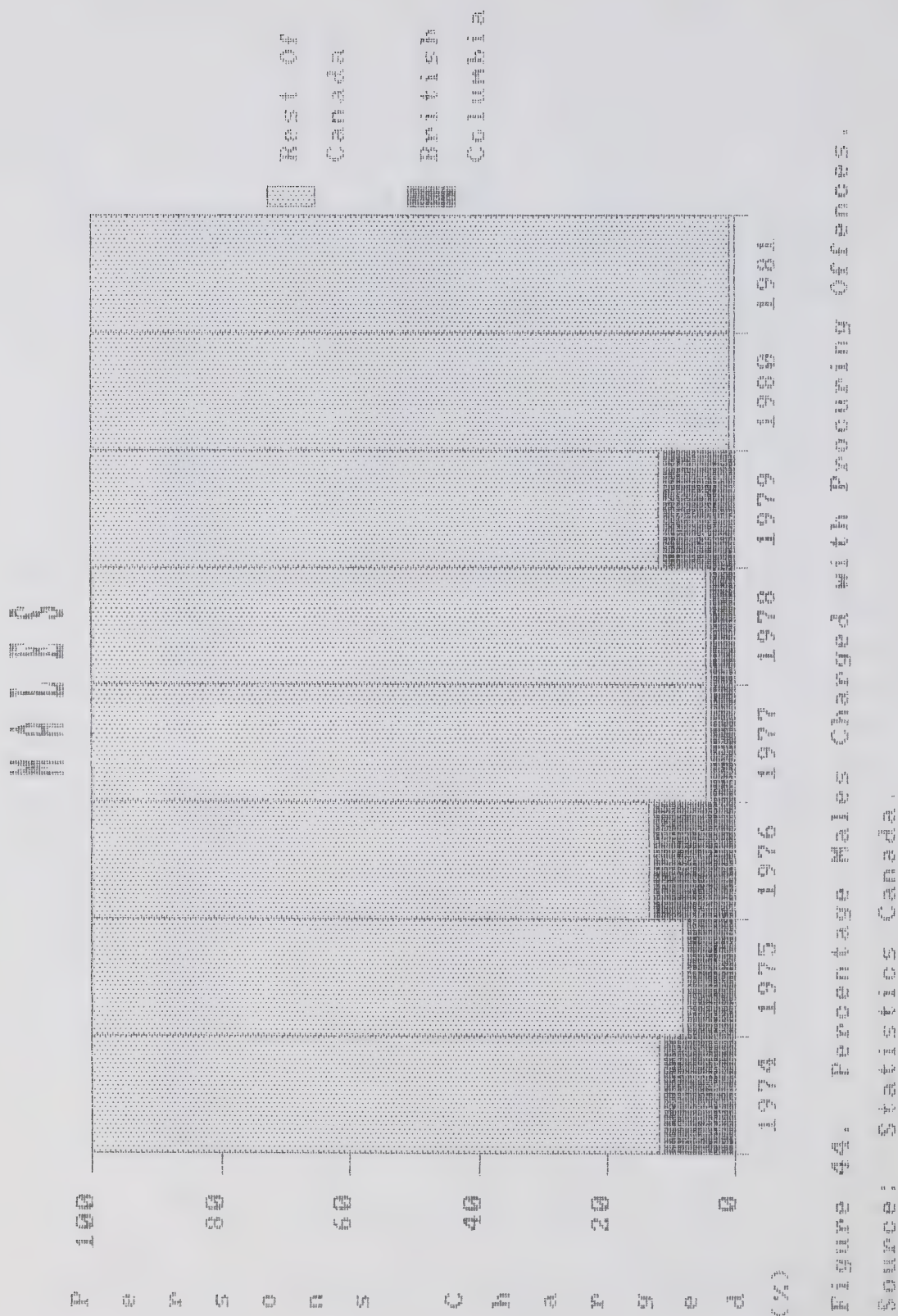




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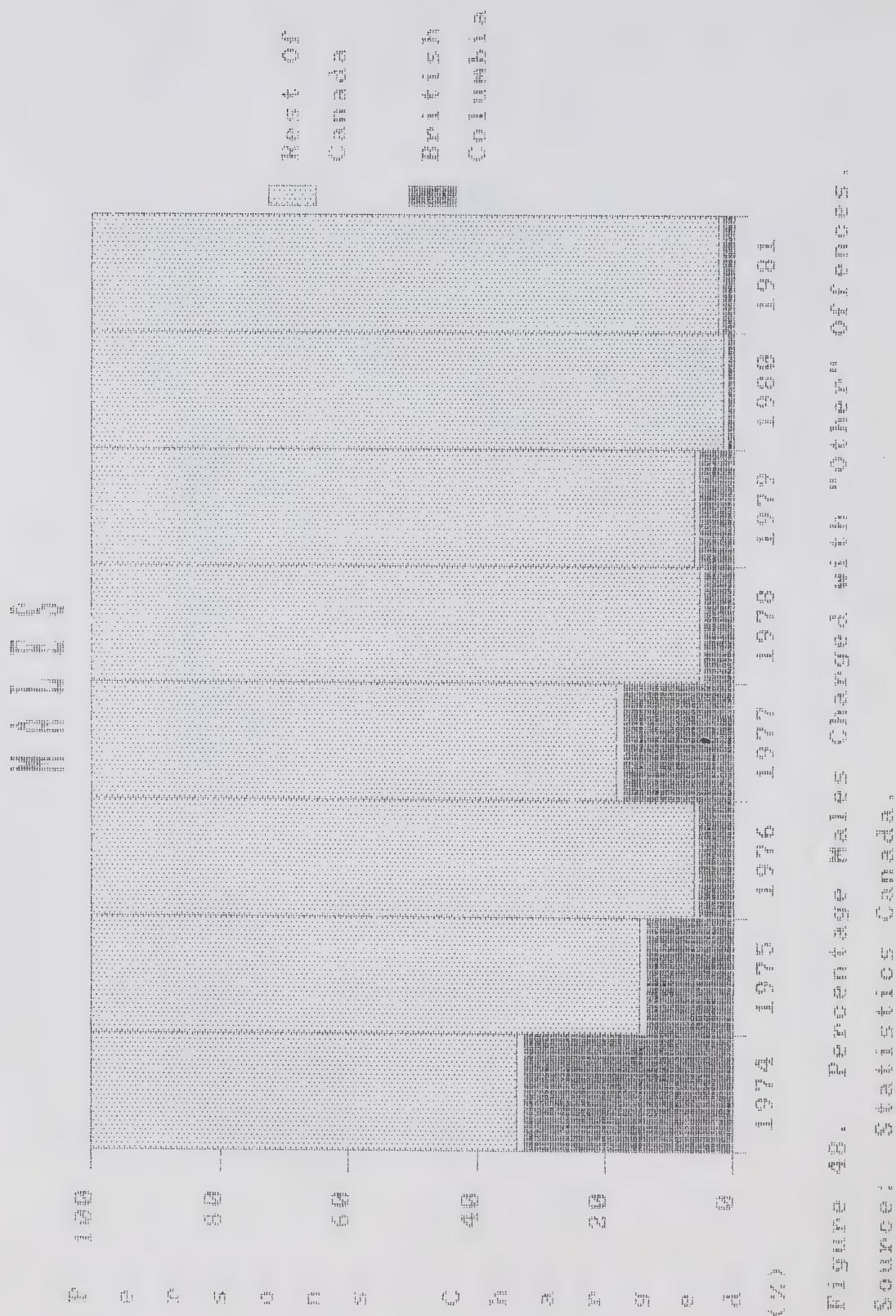






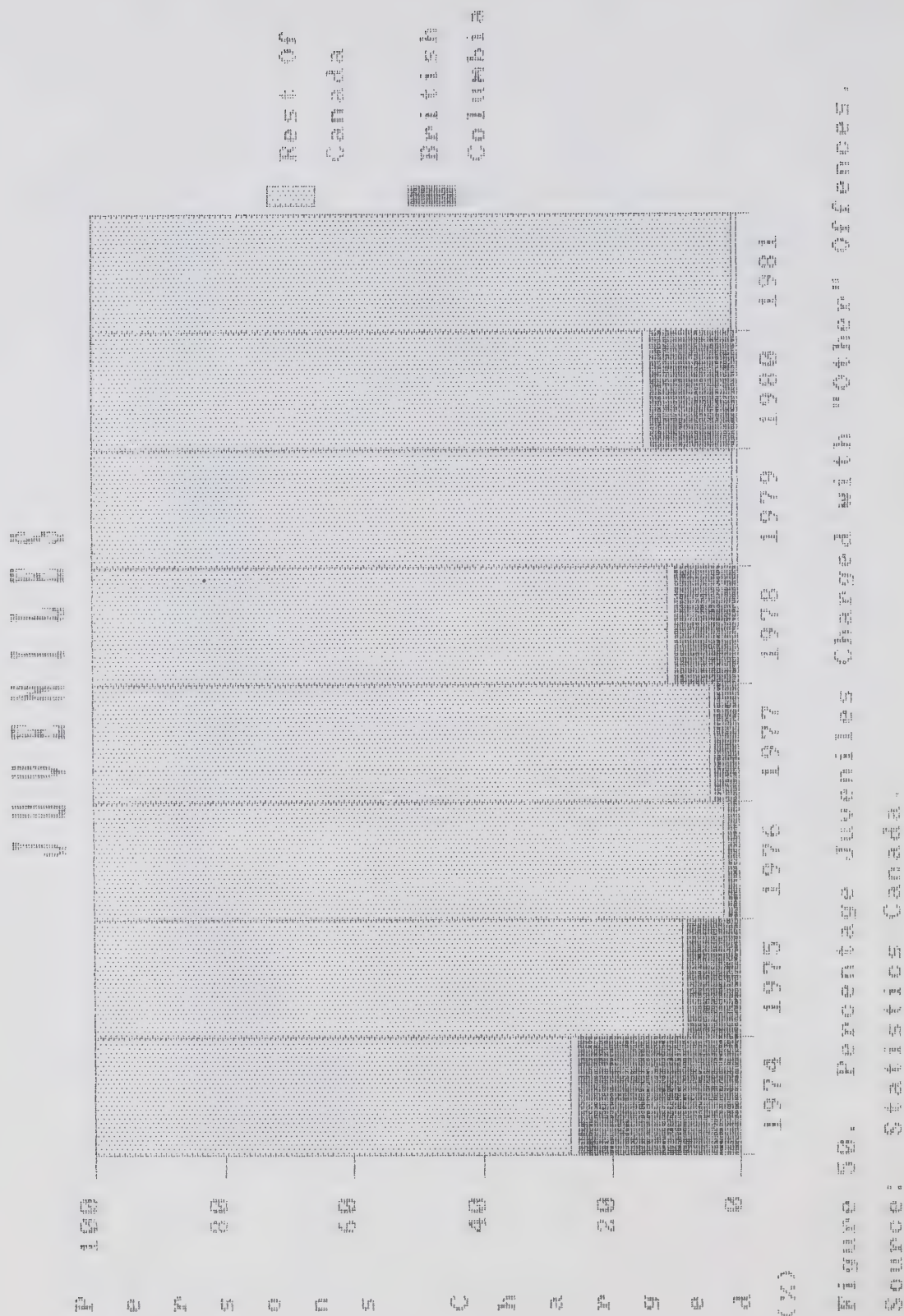
The drawing is a technical cross-section of a mechanical assembly, oriented vertically. It features a large central cavity with several internal components, including what appears to be a piston or plunger at the bottom. The assembly is surrounded by a thick, textured outer casing. Various dimensions and part numbers are indicated throughout the drawing. On the right side, there is a detailed legend or key, listing various components and their corresponding part numbers or specifications. The drawing is highly detailed, showing internal threads, seals, and other mechanical features.



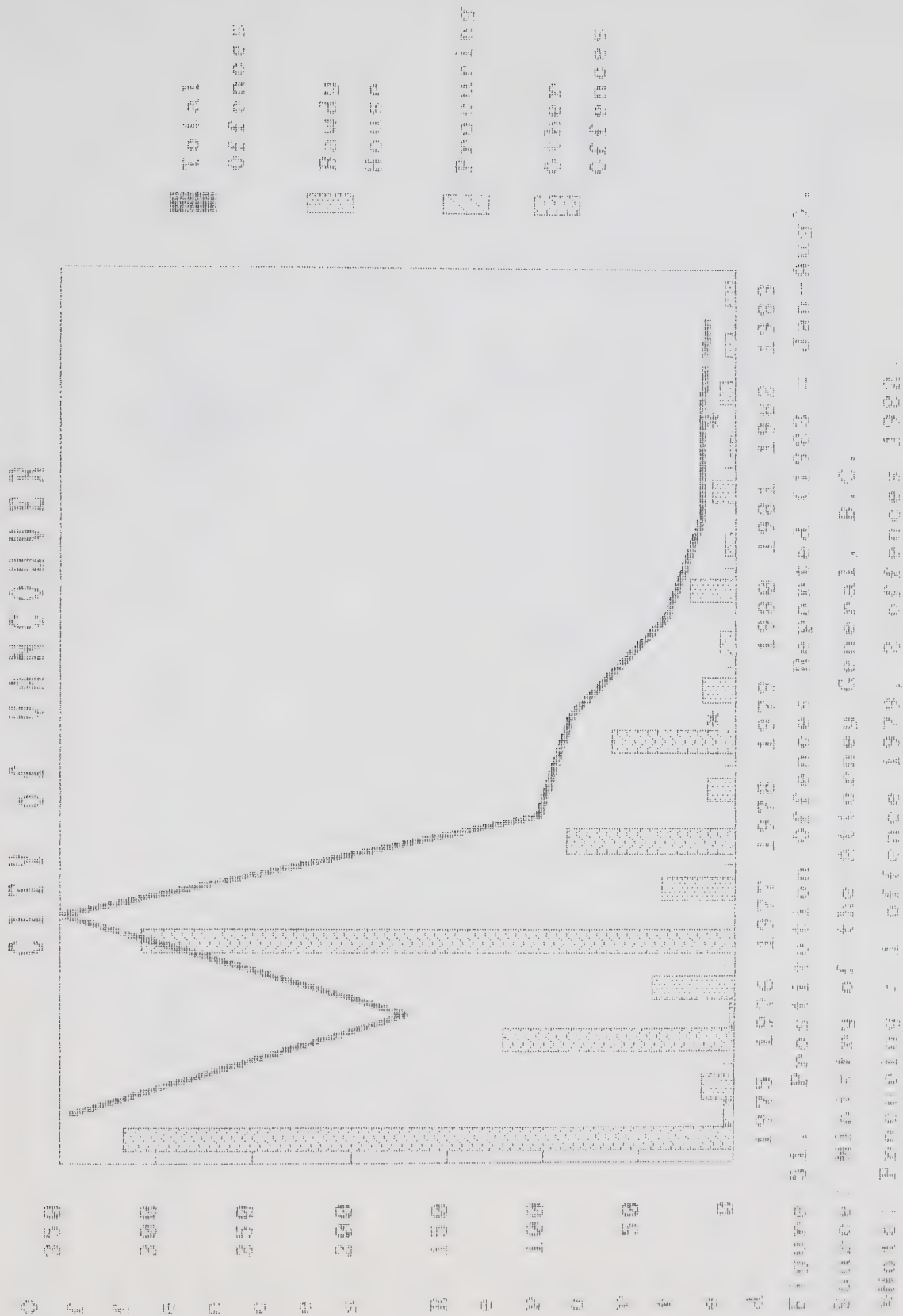


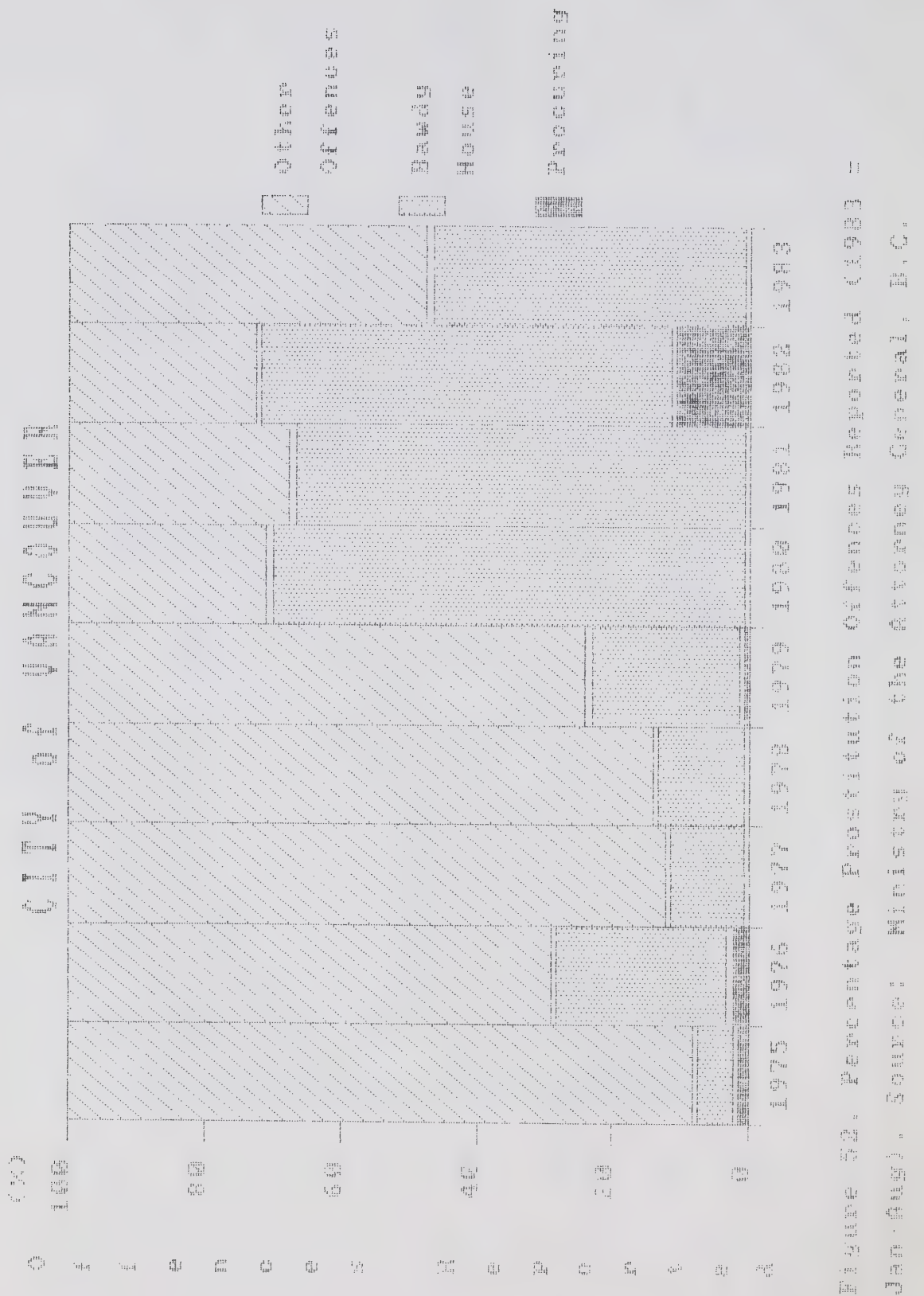
The diagram consists of a large central grid of small squares, likely representing a matrix or a discretized domain. Surrounding this grid are various mathematical symbols and formulas, including:

- Fractions:  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{1}{4}$ ,  $\frac{1}{8}$ ,  $\frac{1}{16}$ ,  $\frac{1}{32}$ ,  $\frac{1}{64}$ ,  $\frac{1}{128}$ ,  $\frac{1}{256}$ ,  $\frac{1}{512}$ ,  $\frac{1}{1024}$ ,  $\frac{1}{2048}$ ,  $\frac{1}{4096}$ ,  $\frac{1}{8192}$ ,  $\frac{1}{16384}$ ,  $\frac{1}{32768}$ ,  $\frac{1}{65536}$ ,  $\frac{1}{131072}$ ,  $\frac{1}{262144}$ ,  $\frac{1}{524288}$ ,  $\frac{1}{1048576}$ ,  $\frac{1}{2097152}$ ,  $\frac{1}{4194304}$ ,  $\frac{1}{8388608}$ ,  $\frac{1}{16777216}$ ,  $\frac{1}{33554432}$ ,  $\frac{1}{67108864}$ ,  $\frac{1}{134217728}$ ,  $\frac{1}{268435456}$ ,  $\frac{1}{536870912}$ ,  $\frac{1}{1073741824}$ ,  $\frac{1}{2147483648}$ ,  $\frac{1}{4294967296}$ ,  $\frac{1}{8589934592}$ ,  $\frac{1}{17179869184}$ ,  $\frac{1}{34359738368}$ ,  $\frac{1}{68719476736}$ ,  $\frac{1}{137438953472}$ ,  $\frac{1}{274877906944}$ ,  $\frac{1}{549755813888}$ ,  $\frac{1}{1099511627776}$ ,  $\frac{1}{2199023255552}$ ,  $\frac{1}{4398046511104}$ ,  $\frac{1}{8796093022208}$ ,  $\frac{1}{17592186044416}$ ,  $\frac{1}{35184372088832}$ ,  $\frac{1}{70368744177664}$ ,  $\frac{1}{140737488355328}$ ,  $\frac{1}{281474976710656}$ ,  $\frac{1}{562949953421312}$ ,  $\frac{1}{1125899906842624}$ ,  $\frac{1}{2251799813685248}$ ,  $\frac{1}{4503599627370496}$ ,  $\frac{1}{9007199254740992}$ ,  $\frac{1}{18014398509481984}$ ,  $\frac{1}{36028797018963968}$ ,  $\frac{1}{72057594037927936}$ ,  $\frac{1}{144115188075855872}$ ,  $\frac{1}{288230376151711744}$ ,  $\frac{1}{576460752303423488}$ ,  $\frac{1}{1152921504606846976}$ ,  $\frac{1}{2305843009213693952}$ ,  $\frac{1}{4611686018427387904}$ ,  $\frac{1}{9223372036854775808}$ ,  $\frac{1}{18446744073709551616}$ ,  $\frac{1}{36893488147419103232}$ ,  $\frac{1}{73786976294838206464}$ ,  $\frac{1}{147573952589676412928}$ ,  $\frac{1}{295147905179352825856}$ ,  $\frac{1}{590295810358705651712}$ ,  $\frac{1}{1180591620717411303424}$ ,  $\frac{1}{2361183241434822606848}$ ,  $\frac{1}{4722366482869645213696}$ ,  $\frac{1}{9444732965739290427392}$ ,  $\frac{1}{18889465931478580854784}$ ,  $\frac{1}{37778931862957161709568}$ ,  $\frac{1}{75557863725914323419136}$ ,  $\frac{1}{151115727451828646838272}$ ,  $\frac{1}{302231454903657293676544}$ ,  $\frac{1}{604462909807314587353088}$ ,  $\frac{1}{1208925819614629174706176}$ ,  $\frac{1}{2417851639229258349412352}$ ,  $\frac{1}{4835703278458516698824704}$ ,  $\frac{1}{9671406556917033397649408}$ ,  $\frac{1}{19342813113834066795298816}$ ,  $\frac{1}{38685626227668133590597632}$ ,  $\frac{1}{77371252455336267181195264}$ ,  $\frac{1}{154742504910672534362390528}$ ,  $\frac{1}{309485009821345068724781056}$ ,  $\frac{1}{618970019642690137449562112}$ ,  $\frac{1}{1237940039285380274899124224}$ ,  $\frac{1}{2475880078570760549798248448}$ ,  $\frac{1}{4951760157141521099596496896}$ ,  $\frac{1}{9903520314283042199192993792}$ ,  $\frac{1}{19807040628566084398385987584}$ ,  $\frac{1}{39614081257132168796771975168}$ ,  $\frac{1}{79228162514264337593543950336}$ ,  $\frac{1}{158456325028528675187087900672}$ ,  $\frac{1}{316912650057057350374175801344}$ ,  $\frac{1}{633825300114114700748351602688}$ ,  $\frac{1}{1267650600228229401496703205376}$ ,  $\frac{1}{2535301200456458802993406410752}$ ,  $\frac{1}{5070602400912917605986812821504}$ ,  $\frac{1}{10141204801825835211973625643008}$ ,  $\frac{1}{20282409603651670423947251286016}$ ,  $\frac{1}{40564819207303340847894502572032}$ ,  $\frac{1}{81129638414606681695789005144064}$ ,  $\frac{1}{162259276829213363391578010288128}$ ,  $\frac{1}{324518553658426726783156020576256}$ ,  $\frac{1}{649037107316853453566312041152512}$ ,  $\frac{1}{1298074214633706907132624082305024}$ ,  $\frac{1}{2596148429267413814265248164610048}$ ,  $\frac{1}{5192296858534827628530496329220096}$ ,  $\frac{1}{10384593717069655257060992658440192}$ ,  $\frac{1}{20769187434139310514121985316880384}$ ,  $\frac{1}{41538374868278621028243970633760768}$ ,  $\frac{1}{83076749736557242056487941267521536}$ ,  $\frac{1}{166153499473114484112975882535043072}$ ,  $\frac{1}{332306998946228968225951765070086144}$ ,  $\frac{1}{664613997892457936451903530140172288}$ ,  $\frac{1}{1329227995784915872903807060280344576}$ ,  $\frac{1}{2658455991569831745807614120560689152}$ ,  $\frac{1}{5316911983139663491615228241121378304}$ ,  $\frac{1}{10633823966279326983230456482242756608}$ ,  $\frac{1}{21267647932558653966460912964485513216}$ ,  $\frac{1}{42535295865117307932921825928971026432}$ ,  $\frac{1}{85070591730234615865843651857942052864}$ ,  $\frac{1}{170141183460469231731687303715884105728}$ ,  $\frac{1}{340282366920938463463374607431768211456}$ ,  $\frac{1}{680564733841876926926749214863536422912}$ ,  $\frac{1}{1361129467683753853853498429727072845824}$ ,  $\frac{1}{2722258935367507707706996859454145691648}$ ,  $\frac{1}{544451$

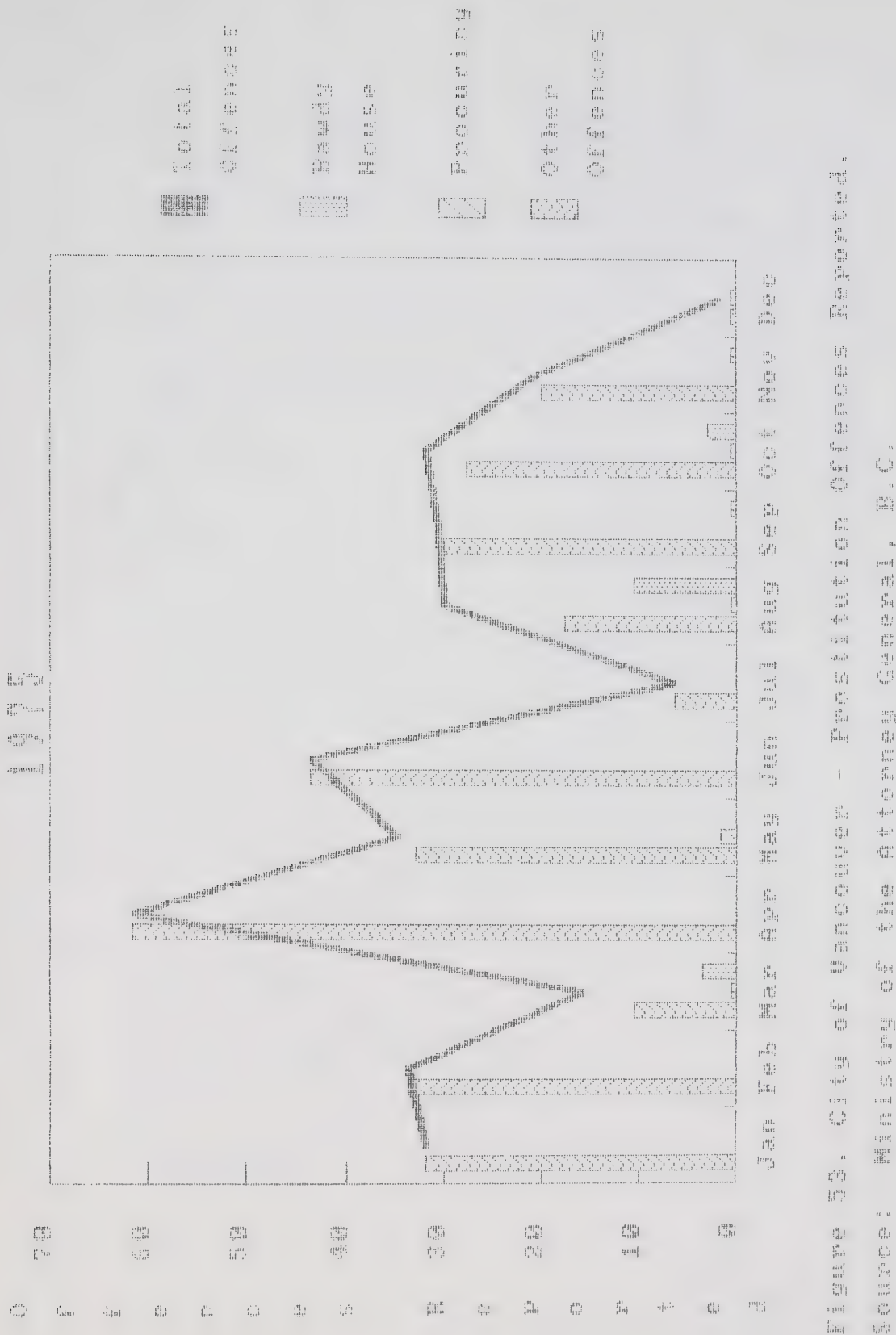


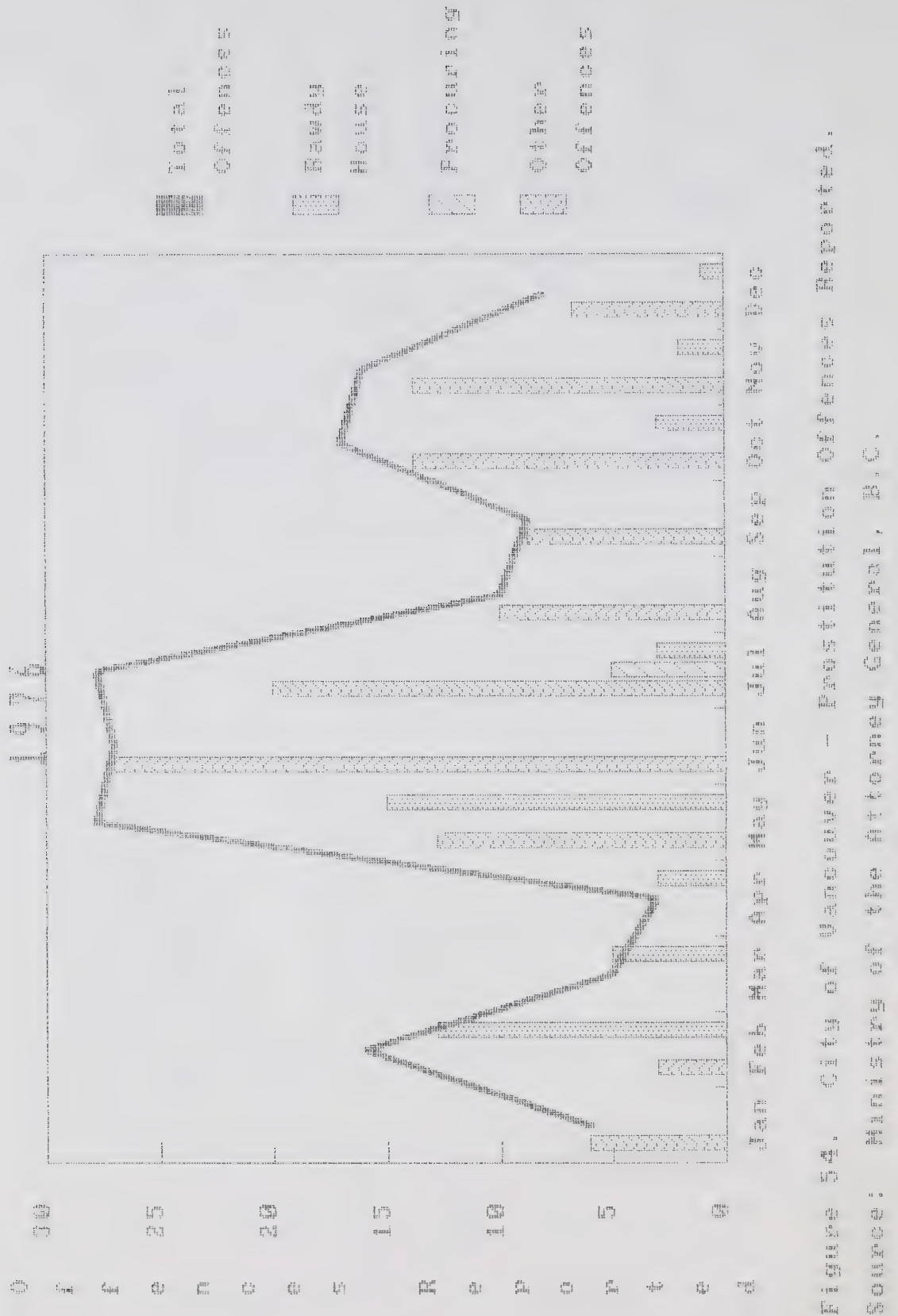












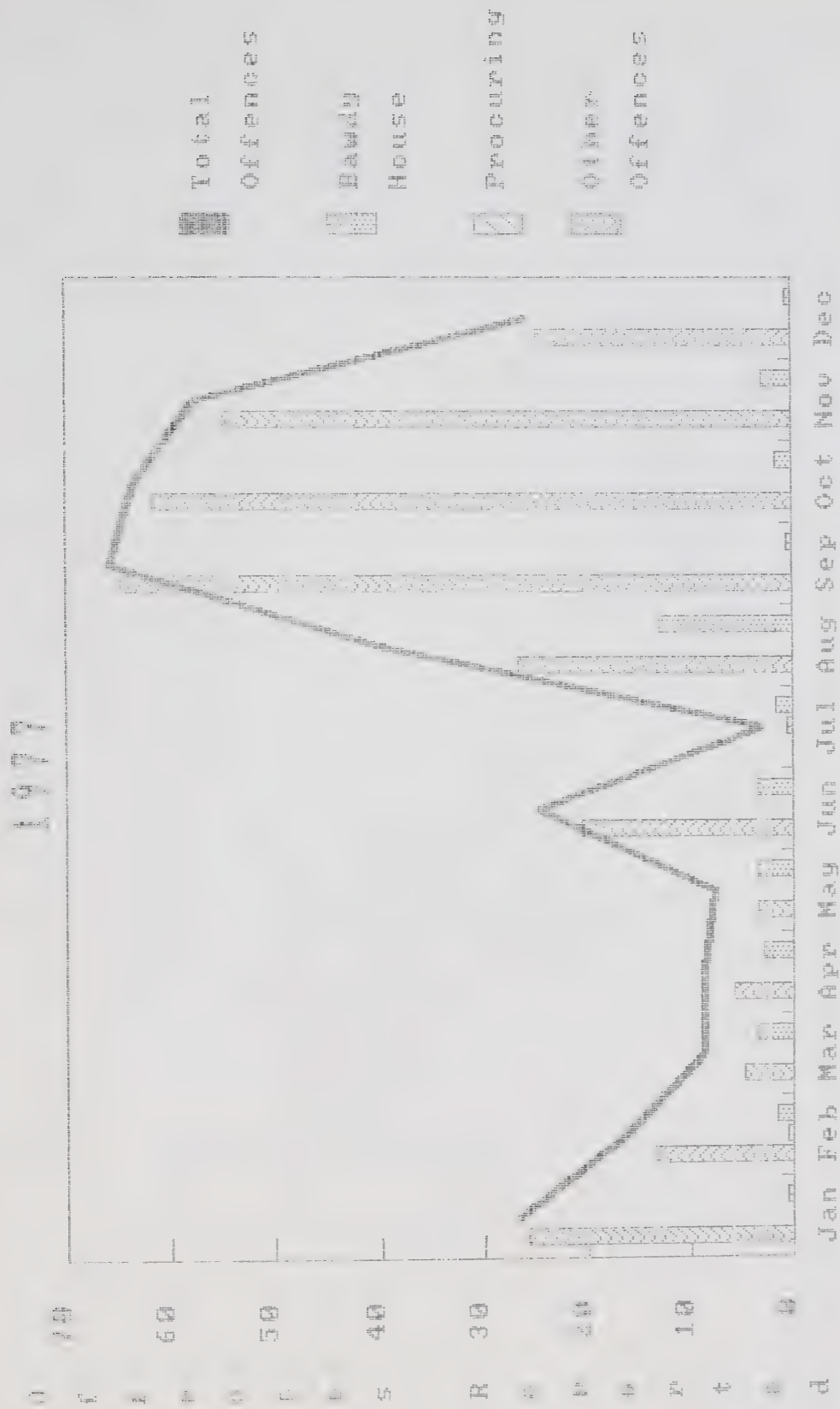
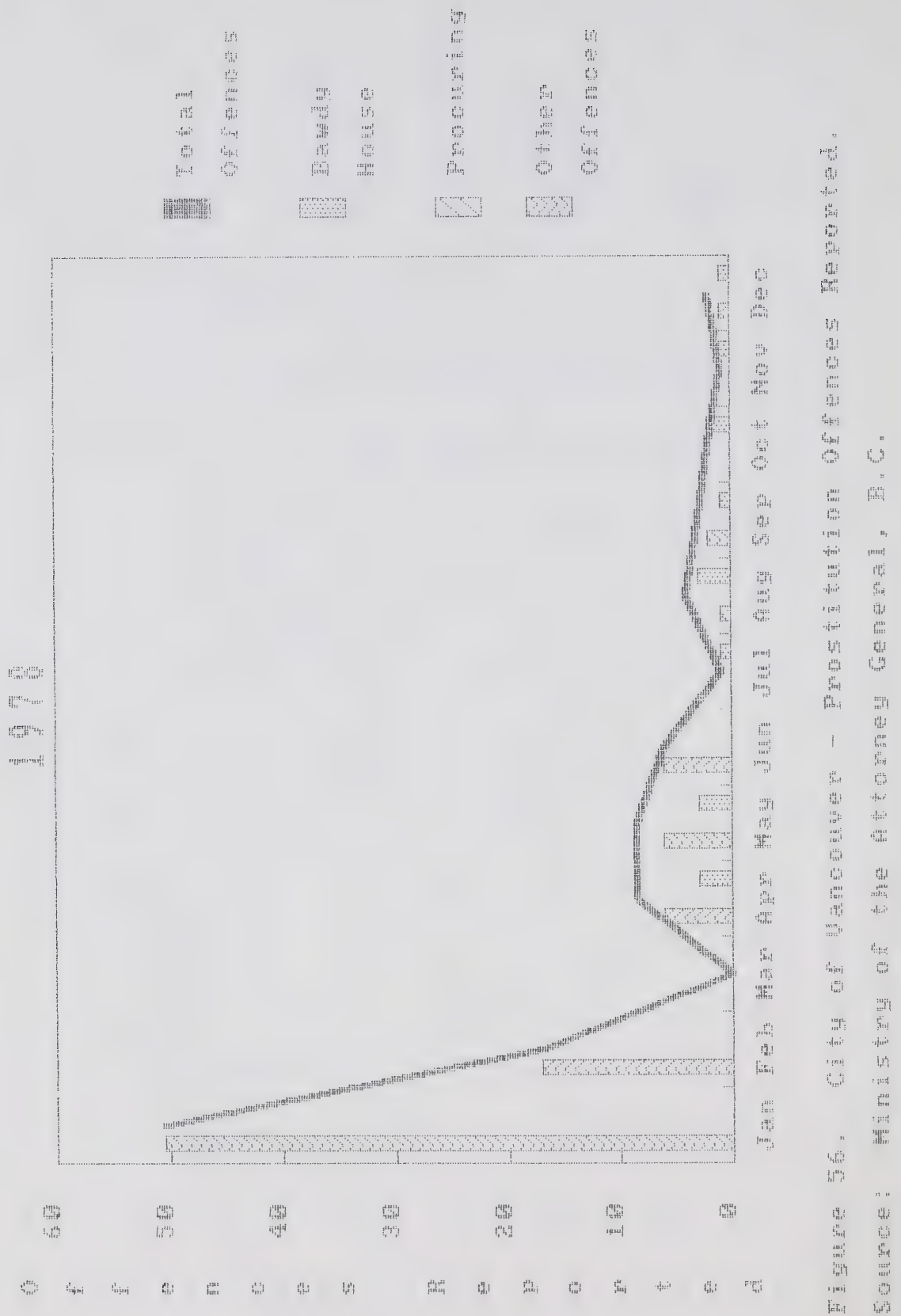
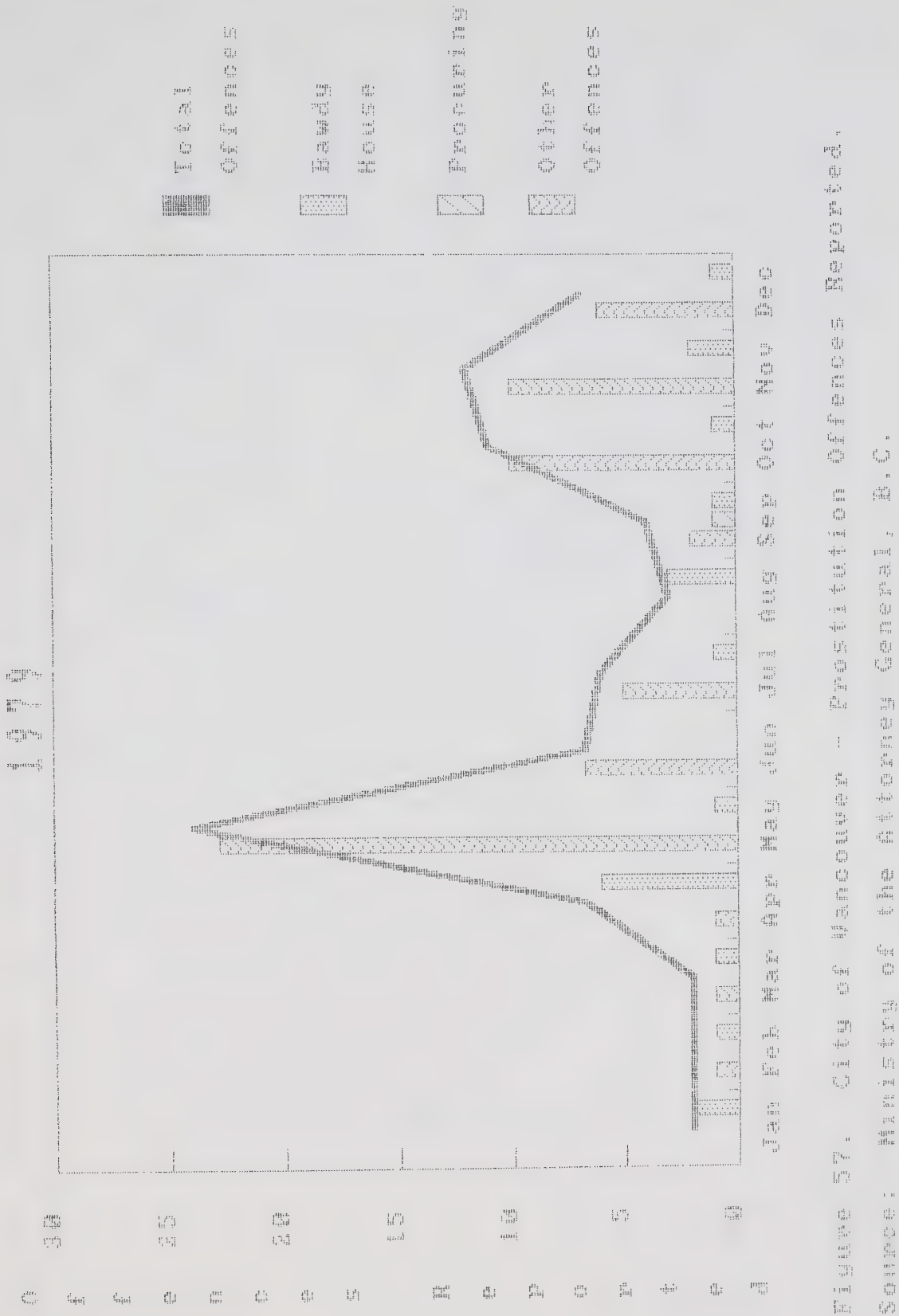


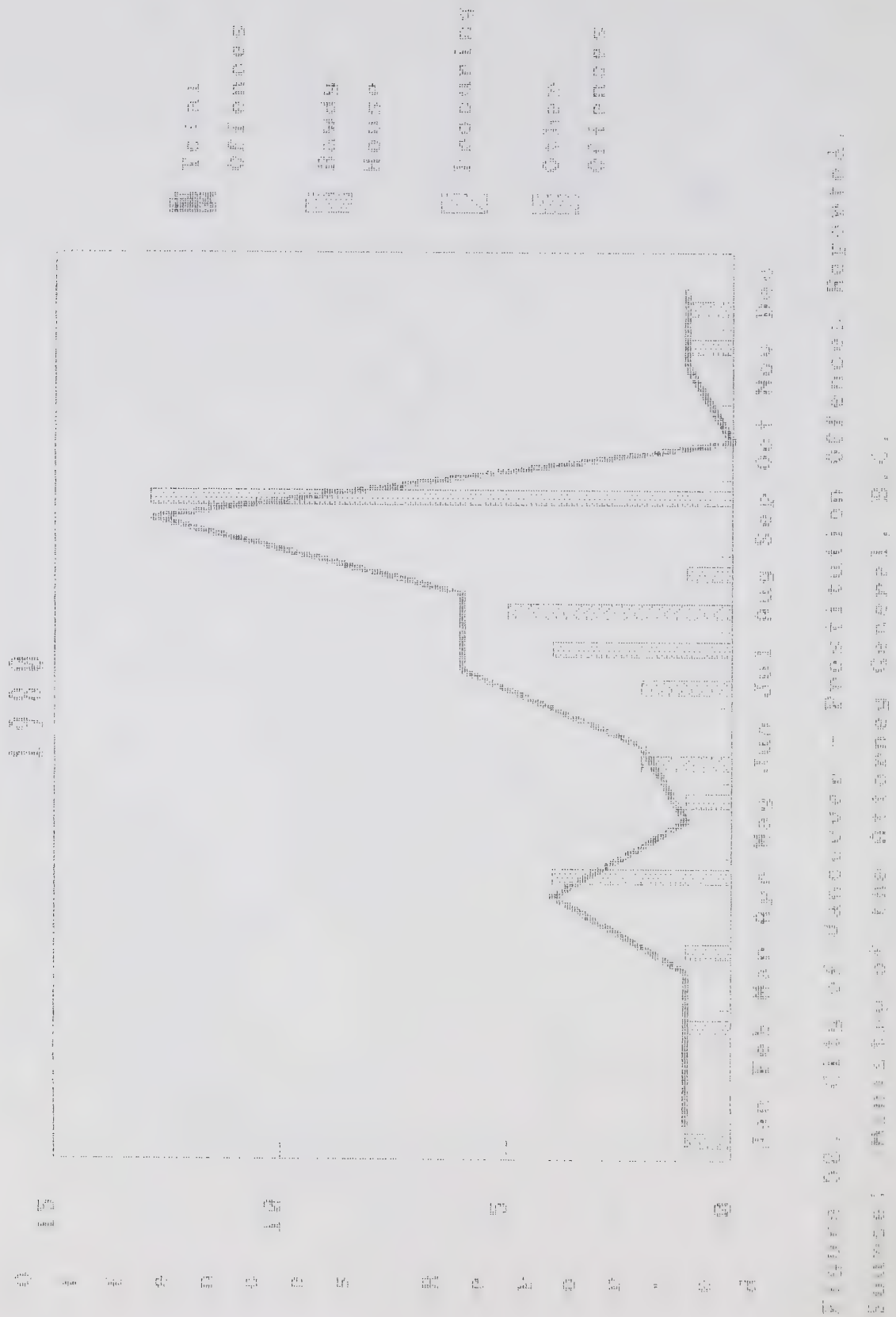
Figure 35. City of Vancouver - Prostitution Offences Reported.

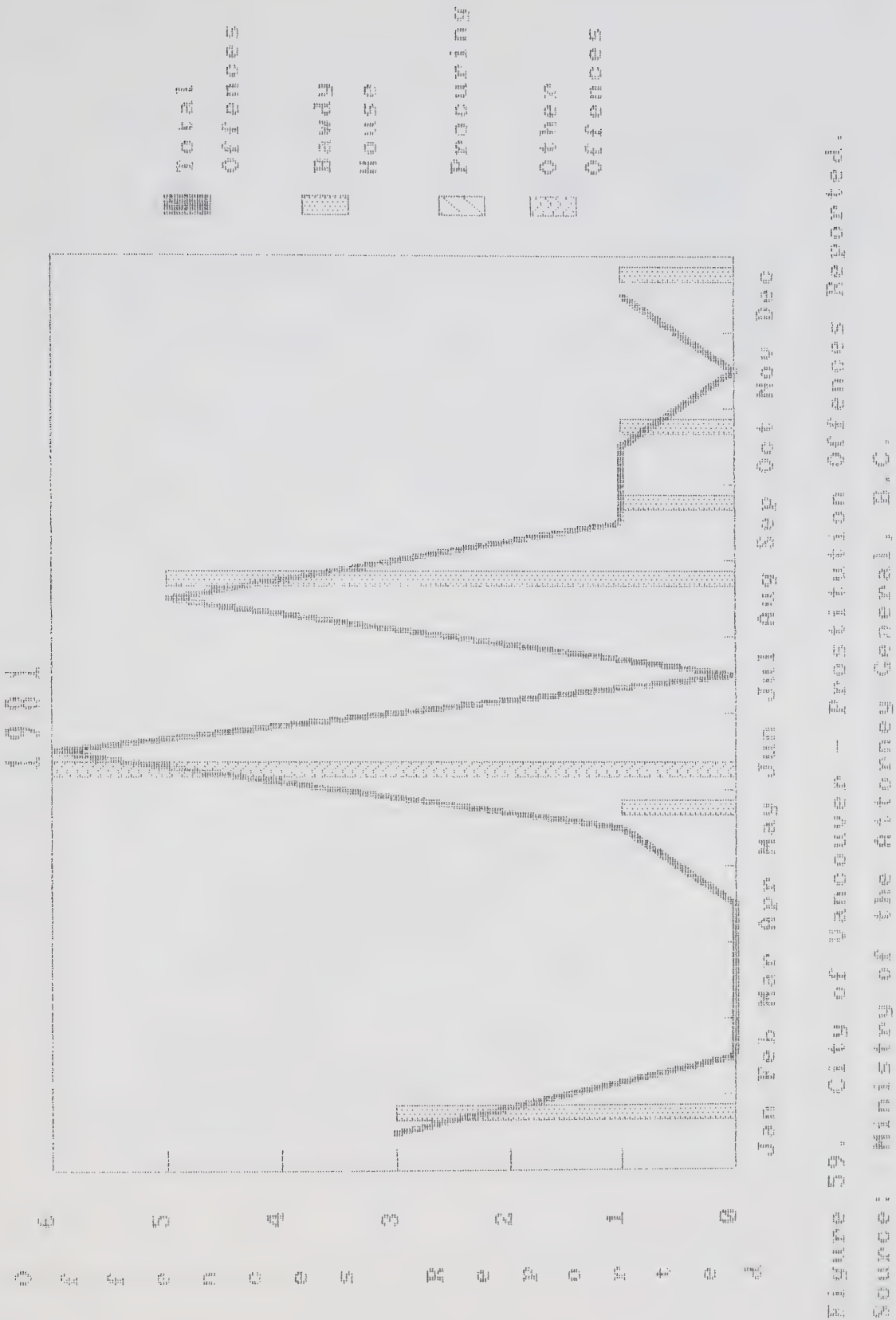
Source: Minister of the Attorney General, B.C.

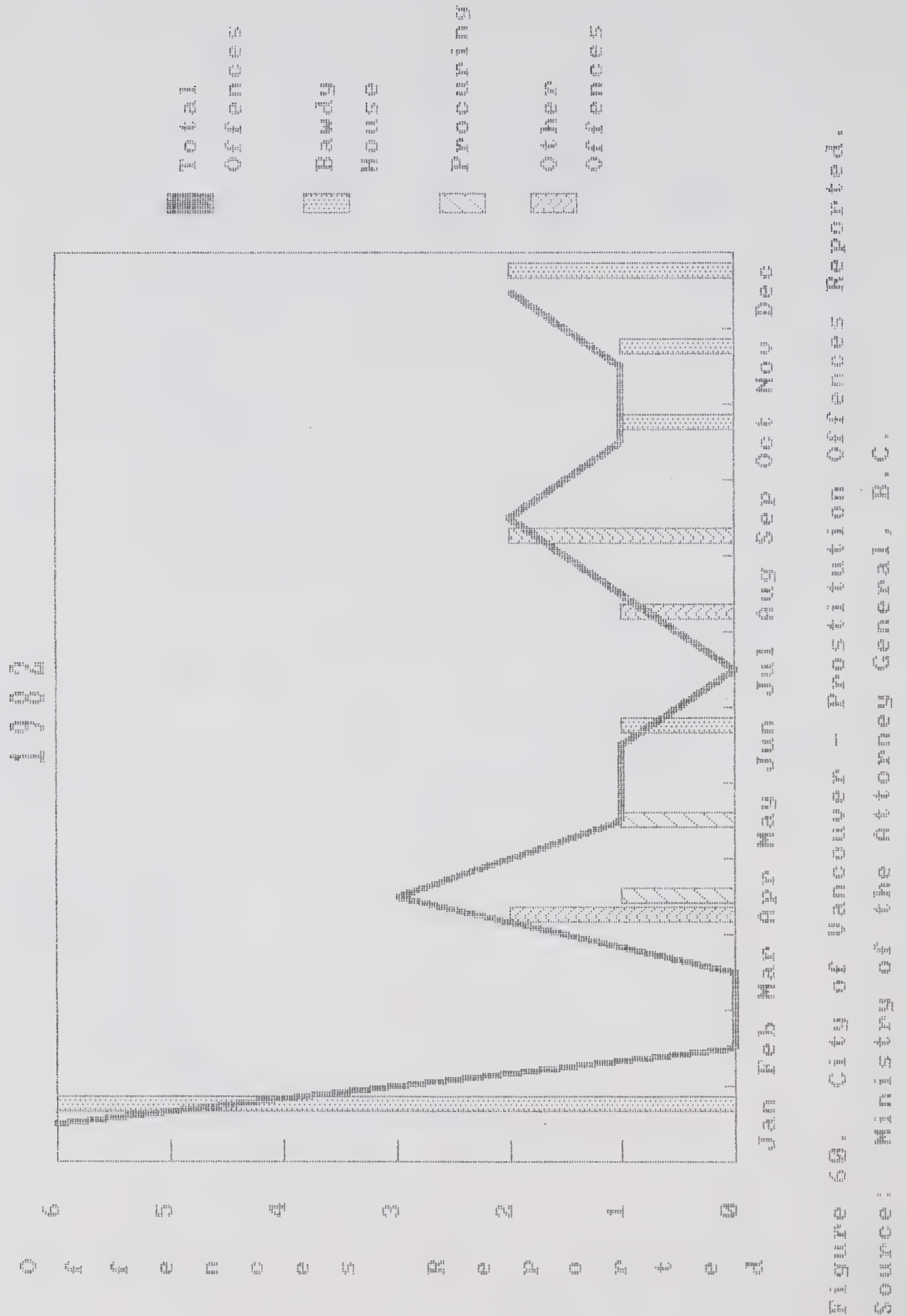


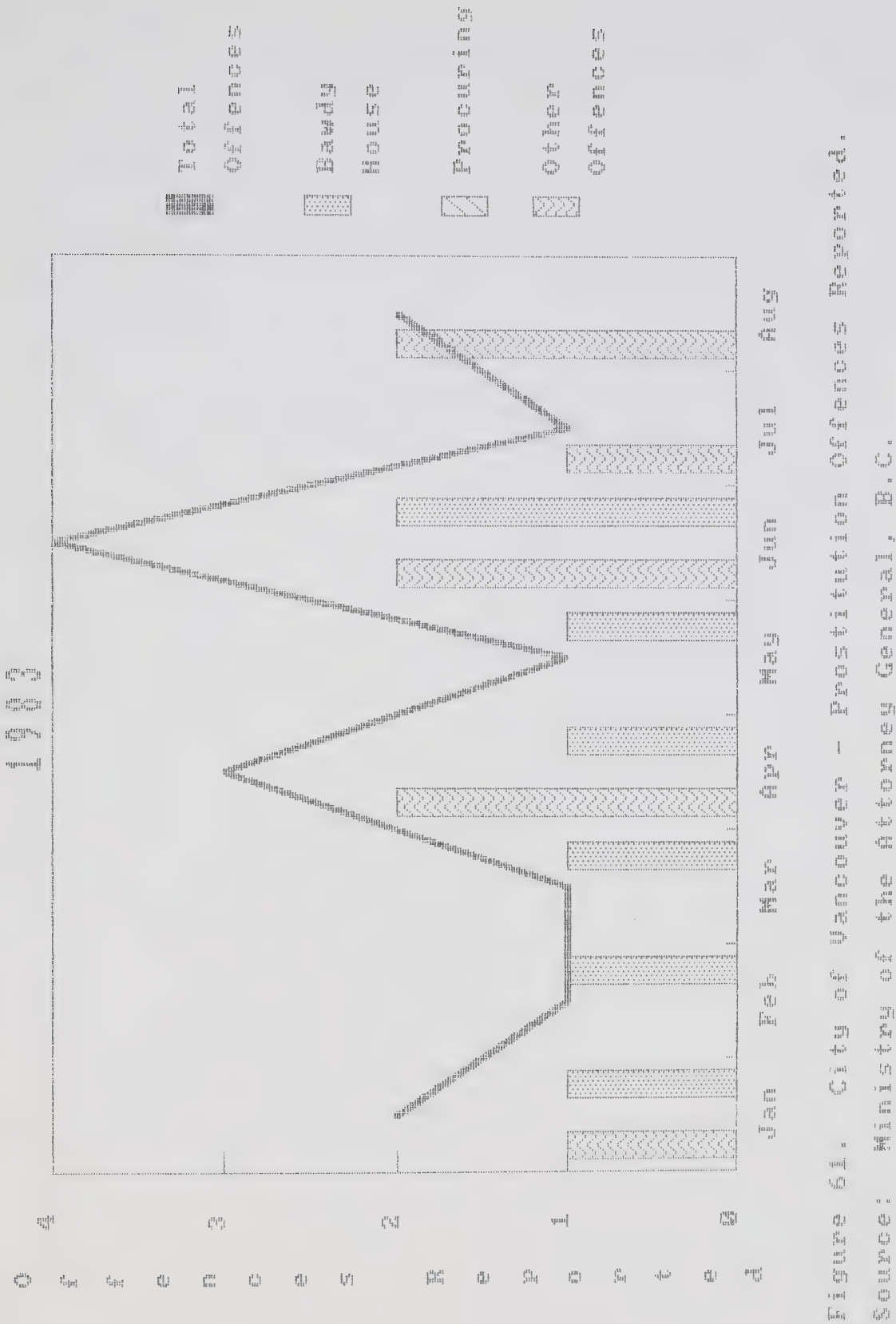
















CHAPTER III  
VIEWS FROM THE OUTSIDE:  
PROSTITUTION AS NEWS

### CHAPTER III VIEWS FROM THE OUTSIDE: PROSTITUTION AS NEWS

As a way of providing background information for the field survey we have included a thematic analysis of articles appearing in local Vancouver newspapers from 1975 to 1983. The study includes the Vancouver Sun, Province, Courier, Star and West Ender and serves to provide a chronological chart of significant incidents and events (significant, that is, in terms of their newsworthiness) related to prostitution in Vancouver (law changes, police enforcement campaigns and strategies, changes in patterns of prostitution, interest group activity etc.). The analysis provides the recent historical context of the development of prostitution in Vancouver, and also an insight into the newsprint media image of street prostitution as a social problem in Vancouver.

Four different sources have been used to compile an inventory of articles on prostitution:

1. Vancouver Public Library Newspaper Clippings Files. The staff of the Vancouver Library keep a number of clippings files taken daily from several British Columbia newspapers, one of which covers the subject of prostitution. Articles dating back to the early 70's are included in this file, but it was not until 1975 that a fairly complete coverage of news articles (as suggested by other index sources) was gathered.

2. The Simon Fraser University Library has a subject index of British Columbia newspapers, but only covering the period up to June, 1979 (more recent articles are being photocopied and are not available for the time being). The subject index includes prostitution.

3. The Canadian newspaper index consists of a subject index from a number of the largest newspapers across Canada, including the Vancouver Sun.

4. The author's own clippings file of local newspaper coverage of prostitution dating back to 1977.

In addition to the compilation of a chronology of major events from all news articles relating to prostitution over the past nine years (table 5) we also developed a list of Vancouver Sun articles identified in the sources outlined above for an analysis of the major prostitution or prostitution control themes covered, the most frequent periods of news coverage, and the events provoking

increased frequency of news coverage (the Vancouver Sun was chosen for this analysis in order to produce information which is to some extent comparable with the content analysis of eight major Canadian newspapers - including the Vancouver Sun - being prepared for the Department of Justice by Maged El Comos).

From these sources an index of 320 articles on prostitution in the Vancouver Sun was generated. Only 256 of these were actually indexed in either the S.F.U. newspaper index or the Canadian News-paper index; the other two sources yielded 64 additional articles. At the same time the two newspaper indexes yielded about 70 articles which were not included in the two clippings file sources (one problem with the Vancouver Library clippings file is that it appears that a large number of articles have been removed by various persons using the file, despite the fact that photocopying facilities are readily available in the library).

We thus feel confident that we have a fairly complete set of articles appearing in the Vancouver Sun on the subject of prostitution. It should be noted that for the most part our index refers to news articles or editorials. It includes only a small number of various "letters to the editor" published in the Sun because they are seldom included in any of the sources used to compile the index for this study.

Photocopies of all articles appearing in the Index have been obtained from the microfilm files of back copies of the Vancouver Sun in every case that a page reference was available, to supplement articles already included in the two clippings files.

## FINDINGS OF THE THEMATIC ANALYSIS OF THE VANCOUVER SUN

Because of the nature of the data generated in this analysis, the findings are fairly superficial in that they can only show the types of subject matter involved in Vancouver Sun articles. The analysis also shows the type of incidents that provoke news coverage, thus giving a sense of the perceived newsworthiness of different events and actors related to the business of prostitution and the control of prostitution. The frequency of reporting of different kinds of events, and information related to various aspects of prostitution also give an initial impression of who gets press, and under what circumstances.

Tables 2 to 5 give a summary of the main quantitative dimensions of the data generated by the thematic analysis. An interpretive commentary is provided for each table.

Table 2 depicts the number of Vancouver Sun articles on prostitution each month for the period 1978 - 1983.

Table 3 depicts the frequency of occurrence of different elements of reporting as measured by the coding categories described in Table 1.

Table 3A depicts sub-totals for groups of kindred codes.

Table 4 depicts the importance of different elements of coding as measured by their rank for the period 1978 - 1983.

Table 5 provides a chronological description of the major prostitution - related events and prostitution news themes in Vancouver newspapers generally, for the period 1976 - 1983. Prior to 1976, relatively few articles on prostitution appeared in the Sun. In 1975, for example, there were only eight articles traceable through the Canadian newspaper index and the S.F.U. library index; in 1974 12, in 1973 15, and in 1972 5.

## DISCUSSION

TABLE 2: depicting the number of articles per month in the Sun shows that an average of 52 articles were published each year in the period 1980 -1983 (an 8 - month strike began in November 1978). For the 64 of 72 months that the Sun was published in the period 1978 - 1983, an average of 5.0 articles on prostitution appeared each month.

Several periods stand out during which a disproportionate amount of attention (in a statistical sense) was given to prostitution: March in 1978, July 1980, June 1981, April and May 1982 and February 1983 were months in which the number of articles exceeded the average by a factor of two or more.

In March 1978 a combination of events marking changes in the legal milieu account for the disproportionate news coverage, the major theme of the articles being that prostitution in Vancouver would steadily worsen as a result of the Hutt decision and the Penthouse acquittals (for information on the Penthouse refer to the review of events in 1976 and 1977 included in Table 5).

The situation in July 1980, however, is somewhat different. No particular event or events seem to have provoked the disproportionate amount of news coverage - nevertheless the majority of the articles are once again directed toward what was interpreted by the journalist as as the increasingly pressing nature of the prostitution situation in the West End, particularly the increasing numbers of juveniles on the street.

In June 1981, several court cases account for the number of articles - the Wendy King case (in which a judge was implicated), the first conviction of a prostitute for soliciting in several years, and a bawdy house case. Several other articles dealt with suggestions about enforcing the soliciting law against customers, and once again the underlying theme was the perceived need for action to do something about the prostitution situation.

In April and May 1982 42 articles on prostitution and the control of prostitution were published in the Sun, the most intensive period of newscoverage in the study period. Once again, the main theme of the articles concerns the control of prostitution as the City of Vancouver introduced a by-law to attempt to move prostitutes out of the populous West End residential neighbourhood. Many of the articles are critical of the Federal Government's failure to amend statutes relating to prostitution. Attention to prostitution was further focused by the plans of a local



resident group (CROWE, the Concerned Residents of the West End, formed in 1981 - see table 6) to actively picket prostitutes and customers. In April the articles concentrate on the effectiveness of the municipal anti-street soliciting by-law. Much of the coverage relates to debates in City Council as to whether names of customers should be publicized. A considerable amount of attention was given to arguments for and against the Crown's practice of not publishing the names of persons who pleaded guilty, but publishing the names of those convicted after pleading not guilty. Also in May, there is a continuation of material on the new by-law as the first wave of enforcement brought cases before the court.

After June, although the by-law remained in effect, news coverage of enforcement activity waned. Much of the subsequent coverage of the by-law in 1982 relates to challenges to its legality in various court cases and to its effectiveness (or lack thereof) in controlling street prostitution. By the fall of 1982 it had become apparent that the by-law was not reducing the incidence of street prostitution. In February 1983, as a result of the Supreme Court decision over the Calgary by-law, the Vancouver by-law was quashed.

In February 1983, one court case (a charge of living off the avails in which the accused was acquitted) accounts for the disproportionate number of articles.

Tables 3, 3A and 4 depict the frequency of occurrence of various types of news representation and themes as defined by the coding scheme described in Table 1.

Some provisional comments about content can be made from these findings.

It is clear from Table 4 that it is not so much prostitution itself that excites a sense of newsworthiness among journalists, but the control of prostitution. The predominance in Sun articles of discussions of the municipal government reflect the strident position that local politicians have taken against the Federal Government in urging for changes of laws relating to prostitution, and the measures taken at the municipal level to control street soliciting in Vancouver's West End residential area.

As a corollary of this emphasis, a considerable amount of attention is given to police, court cases and court decisions. It should be noted that court cases and court decisions have not been coded as mutually exclusive categories. Code 4c is used only for articles where a court decision is discussed, but the same article might discuss

other unresolved aspects of the case and be coded 4b as a result. In Table 3A, therefore, the importance of Group 2 (courts) is overinflated.

Because of the frequency of the Municipal Government's criticism of the Federal Government for its failure to enact changes in prostitution law, many articles are coded as referring to both Federal and Provincial Governments. Again, the comparatively high frequency of discussions of Government decision-making indicates the relative newsworthiness of accounts of control activity, particularly when it comes to jurisdictional squabbles between different levels of government.

Citizen and business groups also receive a fair amount of attention in relation to other issues. The term "citizen groups" refers to several residents' groups organized against prostitution in Vancouver's West End, particularly CROWE (1.) The main goal of CROWE has been the displacement of street prostitution from the West End. The increase of articles on citizen groups in the period 1981 - 1983 reflects the increasingly public presentation of CROWE's campaign against street prostitution (the organization was founded in 1981). The founder of the group was subsequently contracted by the City Council to prepare briefs on conditions in the West End to report to the Fraser Committee, and has since stood for election as Alderman. The philosophies of CROWE and the City Council clearly correspond. CROWE has been one of the foremost groups attempting to shape public opinion, and has been given extensive voice through the Vancouver news media.

In contrast, support groups for prostitutes (code 15) have received sparse attention for the simple reason that until 1982 none existed. In 1982 the Alliance for the Safety of Prostitutes was formed, and received some attention in the press - but not in a proportionate amount to that given to anti-prostitution groups.

The category "business groups" refers to businesses and business organizations such as hotelier's associations and retailers associations. In 1978, several of these groups made submissions to the Vancouver City Council to suppress street prostitution in areas where their businesses were located (Granville St., Georgia St. and parts of the West End.) Despite the fact that street prostitution existed in Vancouver's West End in 1972, it was rarely depicted as a "social problem" in the West End until 1976 when its visibility, along with prostitution along on Street, appeared to be highlighted by the closing of the Penthouse Cabaret. Articles on business groups in 1978 reflect the first phase in recent years (beginning in 1976) of the

identification of street prostitution itself as a major social problem in Vancouver. Earlier accounts had focused on different issues; the relationship between prostitution and drug use, for example, had been highlighted as a problem in 1975 by a U.B.C. anthropologist in a study which excited extensive media coverage generally (Layton, 1975). This study may also have been partly responsible for initiating the police campaign against the Penthouse Cabaret; ironically the subsequent closure of the cabaret itself has often been held as responsible for the development of street prostitution in the West End despite evidence to the contrary.(2.)

There is, then, a great deal of discussion about the control of prostitution and the politics of control in the Vancouver Sun's depiction of prostitution. It is worth noting that control is usually a matter dealt with in legal terms - little attention is given to controlling factors which cause prostitution (although there is some news coverage of public commentators who raise these issues). The social service coding category re-emphasizes this observation when we find that as many of the articles under this category concerned scandals about certain social workers as they did the nature and provision of social services to prostitutes and juveniles procured for sex, more generally.

Having outlined what Sun articles most frequently include, it is also worth commenting on themes and issues that receive relatively infrequent coverage. In these articles we find that not much is said about pimps (code 14a) not much is said about crimes against prostitutes (very few of these are reported to the police - code 17a), and not much is said about customers (codes 13a-13c). While some journalists actively resist the tendency in their discussions of customers, much newspaper coverage has treated the prostitute as the problem - at least by default. Needless to say, while this partly reflects interpretations of journalists, it also reflects their factual (even if selective) reporting of interest groups and official attitudes. Relatively few articles (25 in 6 years) quote or represent the attitudes of prostitutes and juveniles procured for sex (codes 9 and 10). Fifteen articles relate to prostitutes' and juveniles' responses to control measures (codes 11 and 12). Similarly little is said about the economic needs of prostitutes, or the economic costs of the business (code 20) although there are a number of general articles on the nature of the life (code 18). And despite the argument that one of the harmful effects of street prostitution is the crime associated with it, very few articles refer to actual crimes directly related to the presence of prostitutes (code 17b), although

it should be noted that the major objections to street prostitution concern noise and other alleged nuisances.

Overall, then, what this descriptive analysis shows is the, for the most part, Vancouver Sun journalists have found prostitution law and debates about alternative forms of prostitution control the most newsworthy in their coverage of the subject during a period in which the majority of public commentators have viewed street prostitution as a social problem created by the failure of the law to control it.



## Footnotes

1. The term "citizen groups" is perhaps ill-chosen, for it is not meant to deny the citizenship of prostitutes or prostitute organizations, dealt with under the heading "support groups", but to distinguish organizations that are opposed to prostitution.

2. In any event, the closure certainly intensified levels of street prostitution in Vancouver. More recently the Hutt decision of 1977 has been held as responsible for the development of street prostitution in Vancouver's West End (usually by persons advocating the introduction of a more effective street soliciting law); there have been several phases in the discovery of the "causes" of street prostitution in the West End, with each partly reconstructing the "problem" anew.



TABLE 1: CODING SCHEME

## CODE # INTERPRETATION

1. Police reactions, enforcement, attitudes and responses.
2. Citizens' groups, residents, pressure groups, reactions, attitudes, opposition to prostitution, etc.
3. Business reactions: hotels, bars, stores etc. reactions, attitudes etc.
- 4a. Arrests.
- 4b. Court case.
- 4c. Court decision.
- 4d. Conviction.
5. Social services: juvenile or adult - oriented ("j" or "a").
6. Municipal Gov't: reactions, responses, decisions, legisla- tion etc.
7. Provincial Gov't: reactions, responses, decisions, legis- lation etc.
8. Federal Gov't: reactions, responses, decisions, legislation, etc.
9. Adult prostitutes: personal comments, anecdotes, attitudes etc.
10. Juveniles: personal comments, anecdotes, attitudes, etc.
11. Adult prostitutes: responses to police, citizens, gov't. policy and legislation, courts, social services.
12. Juveniles: responses to police, citizens, gov't. policy and legislation, courts, social services.
- 13a. Articles on the customers of adult female prostitutes.
- 13b. Articles on the customers of adult male prostitutes.
- 13c. Articles on the customers of sexually procured juveniles.

- 14a. Articles on pimping, pimps.
- 14b. Articles on persons living off the avails.
- 14c. Articles on bawdy houses, persons maintaining bawdy houses.
- 15. Support groups or organizations for the direct assistance of prostitutes: A.S.P., Women of the Night, etc.
- 16. Reported trends in prostitution: movement, area, increase or decrease in numbers, visibility etc.
- 17a. Crimes committed against prostitutes.
- 17b. Other crimes related to the presence of prostitutes and/or prostitution.
- 18. General article on prostitution: non-specific and varied in topic and detail.
- 19. Other - related to prostitution indirectly.
- 20. Economic comments about prostitution: relating to economic status of prostitutes, what prostitutes' money is spent on, etc.

TABLE 2  
NO. OF VANCOUVER SUN ARTICLES ON PROSTITUTION  
PER MONTH, 1978 - 1983

1978

2 on 1 \ /					2 on 1 \ /						
J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
1	2	15	8	5	9	6	5	5	4	STRIKE	
/ \ 2 on 3					/ \ 2 on 1					/ \ 3 on 1	

60 ARTICLES

1979

J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
STRIKE ----->						7	5	3	5	3	4
						/ \ 2 on 2	/ \ 2 on 1				

27 ARTICLES

1980

							2 on 1 \ /				
J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
0	0	1	5	6	3	12	6	1	3	3	8
							/ \ 5 on 1, 3 on 1	/ \ - 2 on 2			

48 ARTICLES

1981

								4 on 1				
								\ /				
J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D	
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
4	1	3	3	6	10	4	4	6	7	6	6	
							/ \	/ \	/ \	/ \	/ \	
							2 on 1	3 on 1	2 on 1			

60 ARTICLES

1982

				2 on 9						2 on 1		
				\ /						\ /		
J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D	
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
2	1	6	15	27	6	5	2	3	2	5	4	
			/ \	/ \						/ \	/ \	
			2 on 2*							3 on 1		

78 ARTICLES

1983

				3 on 1**								
				\ /								
J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D	
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
5	11	8	7	3	4	2	2	2	0	0	3	
/ \	/ \											
2 on 2												

47 ARTICLES

TOTAL: 320 ARTICLES

\* -ie. on two days of the months, two articles appeared

\*\* -ie. three articles appeared on one day

TABLE 3  
FREQUENCY OF RESPONSE, BY YEAR

CODE	'78	'79	'80	'81	'82	'83	T
.....							
1 POLICE	26	3	12	15	14	2	72
2 CITIZEN GROUPS	7	2	3	9	10	13	44
3 BUSINESSES	10	5	4	3	1	1	24
4a ARRESTS	7	3	2	4	4	0	20
4b COURT CASE	6	8	13	11	15	0	69
4c COURT DECI- SIONS	20	7	6	10	16	10	69
4d CONVICTION	4	4	0	0	1	0	9
5. SOCIAL SERVICE	2	3	17	9	1	0	32
6. MUN. GOVT.	19	2	5	7	45	16	94
7. PROV. GOVT.	6	1	6	1	6	1	21
8. FED. GOVT.	11	2	3	8	13	10	47
9. ADULT COMMENT	1	1	1	1	5	2	11
10. JUVENILE COMMENT	0	3	6	2	1	2	14
11. ADULT: POLICE	1	1	0	1	3	1	7
12. JUVENILE: POLICE	2	0	3	3	0	0	8
13a CUSTOMER: FEMALE	4	1	0	3	4	1	13
13b CUSTOMER: FEMALE	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
13c CUSTOMER: JUVENILE	0	1	6	0	0	1	8



Table 3 cont'd

CODES	'78	'79	'80	'81	'82	'83	T
14aPIMPS	0	0	1	0	3	0	4
14bLIVING OFF AVAILS	5	0	1	1	1	4	12
14cBAWDY HOUSE	5	0	1	2	0	0	8
15 SUPPORT GROUPS	0	0	2	1	4	7	14
16 TRENDS	2	5	3	1	6	2	19
17aCRIMES AGAINST PROST.	2	1	2	1	2	0	8
17bOTHER CRIME	4	0	2	1	0	0	7
18 GENERAL	3	1	4	1	7	5	21
19 OTHER	4	1	5	1	3	2	16
20 ECONOMICS	0	1	0	3	0	1	5
TOTAL	151	57	108	99	164	81	

TABLE 3A  
GROUPED CODE FREQUENCIES

GROUPING	'78	'79	'80	'81	'82	'83	T
.....							
1 2,3 BUSINESS	17	7	7	12	11	14	68
2 4a-d COURTS	37	22	21	25	36	10	151
3 6,7,8 GOVERNMENT	36	5	14	16	64	27	162
4 9,10 PROSTITUTE COMMENTS	1	4	7	3	6	4	25
5 11,12 PROST. REACTIONS TO CONTROL MEASURES	3	1	3	4	3	1	15
6 13a-c CUSTOMERS	4	3	6	3	4	2	22

TABLE 4: RANK ORDERS

RANK	FREQUENCY	CODE	CODE NAME
1	94	6	MUNIC. GOVT.
2	72	1	POLICE
3	69	4c.	COURT DECISION
4	53	4b.	COURT CASES
5	47	8	FED. GOVT.
6	44	2	CITIZEN GROUPS
7	32	5	SOCIAL SERVICES
8	24	3	BUSINESS REACTIONS
9	21	7	PROV. GOVT.
10	21	18	GENERAL
11	20	4a.	ARRESTS
12	19	16	TRENDS
13	16	19	OTHER
14	14	15	SUPPORT GROUPS
15	14	10	JUV. COMMENT
16	13	13a.	CUSTOMER: FEMALE
17	12	14b.	LIVING OFF AVAILS
18	11	9	ADULT COMMENT
19	9	4d	CONVICTIONS
20	8	12	JUV.: POLICE
21	8	13c.	CUSTOMER: JUV.

Table 4 cont'd.

RANK	FREQUENCY	CODE	CODE NAME
.....			
22	8	17a.	CRIMES AGAINST. PROSTITUTES
23	8	14c.	BAWDY HOUSE
24	7	11	ADULT: POLICE
25	7	17b.	OTHER CRIMES
26	5	20	ECONOMICS
27	4	14a.	PIMPS
28	1	13b.	CUSTOMERS: MALES

## TABLE 5

A CAPSULE HISTORY OF PROSTITUTION  
IN VANCOUVER AS DEPICTED  
IN VANCOUVER NEWSPRINT MEDIA  
1976-1983



## CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER 1976

Dec. 30/75 - The Penthouse, a cabaret club, to lose its liquor license effective Jan. 1/76. The club was the subject of a 6 month police investigation in 1975 which led to a series of charges against owners and employees for living off the avails of prostitution.

Jan. 6/76 - Appeal set re: Penthouse liquor license.

Jan. 15/76 - Penthouse loses liquor license appeal.

June 5/76 - U.S. man convicted for living off avails and bawdy house.

July 12/76 - Penthouse men and women committed to trial, ban on evidence.

July 31/76 - Two men charged with bawdy house and attempting to procure (massage parlour).

Aug. 27/76 - Police looking for two men attempting protection racket for prostitutes.

Sept. 1 - Dec. 18/76 - Penthouse trial: summary of trial referring to the under-cover investigation, suggestion of Mafia connections, door charges alleged to be revenue from prostitutes, cash advances on credit cards for customers of prostitutes, possible deals made with witnesses to testify.

Sept. 23/76 - Undercover police charge man for soliciting a prostitute.

Sept. 24/76 - "Hooker" problem on Davie, citizen and business complaints.

Oct. 2/76 - Man pleads guilty of soliciting charge Sept. 23/76. Oct. 16/76 Three men charged for using rooming house as bawdy house.

Oct. 22/76 - Man gets off soliciting charge because court says the embarrassment was punishment enough.

## CHARGES

June 5/76 - Man living off avails and bawdy house.

July 3/76 - Two men. bawdy house and attempted procuring.

Sept 23/76 - Man charged with soliciting prostitute.

Oct. 16/76 - Three men charged with using rooming house as bawdy house.

## CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER 1977

Jan. 6/77 - Trial set, 5 people charged with bawdy house and procuring.

Feb. 7/77 - Man charged with assaulting prostitute, burned her.

Feb. 22 - Apr. 22/77 - Penthouse trial continues, payments, favours to owners, witness corruption, conflicts of evidence, not proven all women in Penthouse are prostitutes, cash advances; Penthouse Five found guilty on April 22/77.

Feb. 25/77 - Tate case, foster home used for prostitution, group home.  
Four charged with living off the avails.

Feb. 26/77 - Four charged in living off avails case get bail.

March 8/77 - Man brought in from Bahamas, involved in Tate case.

April 6/77 - Man found guilty of kidnapping prostitute.

April 12/77 - Man guilty of robbing and demanding unnatural acts from prostitutes at gun point.

April 13/77 - Six held on morals charges, juvenile prostitution ring in West End.

April 22/77 - Police activity in West End moves prostitutes to Hornby St.

April 22/77 - Penthouse Five launch an appeal against conviction.

April 29/77 - FBI says Vancouver is a major link in prostitution ring, organized crime.

April 29/77 - Tate case (foster home used for prostitution), five sent to trial.

May 10/77 - Two men found guilty of bawdy house, \$24,000 fine.

May 12/77 - Penthouse five guilty of bawdy house, two \$50,000 fines, 60 days.

May 13/77 - Both Crown and Defense make appeal; Penthouse case.

June 6/77 - Three men charged with bawdy house, 2 Granville St. hotels.

Aug. 13/77 - Boy prostitutes now being seen on Davie, concerns about juvenile prostitution.

Aug. 15-18/77 - Articles increase on juvenile prostitution, police say media exaggerating, police say hands tied, need help from legislators, Police Chief wants Vag. C re-introduced.

Aug. 19/77 - Deborah Hutt charged with two others, bawdy house.

Sept. 8/77 - Special police squad formed to fight prostitution.

Sept. 10/77 - Article on male juveniles, need laws.

Sept. 16/77 - Two men charged with bawdy house, hotels on Granville, found guilty, get discharge and probation.

Oct. 18/77 - Police await Judge's decision on whether men can be guilty of soliciting.

Oct. 25/77 - Police want Vag. C. back.

Oct. 26/77 - Mayor says he won't ask for Vag. C. to help police.

Nov. 14/77 - Judge says customers not selling so aren't guilty of soliciting.

Nov. 16 - Dec. 20/77 - Penthouse appeal, Penthouse five win, court says income was from sources other than prostitutes.

Dec. 2/77 - City committee balks at police power to charge loitering.

Dec. 14/77 - Bawdy house charge, Olympic Steam Baths on Hastings.

Dec. 31/77 - B.C. Attorney General appealing Penthouse acquittals.

Dec. 31/77 - Hutt appeals conviction of soliciting.

## CHARGES

Feb. 25/77 - Foster group home charged with living off avails (Tate).

May 10/77 - Two men guilty of living off avails, \$24,000 fine.

June 6/77 - Three men charged with bawdy house (two Granville hotels).

Aug. 19/77 - Hutt charged.

Nov. 14/77 - Judge says man can't be guilty of soliciting.

Dec. 14/77 - Bawdy house - Olympic Steam Bath.

Dec. 31/77 - Hutt appeals conviction.



## CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER 1978

Jan. 18/78 - Federal Justice Minister promises prostitution law changes.

Feb. 7/78 - Unmarked police car not a public place, Hutt case conviction quashed.

Feb. 8/78 - Crown counsel tells police more attention should be paid to bawdy houses and procuring because of Hutt decision.

Feb. 21/78 - Police and Mayor Volrich discuss results of Hutt decision, other convictions overturned.

Mar 7/78 - Supreme Court will not hear appeal against those acquitted in Penthouse case.

Mar. 8/78 - Penthouse wants liquor license back and apology.

Mar. 9/78 - Penthouse decision means police will have to have sex with prostitute to convict suspected pimps; Vogel says municipal problem regulated by Federal Criminal Code, suggests city by-law.

Mar. 11/78 - Police and Volrich have to drop 280 soliciting charges, complain about Federal Gov't.

Mar. 14/78 - Volrich and police fear pimp war.

Mar. 17/78 - Two men get 6 months for living off the avails, one found guilty of procuring.

Mar. 17/78 - Prostitutes' numbers alleged to be increasing, no need to hide since Hutt decision.

Mar. 23/78 - Since Hutt decision, prostitutes not as afraid to report violent customers.

Mar. 30/78 - Serka (Hutt lawyer) says numbers exaggerated, suggests police not attempting to press charges in order to force law change.

Apr. 19/78 - Man's acquittal upheld; only women can be charged with soliciting.

Apr. 20/78 - Two women charged with bawdy house.

Apr. 21/78 - Increase in prostitution since Hutt, police

increase attention on bawdy houses and procuring.

Apr. 22/78 - Increase in prostitutes from U.S. said to have occurred after Hutt decision, Vancouver "Hooker Heaven."

Apr. 26/84 - Man charged with living off avails..

Apr. 28/78 - Penthouse liquor license still being debated.

May 2/78 - Federal proposal that soliciting does not have to be "pressing and persistent".

May 16/78 - Penthouse gets liquor license returned.

May 23/78 - Increase in prostitutes driving prices down, police concentrating on pimps and bawdy houses.

May 24/78 - Two convicted of bawdy house at Olympic Steam Baths.

June 5/78 - Civil servant admits indecency with a boy.

June 19/78 - West End residents complain of noise resulting from presence of prostitutes.

June 15/78 - Need Federal laws since Hutt, businesses complain, city needs new approach. Street prostitution seen as a "problem" attributable to the Hutt decision.

June 24/78 - Two charged with living off the avails, couple forced girl to work.

June 28/78 - Discussion with Justice Minister re: criminal code changes, police and Feds can't agree.

July 21/78 - Immigration begins deporting in attempt to fight prostitution.

July 22/78 - Police urge early liquor store, restaurant closure to quiet West End.

July 26/78 - Report of 22 non-Canadian prostitutes deported.

July 27/78 - White slavery trial; hints of organized crime.

Aug. 5/78 - Prostitution alleged to be threatening tourism because of mistaken propositions.

Aug. 9/78 - Discussion of the effectiveness of the soliciting law after the Hutt decision - should the police

bother?

Aug. 16/78 - City okays more police visibility, questioning, cut down loitering in West End.

Sept. 1/78 - Concerns about prostitution hurting tourism.

Sept. 14/78 - Penthouse re-opens.

Sept. 30/78 - Man convicted of living off the avails, women convicted of bawdy house, judge tells them to stay away from residential areas, drugs discussed.

Oct. 27/78 - Judge Farris seen soliciting by hotel security guard.

Oct 31/ 78 - Ritz Hotel, clerk charged with bawdy house.

Dec. 1/78 - Farris admits drinking, resigns.

Dec. 12/78 - Prostitutes moving farther west in West End.

#### CHARGES

Mar. 7/78 - Supreme Court won't hear appeal against Penthouse acquittal. Mar. 17/78 Two men get 6 months for living off the avails, procuring.

Apr. 19/78 - Man's acquittal upheld, only women can be charged with soliciting.

Apr. 20/78 - Two women charged with bawdy house.

Apr. 26/78 - Man charged with living off avails.

Apr. 28/78 - Prostitute complained, two men charged with living off avails and procuring.

May 24/78 - Two convicted of bawdy house, Olympic Steam Baths.

May 24/78 - Two charged with living off avails, forced girl to work.

Sept 30/78 - Man and two women convicted of living off avails and bawdy house.

Oct. 31/78 - Ritz Hotel clerk charged with bawdy house.

## CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER 1979

Jan. 11/79 - Legal action threatened, media coverage scares customers from Davie Street businesses.

Jan. 19-23/79 - Story on male prostitute.

Feb. 21/79 - Attempt to use undercover agents to charge for soliciting, media coverage of tape of interaction could cause charges to be dropped.

Apr. 6/79 - Jerry Wong found guilty, fined \$10,000 for bawdy house.

April 26/79 - Wendy King case, brothel, 60 men to be called as witnesses.

May 1/79 - Girls claim white slavery in Gastown, Chinatown.

May 2/79 - Two hotel employees charged with bawdy house.

May 16/79 - Following Toronto example, police harrass women with petty charges.

June 6/79 - Crackdown by police, prostitutes off streets, attempt to redefine "pressing and persistent" by number of approaches.

July 5/79 - TRACY set up for juveniles.

July 5, 9, 20/79 - Articles about juveniles, history of sexual abuse, McCarthy calls for crackdown.

July 7/79 - Wide open prostitution suggested as threatening business, tourism.

July 9/79 Police scare customers away, hookers working afternoons to avoid police.

Aug. 9/79 - Prostitutes need job training, ex-prostitute working at Gordon House.

Aug. 11/79 - Devonshire (Georgia Street) closes dining room early because of prostitutes.

Aug. 16/79 - Allen case: Judge says that in order to conduct business, prostitutes must be allowed to approach customers. Charges dropped.

Sept. 6/79 - Desk clerk in hotel found guilty of bawdy house.

Sept.7/79 - Rothwall case; prostitute bargaining for price not illegal but astute, Judge says.

Sept.14/79 - Article about juvenile prostitution.

Oct. 24/79 - King's address book sealed, suppressed, King given fine.



## CHARGES

Apr. 6/79 - Wong guilty, fined \$10,000 in bawdy house case.

May 2/79 - Two hotel employees charged with bawdy house.

June 6/79 - Attempt to redefine "pressing and persistent" by number of approaches.

Aug. 16/79 - For woman to be able to practise prostitution, she must be able to approach customers (Allen case).

Sept. 6/79 - Desk clerk found guilty of bawdy house.

Sept 7/79 - Bartering for price is astute, not illegal, charges dropped (Rothwall case).

Oct. 24/79 - King convicted, probation, fine, community work.

## CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER 1980

March 1/80 - Escort service proprietor charged with living off avails.

Apr. 9, 18, 25, 28, 29, May 2, 8, - Juvenile prostitution: social services (MHR) being charged with failure to be a fit parent, Margo St. James appointed consultant.

May 28/80 - Montreal by-law forbids anyone in public place for the purpose of prostitution, Vancouver looks into bylaw

June 16/80 - Mayor Volrich confident that Fed. Gov't. will change law so that "pressing and persistent" not needed.

June 20/80 - B.C. Court of Appeal: "soft sell" approach; can't be convicted no matter how many times a potential customer is approached.

June 20/80 - Juvenile taken into detention, man charged with gross indecency in public place, new attempt to control juvenile prostitution.

July 8/80 - Police consider licence plate numbers, phone wives, family, etc. in reference to juveniles, not done because of lack of man-power.

July 9/80 - Serka (Hutt lawyer) says not police role to develop law, just enforce it. Serka claims police don't understand the term "pressing and persistent".

July 10/80 - Investigation into juvenile prostitution indicates need for better laws, Mayor agrees.

July 26/80 - First time in three months, two women charged in Georgia/Hornby area with pressing and persistent.

Oct 23/80 - Family and Juvenile court, attempt to charge a juvenile with "incorrigible", Judge refuses, saying it is a societal and not a criminal problem.

Nov. 2/80 - Investigative co-ordinator recommends stricter laws, says 200 juveniles engaged in prostitution in Vancouver.

Nov. 28/80 - Man charged with bawdy house; rents rooms in rooming house to prostitutes, women also charged.

Dec. 2/80 - Lawyer says police charge even though no

conviction will result because women will get restriction from area as a condition for bail between preliminary hearing and trial date.

Dec. 10,22/80 - Wendy King opens book store to sell her book on prostitution.

Dec. 18/80 - Conviction on bawdy house, hotel.

Dec. 20/80 - Woman from U.S. charged with soliciting, first time in 4 months.

#### CHARGES

March 1/80 - Escort service proprietor charged with living off avails.

June 20/80 - "Soft sell" can't be considered "pressing and persistent" even if man was approached several times.

June 20/80 - Juvenile detained, man charged with gross indecency.

July 26/80 - Two women charged with soliciting.

Nov. 28/80 - Attempt to charge man with bawdy house for renting rooms to women, women also charged.

Dec. 18/80 - Conviction on bawdy house; hotel.

Dec. 20/80 - U.S. women charged with soliciting.

## CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER 1981

Jan. 9,15/81 - Juvenile prostitute dies, lack of social services criticised.

Jan 15/81 - Senator Project begins, merchants on Granville fail to block it.

Jan. 31/81 - Federal Solicitor General suggests by-law similar to Montreal for Vancouver (even though that by-law presently challenged in Supreme Court).

Feb. 3/81 - Vancouver mayor rejects such a by-law, city legal advisor says by-law would be unconstitutional

April 30/81 - Kiddie Car, Probation and Police enforce enforce probation orders.

May 26/81 - Police charge 14 year old with bawdy house. mayor considers street nuisance by-law.

May 27/81 - Suicide of one hooker and arrest of another, Grace McCarthy pressures Feds. to change juvenile laws.

June 6/81 - West End protest prostitutes, suggest branding customers' cars, taking pictures.

June 10/81 - Article on West End Senator Youth project.

June 12/81 - Police lay 3 soliciting charges; first in 5 months.

June 19/81 - Supreme Court - 2 prostitutes approaching eight men doesn't constitute "pressing and persistent".

June 21/81 - Hotel owners responsible when prostitute uses room, Dufferin Hotel guilty of Bawdy House. 3 clerks fined \$7,500.00.

June 23,26/81 - Man with 14 year old prostitute,man's identity kept secret.

July /81 - Several articles urging charging of customers.

July 3/81 - Police officer said no 4 times but still not "pressing and persistent"; the officer told the prostitute where he was staying and therefore showed degree of co-operation.

July 8/81 - Undercover operation leads to charge of Massage Parlour as bawdy house.

Aug. 3/81 - Two women charged with bawdy house and 1 man with living off the avails.

Aug. 10/81 - Prostitute charged with loitering, case thrown out of court.

Aug. 11/81 - Devonshire Hotel closes dining room early because of prostitutes.

Sept. 4/81 - Case dismissed - saying no three times was the refusal of a "shy man".

Sept. 10/81 - Seventeen year old girl charged with bawdy house.

Sept. 29/81 - Beginning of CROWE.

Nov. 3/81 - Scandal at Senator - staff/client sexual relations suggested.

Nov. 3/81 - Bawdy house conviction.

Nov. 3/81 - Police tactics to control West End - 1) ticketing, 2) visibility, 3) diverters.

Nov. 18,23, 26,27/81 - Prostitutes laugh at diverters, say good for business, slows down traffic.

Nov. 26/81 - CROWE says increased violence in West End because of prostitutes, says city trying but Feds. aren't.

Dec. 1/81 - Supreme Court rules that plying trade energetically is not persistence.

Dec. 3/81 - Expect violence in West End, pimps are violent, Harcourt predicts vigilantes by summer.

#### CHARGES

May 26/81 - Police charge 14 yr old with bawdy house.

June 12/81 - Police lay 3 soliciting charges.

June 19/81 - Supreme Court rules that 2 women approaching eight men is not "pressing and persistent".

June 21/81 - Hotel owner responsible - Dufferin Hotel.

June 23/81 - Customer's identity kept secret - 14 year old



prostitute.

July 3/81 - Prostitute not guilty because policeman co-operated in some ways, even though saying no.

July 8/81 - Undercover leads to Bawdy House charge - massage parlour.

Aug. 3/81 - 2 women charged with Bawdy Bouse charge, man with living off the avails.

Aug. 10/81 - Prostitute charged with loitering, case dismissed.

Sept. 4/81 - Soliciting case dismissed, polite refusals that of a shy man.

Sept. 10/81 - 17 year old charged with Bawdy House.

Nov. 6/81 - Bawdy house conviction.

Dec. 1/81 - Supreme Court rules plying one's trade energetically not "pressing and persistent".

## CHRONOLOGICAL REVIEW 1982

Feb. 25/82 - CROWE intends to picket prostitutes and customers, claiming that similar groups exist in Halifax, Montreal, Calgary; hope to pressure Federal Govt. Mar. 8/82 CROWE urges legalization of brothels.

Mar. 18/82 - Description of talks between Federal and Municipal Govt.s; Mayor goes to Ottawa.

Mar. 21/82 - Federal Justice Minister tells Vancouver Mayor to go ahead with by-law, give police powers of overnight detention & arrest. Mentions Bill C-53 help for juveniles but not adults.

Mar. 24,25/82 - Criticism of by-law, poorly written, infringement of rights, Mayor a bully.

Mar. 31/82 - Police say by-law inept, appeal to Feds.

Apr. 6/82 - Vancouver Council says by-law inept, appeal to Feds.

Apr. 7/82 - By-law begins, Mayor states that by-law only intended to control street prostitution - "be discreet, don't use the street".

Apr. 13/82 - First charges under by-law laid.

Apr. 23/82 - CROWE demonstrates in the West End, attack on Federal Govt., police warn prostitutes to stay off street.

Apr. 27/82 - First conviction under by-law (of a man subsequently fired from his job as a result).

Apr. 29/82 - Reduction of prostitutes in West End, Georgia Street, since by-law - claim that it works.

May 5/82 - Fifth person fined (\$350.00) on prostitution charge.

May 6/82 - Harcourt switches, will give anonymity to accused if they plead guilty and pay fine. Persons pleading not guilty will be named.

May 9/82 - First mention that by-law could be opposed on legal grounds.

May 11/82 - Attorney General says use all names of customers charged; it would be bribery if accused plead guilty and then allowed anonymity as a result.

May 14/82 Reward for guilty plea, criticized by B.C. Civil Liberties.

May 17/82 - Calgary by-law challenged.

May 19/82 - First challenge to by-law, court stays proceedings.

May 19/82 - Decision that all customers' identities will be published.

May 24/82 Men and prostitutes being charged, a total of 110 summonses, by-law doesn't discriminate between prostitutes and clients.

May 26/82 By-law challenge July 5, prosecuted cannot stay a charge.

June 2/1982 - Police still continue to charge under by-law even though challenge imminent.

July 6/82 - Police alleged to be too busy on other cases so prostitutes working again.

July 31/82 Enforcement of by-law being stepped up despite challenge.

Aug. 6/82 Washington slayings (Green River murders) cause Seattle prostitutes to move to Vancouver.

Sept. 16/82 By-law upheld but going to Supreme Court.

Sept. 27/82 - Sally DeQuadros, Rape Relief call for change of legislation, decriminalize prostitution.

Sept. 28/82 - First stage of appeal against by-law.

Oct. 20/82 - Parking lot is not street so women acquitted.

Nov. 20/82 - A by-law case is dismissed.

Dec. 9/82 - Courts backed up because of so many prostitution charges under the by-law.

Dec. 10/82 - Prostitutes busy despite by-law.

## CHARGES

May 19/82 - First challenge of by-law, prosecutor stays proceedings, but the stay is found illegal.

Sept. 16. By-law found legal but going to Supreme Court.

Oct. 20/82 - Parking lot not street, case dismissed.

May-Dec./82 A series of charges under the new Vancouver by-law.

## CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER 1983

- Jan. 26/83 - Supreme Court rules Calgary by-law unconstitutional.  
Vancouver by-law to be removed.
- Feb. 3/83 - Vancouver by-law scrapped - all outstanding charges dropped.
- Feb. 11/83 - Living off the avails trial - Foslette case.
- Feb. 12/83 - Foslette acquitted
- Feb. 16/83 - Prostitution by-law rescinded.
- Mar. 3/83 - Harcourt says West End being taken over, people will move out.
- Mar. 3/83 - Pat Carney reports to Justice Committee, advocates stronger soliciting laws.
- Mar. 18/83 - Mayors accross Canada to pressure Federal Govt. to change prostitution law.
- Apr. 21/83 - Prostitutes march to protest proposed law changes.
- Apr. 22/83 - CROWE women demand new law to get hookers off street.
- May 12/83 - Escort agency charged with living off the avails. Pat Rae Harrison case.
- May 15, 18, 19, June 10/83 - CROWE complains of West End noise. Mayor alleges that banks deny loans to West End businesses. Banks deny allegation.
- June 23/83 - Alliance for the Safety of Prostitutes meeting approved at Denman Centre.
- Aug. 24/83 - Vancouver Multicultural Womens' Association - in brief presented to Fraser Delicia Crump states that women have no power.
- Aug 25/83 - CROWE gets funding from city council.
- Aug. 30/83 - CROWE founder Gordon Price lobbying, Fraser Committee on pornography and prostitution formed.
- Sept. 24/83 - Women in West End being harrassed, CROWE



spokesman recommends brothels.

Oct. 6/83 - Pat Carney blames liberal gov't. for juvenile trade.

Oct 24/83 - Gordon Price resigns from CROWE to be West End consultant to City Council.

Dec. 9/83 - Mayor states that Federally sponsored study of prostitution is a waste of time.

#### CHARGES

Jan. 26/83 - Supreme Court rules Calgary by-law unconstitutional.

Feb. 11/83 - Foslette case - living off avails, acquitted

May 12 - Escort agency living off avails.



CHAPTER IV  
VIEWS FROM THE CONTROL PERSPECTIVE:  
INTERVIEWS WITH POLICE

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VIEWS FROM THE CONTROL PERSPECTIVE:  
INTERVIEWS WITH POLICE

While the study of official police statistics on prostitution offers one perspective on the nature of control practices, it is a fairly superficial one. It offers little understanding of the actual nature of policing prostitution, the difficulty the police experience in interpreting legal statutes, or the impact of decisions made in case law. Nor does the study of official statistics tell us much about the informal tactics of police line-officers used on the street to control prostitution in a legal environment which many of them perceive as generally ineffective for control purposes, and the investigative strategies that founder through such factors as insufficient evidence (what is "sufficient" evidence can often only be decided in court) or the unwillingness of witnesses to testify. The analysis of newspaper reporting helps to fill some of these gaps, but newspaper reporting itself appears to be selective to the point that the description of control activity that it provides is difficult to interpret because it is partial and may often be biased. The study consists of a schedule of interviews with 15 police officers with a further 5 self-administered questionnaires using the interview format (7 vice squad detectives - either currently or recently in the vice squad - and 13 patrol officers working in team areas which cover the major street prostitution strolls). The interview study thus complements the other perspectives on control that we have developed, although it, too, has limitations. We would have liked to develop a participant-observer or observer study of policing in the main areas of street prostitution, but recent problems experienced by Vancouver police and local criminological researchers led us to the conclusion that such an in-depth study would present too many difficulties at this particular time. The interviews became the only feasible alternative. Some comment about the nature of recent problems arising from police research is warranted in order to understand the logic of the way we have proceeded methodologically.

Without going into the details of the incident, a problem arose recently over a study of certain police practices and the nature of the criticism of these practices that one of the study reports contained. On the one side of the argument, the police suggested (among other things) that criticisms contained in the research report were unfair and not justifiable, and argued that the research should not be published. On the other hand, the researcher argued that such an action would curtail the

cherished right of academic freedom to the extent that any published research is open to criticism, and thus would stand or fall according to its own merit.

As of the time of writing, the main outcome of this dispute has been a ban by the Police Union Executive of their membership's involvement with that researcher and all other faculty in the University Department to which that person belongs. The problem thus presented for the Vancouver Prostitution Field Study was that although the study was conducted independently of any University, the principal researcher is a member of the University department involved in the police research controversy. It was for this reason that a purely descriptive interview study was chosen in which we simply attempted to represent the experiences and attitudes of a small sample of Vancouver policemen who frequently interact with prostitutes. Such an approach would allow us to use a methodology which gained information about informal police perspectives on the control of prostitution which would be represented as that and simply that. It should be noted that the information collected does not represent the official policy or opinion of the Vancouver Police Department; instead it is designed to provide a "window" through which to view the experiences of police involved with the control of prostitution; their attitudes, their feelings, their frustrations and their satisfaction (or, alternatively, their disillusionment) with their experiences in attempting to enforce prostitution law, or exercise control in the areas where street prostitution attracts so much media attention. As such, we hoped that the Police Department would not perceive our research effort as threatening their interests -although it should be clear enough from a letter of agreement signed by the Police Union President and the principal researcher that they did not attempt to censor direct criticism of police prostitution control practices (see Appendix B) and at the same time we hoped to prevent their interests from threatening the academic freedom that must be allowed if objective research is to be conducted. We also signed an agreement with the police contact person assigned to select interview subjects allowing his scrutiny of the final report.

To the extent that these agreements were signed, however, an important caveat should be mentioned: their signing should not be interpreted as a precedent for future research conduct. This is a matter which requires further discussion between the various parties involved.

These agreements were signed because the study was originally designed to be purely descriptive. As such, it



represents a small component of our overall research effort, an effort which was not designed for the most part specifically as a study of police practices. If it had been, the agreement with the Police Union would not have been signed. In that event, the research would probably not have been conducted at all. While it is vital that researchers safeguard the confidentiality and anonymity of their subjects (item 2 of the Police Union Agreement), if objective research is to be carried out which is potentially critical of any group the objectivity of the criticism is surely compromised if that group holds the power to potentially influence or suppress its contents. Once any research report enters the public domain it too may be subject to criticism, and will stand or fall of its own weight. It is at that point that any subject group has the right and ability to answer criticism, or demonstrate its inappropriateness. The accused in a trial, after all, does not have the right to modify the arguments of the prosecution before they are presented, only to respond to or reject them after the fact. And it should be recognized that both researchers and police are constantly "on trial" to the extent that much of their conduct, because of its social impact, must be open to public discussion, evaluation and criticism.

The Police Union agreement also requested that we delete two questions from the interview which asked for the respondents' perception of the reason why clients patronize prostitutes or procure juveniles. It was suggested that as these two questions did not relate to police enforcement practices they should be deleted. We complied with this request. Fifteen interviews with police officers selected by our contact person were completed, and a further five were self-administered and returned to the research project Post Office Box.

As a descriptive study this report simply strives to present the main quantitative dimensions of the information provided by the interviews and questionnaires with interpretive commentary when appropriate.

The interviewer's reactions to the questionnaire and his experiences with our subjects are included in the final section of this chapter.

## THE INTERVIEW FORMAT

A copy of the interview schedule/questionnaire is included in Appendix C. The interview was structured around seven clusters of questions: A -the first section provides general information about the respondent - age, time in the force, level of education and experience with different types of policing. B -the second section provides a description of the respondents current police role, the purpose of different styles of policing prostitution, and the style of recent investigative activities (unfortunately none of our information relates to the series of injunctions recently brought against street prostitutes in the West End in May 1984 because the interviews and questionnaires had been completed by that time). C -the third cluster of questions requests respondents to describe certain aspects of their prostitution-related policing experience. D -the fourth section examines the use of and problems associated with particular types of law enforcement and control procedures. E -the fifth section records attitudes about proposed legal changes (using the same format as that included in the Social Services and Prostitute questionnaires). F -the sixth section provides information about respondents perceptions of prostitution in Vancouver, G - the final section poses a series of general questions about prostitutes and prostitution related to earnings, reasons for persons becoming prostitutes, reasons for pimps' participation in the business, the difficulties associated with leaving the business, and the desire of prostitutes to stay in or leave the trade.

## CODING AND CLASSIFYING RESPONSES - SOME CAVEATS

It should be recognized that because most of the questions in the interview are open-ended rather than precoded (we did not have the opportunity to properly pre-test the instrument), the classification of answers often requires the coder to make judgement calls in distinguishing different types of answers. For this reason, care should be taken in interpreting the various response tables included in Appendix B. In the interpretation of answers we have amalgamated some codes, or at least point to their kindred nature where appropriate. We have also attempted to avoid drawing too much significance from small differences in response frequencies. When discussing different sub-groups of our twenty police respondents (Vice Squad, Patrol Teams 1,2 and 3) we only discuss differences where they are particularly striking; the small sizes of the subgroups make their statistical differentiation plausible only in the cases where answers reveal an almost unanimous within-group agreement, and between group disagreement. Even then, it must be acknowledged that such differences would probably not be statistically different because of the small size of the sample. Also, our codes and frequencies mostly represent instances where 3 or more respondents have given essentially the same answer to a question. Although we lose some detail in this way, when dealing with a group of twenty responses, it is the fairly obvious patterns of answers that we have attempted to emphasize.

It should also be recognized that because our interview was not adequately pretested some of the questions overlap, and could be regrouped in a variety of ways. In preparing these research notes, we have not attempted to provide a more logical re-grouping of questions - we have simply not had enough time to do anything more than a very general descriptive overview of the information generated by the interviews and remove redundancies whenever possible.

It should be noted that because the majority of questions allow multiple responses, non-responses are also recorded in the various tables. The range of answers for single response questions are also included where appropriate.

The text should be read in conjunction with the tables.  
TABLE NUMBERS CORRESPOND WITH QUESTION NUMBERS.

## RESULTS OF INTERVIEWS: A WINDOW ON THE PRACTICE OF PROSTITUTION CONTROL

### GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SUBJECT GROUP (Q. 1-6):

We cannot claim that our sample of police personnel is either randomly chosen or statistically representative of Vancouver police officers in general. We do not know what effect the procedure for selecting officers (respondents were chosen by our police contact person) may have had in biasing the information we have received, although we do know that all the officers interviewed have had direct experience in the policing of prostitution (all but one of the officers were actively involved in the policing of prostitution at the time of interview). We thus asked a series of questions which serve to describe some general characteristics of the subject group.

The average age of our subject group was 36 years (q.1) with an average of 12 years of experience as a police officer (q.3). All of our respondents were male. Fourteen of the officers had completed some college or university education, two had completed degrees or diplomas, three had completed grade 12 and one less than grade ten. Thirteen of the sample group worked as patrol officers, seven as vice squad officers. The group includes officers with a wide variety of policing experiences (see frequency tables for q.5a and 5b) including an array of special units and task forces.

The thirteen patrol officers all worked (at the time of interview) in patrol areas in which prostitution "strolls" are located (for maps of the strolls see Ch. 8). Four worked in Team One, the patrol area covering the West End stroll; two worked in Team Two, including the Granville St. and West Georgia strolls; and seven in Team Three, which includes the Hastings St. "skid road" area and the Chinatown stroll (q.7). Our subject group thus included officers working in all the major prostitution strolls (with the exception of the East Broadway area which is not one of the major strolls at present). In the analysis we have tabulated general responses for all subjects, and, where appropriate, differences between vice squad and patrol officers, and for patrol officers, differences between the responses of officers in the three different Team patrol areas. The first section of the interview, however, addressed specific sets of questions to either patrol or vice officers in order to establish certain differences in their styles of police work.

### DESCRIPTIONS OF WORK ACTIVITY - POLICE PATROL OFFICERS



(Q. 7-14):

In attempting to establish the amount of time patrol officers spend policing prostitution we asked a series of questions about the percentage of time spent patrolling prostitution strolls, the amount of time spent on activity related to specific prostitution offenses, and the amount of time spent on investigations of crimes or problems that were perceived as being associated with the presence of prostitution.

Overall, our 13 uniform officers estimated that an average of 55% of their patrol time was spent policing the various prostitution strolls (q.8), with answers ranging from 10 to 100% (by "patrol time" we mean the time actually spent on the streets or patrolling licensed premises, visits to residences etc). Not suprisingly, the average amount of time estimated by those working in the West End (Team 1) was considerably higher - 66% - than the averages for officers working in the Chinatown and skid road areas (Team 3) - 26%. This difference probably reflects two factors: firstly, the size of the West End stroll - it covers the largest area of any of the strolls; and second, the public and political pressure to control the most visible aspects of prostitution in the West End (which is a residential area, whereas the other two patrol areas contain mostly commercial land uses).

As might be expected, patrol officers spend very little of their time on investigations which might lead to charges under the specific criminal code statutes relating to prostitution - bawdy house, procuring, living off the avails, etc. - since these are mainly the province of specialised police teams, the vice squad in particular. Patrol officers estimated that they spend an average of 2% of their time on these kinds of investigations whereas the vice squad members interviewed (most of whom are concerned specifically with "morality" offenses) estimated that an average of 58% of their time was spent on activity related to prostitution offenses (q.16). Of course it is quite possible that a vice squad officer might spend all of his/her time on a particular type of prostitution offense, a reflection of administrative requirements and the general structuring of the activities of vice squad members.

Patrol officers give a rather different account of their activity when requested to assess the amount of time they spend on offenses and problems that can be related to prostitution in some way (drug crimes, assaults, thefts, resident complaints, etc.). Our thirteen patrol officers



estimated spending an average of 28.5% of their patrol time on prostitution related problems, with the average for the four West End respondents being noticeably higher - 45%; once again the image of the West End as a "trouble" spot is reconfirmed, although it must be remembered that these figures are the officers' rough estimates of the various components of their control activity.

In describing the purpose of General Patrol (q.11) in controlling prostitution there was a great deal of uniformity among our respondents in the answers they gave. Eight officers maintained that patrol served to control the nuisance factors associated with prostitution - to protect residents from harassment in the street, to control traffic and to generally protect the neighborhood. Seven respondents mentioned the control of crime related to the presence of prostitution - in a sense another type of "nuisance" associated with the street trade. Four officers noted that patrol fulfilled the classic prophylactic function of Canadian (and much other prostitution) law - to keep street prostitution in one area and to control and curtail expansion. Probably all our respondents would agree that if this is the purpose of the law, it is designed in such a way that general police patrol (and, for that matter, any other kind of police strategy) is ill-equipped to fulfill the goal of the law (see also q. 28, 33). Notably, only two officers mentioned patrol as a means of keeping juveniles off the streets, thereby supporting the general impression that very little legal action is taken (either because of the way the law is designed and/or enforced) against the sexual procurement of juveniles. Only one officer mentioned the visibility of police patrol as a deterrent to customers, although this may well have been included by other officers under the category related to control of general nuisances related to prostitution. Indeed five officers did mention patrol visibility as a means of deterring tricks in their answer to q.12 ("What kind(s) of policing measures do you use to control prostitution in General Patrol").

In the responses to q.12, a description of policing measures used by patrol officers to control street prostitution, we find that the main strategies employed involve informal procedures and use of legal mechanisms which are either not directly related to prostitution at all, or only indirectly related to it. Nine officers mentioned the use of traffic laws, and nine mentioned the use of routine identity checks of prostitutes as direct methods for maintaining a sense of order. Four officers mentioned general harassment, and three the use of jaywalking and/or littering charges. Five officers reasserted the importance of general patrol visibility

itself as a control technique. What one gains from this impressionistic sketch is an image of policing which depends on the resourcefulness and imagination of the individual officer to facilitate some sense of order and control (in the context of the way the officers perceive order) in the prostitution strolls without any recourse to legal statutes which relate directly to the control of prostitute and customer activities. Control, if it is achieved at all, is facilitated by mechanisms which are essentially tangential or peripheral to the actual activity being controlled. It may well be for this reason that most police officers we have interviewed have little faith in their overall ability to do very much more than "keep the lid on things" (as one officer put it), and very often they feel that they cannot even do that. These observations are confirmed by the answers to q.31 - "What types of control measures have been used since the Hutt decision to control street prostitution": seventeen officers mentioned I.D. checks; the reporting of people to immigration and the stopping and ticketing of drivers were each mentioned by sixteen officers (The close collaboration between the police and immigration attests to Vancouver's attractiveness to American prostitutes and pimps); sixteen officers also mentioned the practice of following prostitutes; fourteen officers mentioned photographing prostitutes, and twelve mentioned high patrol visibility.

What these figures indicate is that even though the police perceive current prostitution laws as ineffective (see particularly q.28) a great deal of police energy and time is devoted to gathering intelligence and facilitating tangential control.

DESCRIPTIONS OF WORK ACTIVITY - DETECTIVES  
(Q. 15-17):

As noted above, the average amount of investigative time spent on prostitution related activity by the seven vice squad detectives we interviewed was 58%, with a range of 0 to 100% (q.15). Of that time, an average of 14% had been spent on street soliciting (although it should be noted that three respondents said 0%, and one did not answer the question) 8% on procuring, 19% on Living off the Avails (again three respondents reported 0% in answer to this question), and 28% on bawdy house investigations. It is worth noting that three of our respondents had spent well over half of their vice squad investigative activity on bawdy house investigations which were linked to charges of living off the avails. The averages are therefore fairly misleading. Once again it should be noted that these figures represent the officers' rough estimates of the various components of their investigative activity.

Because of the specialized nature of the vice squad's role we asked a series of questions about recent investigations relating to escort agencies, body-rub parlours, steam baths and other types of suspected prostitution-related organizations and activities. The responses to these questions leave the impression that the majority of recent investigations of these kinds of organization have involved escort agencies (five of the seven officers mentioned investigations into escort services) and most of the comment related to the difficulty of gaining evidence and securing convictions. The main *raison d'être* of the escort agency in a legal sense is that while it allows for the introduction of escorts to customers, the owner cannot be charged with procuring or living off the avails because the contract they arrange has no explicitly sexual component; the sex-for-money transaction is completed by the two consenting adults after they have been introduced by the agency, and, ostensibly, without the agency proprietor's knowledge. The recent investigations of escort agencies may have been responsible for the difficulty we experienced in other components of the fieldwork in interviewing escort proprietors and their employees.

A number of respondents also noted that a series of outcall body rub services had been charged with municipal by-law infractions (one respondent reported 15-20 charges of this type). One cannot help but note in regard to these investigative actions that if street prostitution is the major focus of public and political pressure group concern, such legal actions may compound and intensify the level of

street activity, the very thing many people wish to see curtailed.



## GENERAL QUESTIONS

The remaining questions in the interview were asked of all respondents. They are divided into five sections: work experience; enforcement; attitudes to legal change; perception of prostitution in Vancouver and general information about prostitutes and prostitution.

## WORK EXPERIENCES (Q. 18-27)

The first series of questions in this section of the interview related to information about crimes associated with prostitution. To begin with we asked our respondents if they had ever dealt with situations in which prostitutes had had some crime committed against them (q.18, 19). 19 of the officers responded that they had experienced situations where prostitutes had been assaulted by tricks, 18 of them had experiences in which it had been alleged that tricks had robbed prostitutes, or not paid them, 12 officers reported incidents in which tricks had raped prostitutes, a further 4 reported incidents in which "rape had been alleged", and 4 mentioned incidents in which prostitutes were threatened by customers. Assaults by pimps or threats by pimps were mentioned four times.

It is quite clear from these responses that police officers perceive prostitution as a fairly risky business. These responses are misleading to the extent that we did not try and record the number of incidents various officers had experienced. To have done so would have made no sense - most of the officers suggested that these incidents were so numerous that it would be impossible to recall them all. Against this picture of the problems prostitutes face it is worth noting that almost no legal action is taken against the offenders, who for the most part are themselves customers (a finding confirmed by our interviews with prostitutes). It also so worth noting that many crimes committed by prostitutes against customers probably never result in charges either. But then, it does appear that prostitutes are far less "offensive" than their customers when it comes to the offenses that each commit against the other.

As with the question on crimes committed against prostitutes, all 20 of our respondents reported experiences where prostitutes were alleged to have or known to have committed criminal offenses (q.20, 21 - the question actually asked about prostitutes "committing crimes against someone" but "victimless" crimes were also mentioned).



Twelve respondents mentioned prostitutes "ripping off" tricks specifically, while ten more simply mentioned theft generally. Seven mentioned assaults, including two in situations where the customer was alleged to have threatened the prostitute. Two officers mentioned murder committed by a prostitute (or perhaps prostitutes - we do not know if they were referring to the same incident).

The reporting of types of charges laid (the majority being charges against prostitutes) are shown in Table 23 indicating a total of 18 different types of response which included 15 categories of offense. None of the patrol police had been involved with living off the avails, bawdy house or procuring charges - these were the exclusive province of of the vice squad which is more involved with these types of proactive investigation. The highest frequencies reported were theft/robbery (11 responses) and assault charges (9 responses), but this greater frequency is probably a reflection of the larger number of uniformed officers in our sample who reported these offences, probably as a consequence of their relatively more reactive style of policing.

Overall, our sample of officers estimated that 32% of their prostitution-related activities resulted in the laying of charges (q.22), although this number is skewed upwards by the effect of the relatively high frequencies reported by the vice squad officers (average=70%).

Unfortunately the data generated by the question which sought to discover the outcome of various charges are difficult to quantify (q.24). Six officers noted that they rarely found out the results of charges they played a part in laying because of court delays and the like. Several claimed a reasonable degree of success, but no-one claimed more than a 50% conviction rate generally; several officers were quite critical of the court system and difficulties with rules of evidence in certain kinds of prostitution case, a feeling of disenchantment which spilled over into several comments that related to the difficulty of developing investigational strategies when court interpretations of evidence and criminal intent were often difficult to predict.

We also included in this section on work experience several questions relating to the nature and number of complaints from residents about prostitutes or prostitution in the stroll areas (q. 25, 26, 27) because reports of resident anti-prostitution activism have recently received high profile in the Vancouver newsmedia, and continue to do so. The frequency table for q.25 shows there was a division of opinion; ten officers perceived resident complaints as

"frequent", "often" or "daily", eight said they were "infrequent", "none" or "once a week". Most vice squad officers and patrol officers working in the West End perceived resident complaints as a continual stream. Several vice squad officers mentioned residents complaining about bawdy houses, while all the officers mentioning high frequencies of resident complaints noted the problems of traffic noise and public disturbances, and generally what several officers described as "plain street nuisance" (q.26)

Those officers who did not notice much in the way of resident complaints generally worked in Teams 2 and 3, the patrol areas in the less salubrious parts of downtown Vancouver, and a number of officers suggested that it was precisely because of the area they worked in that they received few resident complaints. The occasional shopkeeper in Chinatown might call to request the removal of a hooker from the front of his shop premises, but there is not much residential development in those areas; the strolls, for the most part are located in commercial districts.

Even though a number of officers reported that there were few complaints by residents in the areas in which they work, when it came to the question about how police respond to such complaints (q.27) all the officers made fairly similar comments, except in the cases of complaints about bawdy houses, which would sometimes result in the initiation of an investigation and the gathering of evidence against the parties concerned. In all the other cases, two inter-related strategies emerged. In the event of a complaint, police officers try to placate the residents as much as they can. The way they do this is either to try to persuade prostitutes to move along, or if there has been a complaint of a noise disturbance, to quieten down. The officer's physical presence becomes the most effective means of control in a situation where bargaining is often more effective than force, and legally safer. Several officers, however, noted that the source of a complaint would have vanished by the time the police arrived anyway. But often they would not, and as one officer noted, all of these interactions with prostitutes together with those proactively stimulated during the policing of the strolls contribute to the growing police intelligence system on prostitutes and prostitution. The fact remains, however (as the discussion in the next section on enforcement shows), that some officers still wonder if and when that information system will ever be used.

## ENFORCEMENT

(Questions 28 - 38 but refer to the section on working experience for a description of q.31):

Although we had asked a number of questions related to enforcement issues in the section on work experience, our major purpose in this part of the interview was to gain some impression of our sample group's perception of the current problems of law enforcement and general prostitution control, particularly as they relate to different types of prostitute, hustler and sexually procured juvenile.

The question concerning the main changes in styles of policing prostitution (q.28) reasserts a theme that continually emerged in the interviews; the perceived inadequacy of current laws for the purpose of control. The overwhelming response to this question was that if police perceive any change in the overall style of policing it relates to what is interpreted as the increasing permissiveness of the law, particularly as a result of the Hutt decision. Eighteen of the responses locate change in terms of the lack of effective laws and a corresponding decrease in levels of enforcement. Three responses similarly referred to the increasing reluctance of the Crown to prosecute street prostitution charges. Those that had not perceived much change (four respondents) noted that they were referring to their particular experience in prostitution law enforcement, and in no case had this dated back as far as the Hutt decision. Indeed two officers mentioned that there was no change precisely because they perceived the Federal Government as stalling in its decision to revise prostitution statutes. In describing the impetus for change (q. 29) 11 respondents identified the courts' interpretation of the soliciting law (i.e. the Hutt decision) and five the removal of Vagrancy C (1972) as the main catalysts of change. Three responses pertained to the effect of political lobbying groups, particularly the civil libertarian groups, in liberalizing (i.e. making more permissive) the legal approach to prostitution.

At this point a somewhat tangential question was included about the impact of the street diverters installed in the West End. An experiment in prostitution prevention through environmental design, seven street diverters were installed at the cost of \$28,000 in November, 1981. A week later several local newspaper articles commented on the effect of the scheme - one by showing a picture of a prostitute seated on a street diverter noting how useful they were in slowing down traffic. Indeed, street counts of prostitutes and hustlers show that the diverters and



miniparks in the West End often become the focus of street activity. The response frequency table for q.30 confirms this observation as 9 officers commented that the diverters gave hookers a vantage point from which to display their wares, while five officers noted that the street diverters actually funnel traffic into the back lanes, or just generally slow it down. Seven officers suggested that the diverters have had no impact at all in controlling prostitution. All in all, the presence of street diverters gained little support from this sample of police officers.

The remaining questions in this section (with the exception of q.31 which is discussed in the section of work experiences) solicit information about the character of and problems involved with the control of various types of street prostitutes, hustlers and sexually procured juveniles.

The first of this set of questions (q.32) aims at providing an estimate of the percentage of street people offering sex for sale who are under 18 years of age. The average of the estimates made by the 19 officers who answered this question was 24%.

Seventeen of the officers answered affirmatively to the question about whether there are specific problems associated with policing juveniles (q.33), although the reasons given (q.34 and 39g) fall into the same general dimensions as problems associated with prostitution control in general - the inadequacy of the law, except that in the case of juveniles the problems were perceived as being more severe. The majority of responses (15) suggested that there were simply no laws to control juveniles, and no power to hold them or keep them off the street (the Young Offender's Act was held by several officers to compound rather than to ameliorate this problem). The four responses which mention the difficulty of charging juveniles (can't charge juveniles for having sex) clearly fit into the same mould. Question 39g provides the same general profile of responses. The average estimate of the percentage of sexually procured juveniles who work on the street (13 officers provided estimates) was 64% (several officers mentioned elsewhere that they thought that juveniles males worked steam baths - this might account for some of the suspected off-street trade. Unfortunately we did not ask about the off-street trade).

The discussion of special problems associated with policing transsexual and transvestite prostitutes (q.37) indicated rather different kinds of problems. Six of the respondents indicated that there were no special problems; seven, however, noted that transsexual/transvestite

prostitutes represent problems as victims - victims of the tricks who beat them (having thought they had "bought" a woman. Three officers remarked rather sardonically that it was difficult to know whether to charge certain male transsexuals as men or women (to our knowledge there are no female transsexual prostitutes in Vancouver).

When it comes to problems associated with specific types of charge (q.39), the general tenor of the responses once again related to difficulties with the law and court interpretations of evidence. In discussing problems with investigations applying to bawdy houses, body rubs, escort agencies, procuring and living off the avails, we come to what is usually the exclusive province of vice squad detectives. In certain cases, however, many of the patrol officers also voiced strong opinions about problems with available enforcement strategies given the present interpretation of various laws, and the perceived consenting nature of much prostitution (the classic so-called "victimless crime"). In the case of soliciting, all twenty respondents either said soliciting laws effectively did not exist, or were problematic in their interpretation. The discussion of problems in residential areas (8 responses) centred around the incompatibility of street soliciting with the West End's residential lifestyle.

In the case of bawdy houses (q.39b), 7 officers had no experience of such investigations, the other 13 mentioned the difficulty of obtaining evidence and witnesses (5 responses), the corresponding expense of investigation in terms of time and manpower (3 responses), the ephemeral nature of bawdy house prostitution (3 responses) and the reluctance of the crown to prosecute. The comments on escort agency investigations (q. 39d) essentially mirror these observations; 10 respondents had no familiarity with investigations of escort agencies, 7 stated that evidence was extremely difficult to obtain. In the case of massage parlours, 7 officers again noted the difficulty of obtaining evidence, partly a reflection of the controlled access to the premises. 12 officers had no experience of investigations of body-rubs. This is not surprising - most of the evidence we have gained in the field study suggests that massage-parlours are declining in their importance in the Vancouver prostitution trade (although there are many individual out-call body rubs advertised in local newspapers, many of which are likely fronts for the offer of sex for sale). When it came to procuring (q. 39e) one main problem for law enforcement efforts was mentioned - the refusal of the prostitute to give evidence for fear of pimp reprisals (8 out of eleven responses). This finding was strongly reinforced by the question on problems



associated with the enforcement of the living off the avails statute - 14 officers mentioned the reluctance of the prostitute to testify.

We asked two other questions in this section of the interview. The first asked officers to estimate the number of prostitutes who worked with pimps, the second aimed at providing a picture of the relative numbers of different categories of prostitutes (as classified by age and gender).

In discussing the incidence of pimping (q.35), the average estimate by our respondents was that 60% of people offering sexual services had pimps (with a range of estimated from 5% to 100%). There is no clear pattern of differentiation of the various subgroups, although vice squad officers as a group consistently gave high estimates. Several officers noted that these estimates were particularly difficult to make by virtue of the fact that the legal definition of pimping is potentially too broad.

Our remaining questions in this section of the interview provides some general estimates of the relative numbers of different types of hookers and hustlers working in different areas in Vancouver (q.36). The question actually relates to all forms of prostitution although the street and associated component forms the main basis for the estimates. Since the estimates are broken down in a variety of ways in the tables appearing in Appendix B, the overall averages are tabulated here:

Juvenile males *	6%
Juvenile females	11%
Transsexuals/ Transvestites	13%
Other males	5%
Adult females	66%

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101% (the inaccuracy is  
caused by rounding)

It is worth noting that the estimates given by West End patrol officers for juveniles (both genders) and for drag queens (whether transsexual or transvestite) are higher than in other patrol areas - a finding which is generally borne out by our street prostitute counts (although the street counts suggest that the police responses underestimate the number of juveniles, but then again the differentiation of juveniles and adults is no easy matter.

#### ATTITUDES TO LEGAL CHANGE (Q's 40-45)

At this point we come to some particularly interesting

findings of the study when it comes to one of the most important issues deal with in the interview - what is to be done? As in all the interview and questionnaire instruments used in the Vancouver prostitution field study we requested opinions about three different scenarios of legal change and asked the respondent to select and justify (from a police perspective) their choice of one of the alternatives, or outline some other course of action from a police perspective. (Only one officer said that his opinion as a citizen would be any different than his opinion as a police officer). In the case of the twenty Vancouver policemen we interviewed, ten opted for "legalization" and ten for "criminalization" of adult prostitution. (18 out of 20 opted for "criminalization" in the case of juveniles - 2 opted for some other alternative; see q. 42-43).

In preferring criminalization, 8 of the ten respondents suggested that the criminal law was the only effective control of prostitution; the control of ancilliary crime, particularly drugs, was mentioned 3 times.

In preferring legalization, 7 respondents argued that regulation would allow the establishment of red light districts and the solution of the street soliciting problem in residential areas. Advocates of legalization also suggested that regulation would enable control of disease and other medical problems (5 responses) and facilitate taxation (5 responses). Four officers pointed out that since prostitution had never been eradicated, control by regulation made more sense than control through criminalization.

These findings might appear counter intuitive in some senses. A consistent theme in the responses to many of the questions concerns the perceived inadequacy of the law as it stands to effectively control prostitution. One might conclude that self-interest alone could lead police to adopt a position which advocated the extension of the power of the criminal law to control adult prostitution, although one might alternatively argue that for the police one of the most consistently frustrating areas of law enforcement has been prostitution, and that self-interest might lead to an argument for legalization for this reason. But these do not appear to be the most useful ways of viewing the polarization of opinion in the sample group. For in fact the polarization of opinion centres around disagreement over the most effective way to control prostitution rather than whether or not to control it at all. The rejection of decriminalization as an option for change reflects the concern of all the officers that prostitution be controlled - they just disagree over the appropriate form that control should take. One finds that advocates of both

criminalization and legalization observe that since prostitution has never been eliminated, it should be controlled. But those preferring legalization emphasized the regulation of health and economic aspects of the trade; those advocating criminalization emphasized such factors as the control of crimes related to prostitution, and the control of moral depravity. Respondents in both groups argued that the control of the visible aspects of prostitution would be more likely to be achieved by the option that they chose.

## PERCEPTIONS OF PROSTITUTION IN VANCOUVER (Q's 46-61)

In this section of the interview we attempted to build a picture of the general police perception of organizations and groups involved both formally and informally in the prostitution trade (the link between drug culture and prostitution, the influence of organized crime, impressions of residents groups and impressions of social services and other support groups).

We began with a general question which relates to themes already covered in previous sections of the interview concerning the perception of the problem status of prostitution in Vancouver. All 20 respondents suggested that prostitution is becoming an increasingly pressing problem in Vancouver (q. 46) particularly because of its increasing visibility in residential areas (19 responses) a visibility which is brought into sharp focus by media news reporting, especially in light of the organized resistance to street prostitution by local residents groups (q.47). When asked to explain why prostitution was becoming more problematic (q. 48), 14 of the responses referred to inadequate laws and lack of control and 7 responses referred to a general change in the moral climate - the development of a more liberalized attitude toward prostitution. While these types of explanations might hold for other areas in Canada, 7 officers also noted that Vancouver was a particularly attractive city in terms of prostitution because of its favourable natural amenities, mild climate and large summer tourist trade.

The police perception of the transient nature of prostitution is confirmed by their frequent contact with immigration authorities (q. 31) as a tangential dimension of prostitution control, although we have no concrete evidence that prostitution is any more or less transient in Vancouver than it is elsewhere in Canada.

Very few officers, however, agreed that prostitution was problematic only when visible (q. 54). While 4 officers did agree using a kind of "out of sight out of mind" logic, thirteen did not, 12 of them noting that many other crimes are associated with prostitution generally, not just street prostitution. 6 respondents also indicated that the visibility of prostitution in bars and clubs itself could be viewed as a problem (q. 55).

In trying to establish the relationship of prostitution to other subcultures we asked if prostitution was related to the drug trade (q. 50) and if "organized crime" had any involvement in the organization of commercial sex services (q. 52). 13 officers suggested that prostitution and the



drug trade were part of the same drug culture because they perceived the majority of prostitutes to be users of illicit drugs. Two of the officers disagreed with this position noting that a number of other subcultures are also associated with drugs (not just prostitution) and 3 argued that many prostitutes were not habitual drug users (they thought that addict-prostitutes were concentrated mainly in Chinatown and on Granville St.). In answer to the question about the involvement of "organized crime" all 20 officers agreed that prostitution in Vancouver was not run by "organized crime".

In discussing the police attitudes to CROWE (The Concerned Residents of the West End), four of the officers said they were all in favour of this resident group, one did not offer an opinion, while the remainder tended to offer negative appraisals. Several officers noted that the organization had political ends that went beyond the issue of prostitution and six noted that Crowe's activities (especially the development of the "Shame the Johns" movement) were physically dangerous, irresponsible and could result in unfortunate street confrontations. Three other responses related to the questionable legal status of some of the residents' group activities. In qualifying these negative types of responses, five officers did observe that in light of the apparent failure of the legal system to control street prostitution, it is hardly surprising that residents are taking action bordering on vigilantism to curb street prostitution.

In the case of the Guardian Angels (q. 57), it turned out that none of the respondents perceived the Angels as having anything to do with prostitution control (in fact they were not perceived as really doing anything at all).

As to the Alliance for the Safety of Prostitutes, the attitudes of our subject group displayed a mixture of positive and negative reactions. While four officers stated flatly that the Alliance did not really do much to change prostitutes or prostitution, eight officers noted that the construction and distribution of the Alliance's "bad trick sheets" at least served a useful purpose in helping to protect prostitutes from assaults and other problems. Against this, however, 5 respondents strongly objected to the political philosophy expoused by this prostitute support group. a sentiment linked to the suggestion that the Alliance has no political credibility (3 responses). In the balance, then, the subject group displayed a fairly unfavourable attitude towards the politics of the Alliance but acknowledging that their distribution of "bad trick" sheets was a helpful measure.



The final group of questions in this section of the interview discuss the provision of social services to adult prostitutes and sexually procured juveniles. In the case of adults (q. 59c) welfare was mentioned most often ( 9 times), the Ministry of Human Resources was mentioned 5 times, clinics and public health centres twice. One officer mentioned drug and alcohol counselling. 8 officers, however, suggested that there were no services available. When it came to juveniles, 10 officers mentioned Emergency Services (located close to the West End prostitution stroll - the main area for juveniles in Vancouver), 10 mentioned M.H.R., 3 officers did not know of any services, 2 mentioned welfare (even though welfare generally refuses to give financial relief to juveniles) and two mentioned the Senator Hotel (which closed a year before this study was conducted). The Ministry of Human Resources, Emergency Services (a branch of M.H.R.) and Welfare thus emerge as the main social services police perceive as being available to prostitutes and sexually procured juveniles (an image which is generally supported by our study of social service agencies - see Chapter 5 particularly q. 30 and q. 31).

As to the effectiveness of these various services (q. 60) 12 responses offered a negative assessment arguing that the services either do not address the real problem (6 responses) have no real power (4 responses) or simply cannot keep up with the problem of prostitution because it is worsening (2 responses). On a somewhat neutral note, 6 officers noted that welfare does give money to prostitutes but it is difficult to interpret these as positive or negative comments.

In discussing what services prostitutes might need, 5 officers stated that prostitutes did not need any with 3 adding that prostitutes should not receive financial aid since they make enough money already (in each case these were officers who had opted for the criminalization of prostitution). Five officers suggested that some method should be developed to keep juveniles off the street with two advocating the establishment of more counselling services. Three officers stated that they did not know.

Overall this group of police officers does acknowledge the need for social services for juveniles, but the majority opinion appears to be that social services cannot provide much help to adult prostitutes.

## ABOUT PROSTITUTES AND PROSTITUTION (Q. 62-79)

The final section of the interview was devoted to a series of questions about prostitutes themselves - why they become prostitutes, how much they earn, why they have pimps, how easy it is to get out of the business - and some questions about the circumstances in which adult prostitutes should be charged.

The introductory question to this section of the interview enabled the calculation of average estimates of the earnings for various types of prostitutes which are tabulated as follows (the ranges of answers are included in Appendix B - Table 62):

Call girls ave.	= \$57,500	(10 "don't knows")
Street walker ave.	= \$48,600	( 4 "don't knows")
Transvestite/ transsexuals ave.	= \$44,000	(12 "don't knows")
Sexually procured juveniles ave.	= \$26,000	( 8 "don't knows")

It should be noted here that our purpose with this question has been to provide general "ball-park" estimates of the magnitude of prostitute earnings. It should be noted that these averages conceal a great deal of variability in our respondent's answers - they must be treated as speculative figures. In our study of prostitutes (Chapter 6) we have included a series of estimates of the earnings of different types of prostitutes based on interview data. In general our estimates suggest that earnings are lower than these police estimates, with the exception, perhaps, of certain juveniles and a small elite group of "call-girls", for whom earnings may be greater, although it must be acknowledged that these estimates are also speculative.

In asking why prostitutes and juveniles have pimps (q. 63-64), our respondents gave fairly clear-cut opinions. In the case of adults, two reasons emerge - protection (12 responses) and the need for love and affection (10 responses). Only one officer suggested that adult women were forced into prostitution by a pimp (although the prostitute interviews, even though they do not provide evidence that pimps force women into prostitution, do illustrate several situations where pimps attempted to force - and did force - women to stay in the business). In the case of juveniles, 5 officers did mention the use of force under the category "fear and domination" (q. 64) as an important factor when considering why juveniles have pimps (however, it should be noted that in q. 66 - "Why do juveniles sell sexual services?" - only one respondent said that they were forced into it by pimps; these answers may

imply that juveniles fall easy prey to pimps once they are on the street). Again, the need for love in what becomes a relationship based on emotional dependency is cited as the main reason that juveniles team up with pimps (13 responses) and again the need for protection was thought to be important (9 responses.)

In questions 65 and 66 we come to an issue that has occupied a great deal of research time, and one which always excites the imagination of the popular media - why do people prostitute themselves? To these questions we not only received the largest number of responses but also the greatest variety. In the case of adults 16 responses related to economic considerations; "easy money/think it's easy money" (seven responses), "economic need/no job" (4 responses), and "money-unspecified" (seven responses). "No job skills/lack of education" was mentioned three times, as was the glamour of the street ("action on the streets"). The influence of "broken homes" was mentioned twice. It is particularly interesting to note that only one officer mentioned the "support of a drug habit" as the reason for a person's becoming a prostitute (similarly, only one officer suggested this in the case of juveniles). One suspects that had these interviews been conducted ten years ago (around the time that Monique Layton's report on prostitution in Vancouver was published - Layton reported a major link between heroin addiction and prostitution) these answers would be quite different with drug addiction playing a much more important part in the reasons police officers gave for a person's involvement in the prostitute trade.

In the case of juveniles (q. 66), the reasons change to some extent, but still money is given as the overriding precipitating condition. (5 responses were classified in the category "economic need", 5 more in the category "money-unspecified" and 3 in the category "easy money"). But other factors enter the picture - 5 respondents mention the effect of broken and abusive homes, 3 responses relate to the likelihood of runaways being sexually procured, and 2 responses mention lack of skills and education.

What emerges from these accounts is the perceived overriding importance of economic factors as the "cause" of prostitution, with some additional factors, particularly abusive family situations, mentioned as predisposing juveniles to sexual procurement.

As we have noted elsewhere in the report, the term "sexually procured juvenile" is used because the term "juvenile prostitute" is a contradiction of legal terms. However, the use of the term "juvenile prostitute" is



general practice much of the time. For this reason we asked our sample police officers if juveniles who allow themselves to be sexually procured are "prostitutes" (q. 67-68). Their answers (apart from one "not stated") were unanimous; 17 of the 19 officers said that age is irrelevant - juveniles who sell sex for money (or other favours such as drugs) by choice are prostitutes. One officer said that he would consider anyone over the age of 15 a prostitute, another officer generally agreed but noted that in some cases procurement might also involve emotional attachment as well as money.

The history of prostitution law has been beset with claims that it represents a double-sexual standard to the extent that the prostitute has generally been subject to criminalization while the customer has not. To this extent, especially in light of the fact that many recent proposals for legal change have recommended the equal application of the law to both prostitutes and customers (particularly in the case of soliciting offences), we asked our respondents to describe the circumstances in which the use of the criminal law against customers of adult prostitutes would be justified (q. 69). The answers to this question are difficult to interpret because the question is ambiguous - it is unclear whether it refers to the present legal situation or a preferred legal situation. Added to this is the problem of determining exactly what the present legal situation is. And yet when combined with the answers to question 70 there is a good deal of consistency in the responses. 9 of the respondents observed that customers should be charged for buying or soliciting sexual services in all circumstances, 3 respondents urged charging only in the case of public procuring and soliciting. 4 of the respondents suggested that customers should only be charged in circumstances where they either commit criminal offences against prostitutes (assault, robbery) or in the act of prostitution (eg. gross indecency). Five respondents argued that customers should not be charged because prostitution itself is not illegal.

Despite this variety of responses, the answers to question 70 (why should customers be charged) indicate their consistency - 9 of the respondents argued that since prostitution requires both a buyer and a seller they should be equally subject to the criminal law. This sense of equality also extended to the three responses which logically follow from answers to the previous question - prostitutes should be afforded the same rights as anyone else, including those occasions when offences are committed against them by customers.

In considering penalties for customers of adult

prostitutes (q. 71) 8 respondents recommended fines, 3 suggested that whatever the penalty, prostitutes and customers should receive the same, 3 mentioned jail as a final resort, 3 more said that jail should not be used in any circumstance. 6 officers said the penalties should be severe enough to deter customers but were unable to specify what they should be.

When it came to the customers of juveniles (q. 72), eleven officers believed that the customer should be charged in all cases. 5 of the officers suggested that customers should only be charged when they solicit the juvenile. 3 suggested that charges should be laid only in the case of younger juveniles (under 15) because many customers did not realize that 16 and 17 year olds were actually juveniles. The responses to question 73 (why should customers be charged in none, some or all circumstances) contain one common theme - customers of juveniles should be charged because they exploit children (10 responses) although several respondents pointed out that "juveniles" would be the last term they would use to describe a number of the hustlers they had encountered. In recommending penalties for customers of juveniles (q. 74) the responses mirrored those suggested for adult prostitutes with one exception - penalties recommended for the customers of juveniles tended to be more severe, with 7 respondents recommending heavy fines and jail, 4 recommending fines and 3 recommending whatever penalty would be sufficient to deter potential offenders.

Our final group of questions (75-78) requested respondents to describe the relative difficulty prostitutes experience when trying to leave the trade.

In response to question 75 "if there was an opportunity to get out prostitution as a means of support, do you think that most prostitutes would take it?" 12 officers answered "no", six answered "yes". Similarly for question 77 "how easy or difficult is it to get out of the business?" 6 officers stated that it was very easy or fairly easy. 12 thought that it was difficult. Since the answer to questions 76 and 78 effectively repeat the same information, our descriptive analysis concentrates on the responses to question 78 because they contain the greatest detail.

The respondents who perceived prostitution as a difficult profession to leave suggested 6 principle reasons some of which are closely related to each other: drug addiction (4 responses); the influence of pimps (4 responses); failure to make sufficient money in regular jobs (4 responses); insufficient education and/or job



skills (6 responses); and the undisciplined lifestyle makes it difficult to find the discipline required for working a regular job (6 responses).

Alternatively, those respondents who perceived prostitution as a fairly or very easy profession to leave simply stated that if prostitutes wanted to leave the profession, they could (four responses). The major implication of this view is that if prostitutes do not leave the trade, it is because they do not want to. Several officers also noted that it was much easier for prostitutes who did not have pimps to leave the trade. It should also be noted that of the officers who thought that it was difficult to leave prostitution, 6 respondents gave the lure of the lifestyle as a reason; in this case the "difficulty" of leaving is perceived not as something out of the prostitute's control but as a reflection of the positive attractiveness of the lifestyle (except in the case of drug addiction). Taken in sum, two major themes emerge from these responses. On the one hand, our respondents feel that there are a variety of economic contingencies which make prostitution appear as a viable option to people with limited opportunities or at least make it difficult for them to get out. But on the other hand our respondents believe that there are certain positive attractions sufficiently strong that some people freely chose the lifestyle and could just as easily leave it. What tends to differentiate our group of police respondents is the relative weight they gave to each of these factors.

Our final question asked our (by now weary) subjects to provide the one answer that seems to have eluded the modern architects of Canadian prostitution law - a realistic solution to the problems commonly associated with prostitution. A number of our respondents began by saying there was no ultimate solution (6 responses) but they nevertheless proceeded to recommend certain courses of action. And the most common response by far (10 respondents) was the call for legalization in the form of the establishment of red light districts - with conduct rules, protection for the prostitutes and provision of medical checkups. The most common alternative to this approach involved the introduction of much stronger prostitution laws in general to facilitate control (3 responses) or stronger laws to control the street trade (5 responses).

## SOME CONCLUDING COMMENTS

It must be acknowledged that the representativeness of our sample is limited in a statistical sense, and that we can make few statistical generalizations from it. But limited though the subject group is in terms of its size, it is not limited in its pertinence - the respondents all had direct contact with the prostitution scene and first hand knowledge of control practices under the present legal regime. From their responses, a number of clear and consistent themes emerge. In some cases there is clear consensus among these subjects, in others there are clear divisions. In summary, several general points can be made:

1. There is general agreement among our respondents that prostitution laws as they are presently constituted are largely ineffective.

2. In advocating what type of legal strategy should replace the present system, our respondents are equally divided in their opinion. Half of them advocated the legalization of adult prostitution, the establishment of red light districts and the institution of a system of regulation. The other half advocated the strengthening of criminal laws relating to prostitution in the belief that this is the only effective means of control, a way of at least containing the trade. Advocates of legalization believed that the criminal law is ineffective.

3. Advocates of both legalization and criminalization believed that street prostitution should not occur in residential areas.

4. There was clear consensus among the respondents that the use of criminal law was appropriate to control the sexual exploitation of juveniles.

5. This consensus carried over into the belief that more legal resources should be made available to keep juveniles off the street.

6. It is clear that although several commentators have described the present situation in Vancouver as one in which street prostitution has been effectively decriminalized, the police still spend a large amount of time and energy attempting to control it. The exercise of control is largely facilitated by the use of a variety of informal mechanisms, and the use of general purpose laws which have no direct relation to prostitution itself.

7. For the most part, the subject group believed that

if the criminal law was to be used to control prostitution, it should be used to control both customers and prostitutes alike.

## POLICE INTERVIEWS: THE INTERVIEWER'S ASSESSMENT

MALCOLM NEWLANDS

Overall the interviews went well. The officers selected had extensive knowledge of prostitution in Vancouver. In some cases the officers had special knowledge apart from the street scene. This knowledge was accumulated during the investigation of prostitution activities and the related criminal offences that often accompany prostitution. In addition, a few officers had conducted intelligence operations on particular activities that are linked with prostitution (i.e. escort agencies, pawdy house operations, body rub parlours). From a subjective point of view, it would seem that the research team had the benefit of having access to some of the most experienced police officers in the Vancouver Police Department and their insight into the nature of prostitution in Vancouver.

Another important factor that should be mentioned here was the cooperativeness of the police officers. In order to facilitate the research, our police contact person was able to call officers into the station one at a time in order to be interviewed thus minimizing the amount of time that the officers were removed from their official duties. In the interviews, officers were not hesitant in expressing their views once the researcher had explained the purpose of the research, the funding agency and the fact that both the police administration and union officials had given their support. In only about three cases did the officers feel impatient with the interview process. While attempts were made to speed up the interviews in these cases, the result may have been less than complete answers to some of the questionnaire items. It is this researcher's opinion that this had a very minimal effect on the responses overall, as individual police officers who had the most knowledge about prostitution related activity were the most cooperative in sharing some of the information that they had accumulated.

It did seem that the younger, more educated police officers were much more liable to be impatient and anxious about the interview. In addition, a number of officers old and young alike expressed cynicism about what this research would actually accomplish. But, despite what the officers felt about the research, they were cooperative nevertheless.

A number of the police officers commented on the length of the questionnaire, feeling that it was much too long. The result was that some interviews took anywhere

between 40 minutes and 1.5 hours depending on who was being interviewed and how much information the officer was willing to contribute. The feeling of this researcher is that the questionnaire was long, but it would have been very difficult to trim it down without losing a great deal of information in the process.

The interviewees were all male police officers. No females were interviewed. The effects of this oversight may or may not have been significant, but this is one area in which the interviews could have provided more information.





CHAPTER V  
VIEWS FROM THE HELP-CONTROL COMPLEX:  
THE SOCIAL SERVICES QUESTIONNAIRE

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This component of the research, a self-administered mail-back questionnaire survey, was designed to produce a portrait of the extent, nature and structure of social services that might be used by adult prostitutes and sexually procured juveniles, the frequency and circumstances of their use, and the attitudes of social service personnel towards prostitutes and prostitution.

Questions were structured around 7 major themes:

1. Characteristics of respondents; types of services offered and sources of funding for each.
2. Success in meeting the mandate of the organization.
3. Description of services that adult prostitutes and sexually procured juveniles use.
4. Characteristics of prostitutes and sexually procured juveniles serviced.
5. The nature of referral services.
6. The nature of prostitution in Vancouver in comparison to elsewhere in Canada.
7. Attitudes to legal change and extralegal approaches to prostitution and juvenile procurement.

A copy of the questionnaire is located in Appendix C.

Once again as a result of the general time constraints of our research, we had no opportunity to pretest this questionnaire in a way that could be considered methodologically satisfactory. Because of this, we used a strategy similar to that employed in the design of the prostitute interview schedule. One of the first research assistants employed on the project had an extensive background in social work, most of it in Vancouver. As a result, she had extensive contacts with the Vancouver social service network. She identified two local social workers who between them have approximately 20 years of experience as street workers (much of it with sexually procured juveniles and other street people) who agreed to help with the design of the questionnaire.

The principal researcher and research assistants then designed the first draft of the questionnaire and tested it by conducting a mock interview in a group session with the two street workers. We met again to critique the second draft of the questionnaire and after producing a final draft, the mail-out began; the mailing was completed March 15, 1984. We requested that questionnaires be returned by April 6th and provided stamped envelopes addressed to a post office box in Burnaby.

Approximately 400 questionnaires were mailed to 274 addresses in the Greater Vancouver area. In situations where we knew that an agency did not have direct contact with prostitutes or sexually procured juveniles, as would be the case with many district offices of the British Columbia Ministry of Human Resources - M.H.R. - or the privately sponsored D.A.R.E. program, we sent two or three questionnaires. Our mailing list thus included a variety of different types of agencies, institutions and support groups both state controlled and private, including the British Columbia Ministry of Human Resources, the B.C. Probation Services, legal assistance programs, community centres, neighborhood centres, church organizations, group homes, psychiatric services, women's groups and various other charitable organizations and volunteer groups.

For the most part, questionnaires were sent to the agency address, although in some cases they were sent to specific individuals identified by the two social workers contracted to help with the design of the questionnaire. A letter accompanying the questionnaire (see Appendix C, Section 1) described the purpose of the research, and in the case of those questionnaires sent to a general agency address, we requested that they be filled by the individuals likely to have the most direct knowledge of prostitutes and prostitution.

Replies were received from 63 of the 274 agencies, a 23% agency response rate. Of these, only three of the agencies had representatives return more than one questionnaire. With the exception of these three questionnaires, each response thus represents a different agency. Of the 400 questionnaires mailed out, 66 were actually completed and returned, a 16.5% response rate overall. A further 12 questionnaires were returned as a result of a change of address, and several were sent back incomplete (including 5 by M.H.R. personnel) with a letter explaining that in the face of Provincial Government budget cutbacks and employee layoffs, agency staff simply did not have time to waste filling out questionnaires. A number of other Human Resources supervisory staff returned the

questionnaire suggesting that they would need clearance from senior M.H.R. administrative officials in Victoria in order to cooperate with our research efforts. Our subsequent letter sent in May to the appropriate M.H.R. Administrators in Victoria resulted in approval of the questionnaire, but this approval was not received until June 26, 1984.

Despite what appears to be a rather meagre response rate, we were satisfied with the number of questionnaires that were returned. Given the highly diversified nature of the agencies and groups included in our mailing list, It was reasonable to expect that many of the persons receiving the questionnaire would not feel qualified to complete it given their lack of contact with prostitutes and sexually procured juveniles (even though the questionnaire was designed in such a way that direct contact with prostitutes or hustlers was not a prerequisite for completing it).

In addition, despite the problems we encountered with M.H.R. personnel, the questionnaire did serve to provide contacts with a number of their staff with whom informal interviews were conducted. The situation in M.H.R. is particularly difficult at the moment because of fears about job security in the face of Provincial Government budget cutbacks. The fear has been compounded by a widespread feeling among M.H.R. employees that any criticism of the agency might also result in job loss as a form of punitive reaction. An indication of this fear, and a clear shortcoming of the covering letter that we sent with the questionnaire because it mentioned no guarantee of confidentiality, is that M.H.R. employees were more concerned about the anonymity of their responses than any other group of people we talked to (with the exception of the police - but this, as noted earlier, was for an entirely different reason). A number of M.H.R. employees thus contacted the research team to provide interviews in an informal private setting as well as or instead of completing the questionnaire (we talked to twelve M.H.R. staff in this way). These interviews proved particularly rewarding, partly because they enabled us to collect information from sources which would have otherwise remained silent, but more importantly they provide the kind of information that simply cannot be accessed by a self-administered mail-out questionnaire. This has enabled us to supplement the quantitative findings of the questionnaire survey with a much more qualitative assessment of a group of social workers who are responsible, amongst other things, for helping and controlling British Columbia's "social problem" groups, particularly juvenile street people.



The interviews were conducted in various informal locations (restaurants, bars, homes, etc.). They were all hand recorded.

The descriptive analysis thus includes two components: the first provides a descriptive summary of the information generated by the questionnaire survey; the second provides a descriptive summary of recurrent themes in the interviews (although no attempt has been made to quantify these results).

## THE QUESTIONNAIRE

### INTERPRETING THE DATA

Given the limited time available to complete this research, we have only been able to provide the most elementary of descriptive statistics to represent the characteristics of the information we have collected. Because of our limited ability to satisfactorily pretest the questionnaire, the majority of questions had to be left open ended and consequently the translation of information into machine readable form is a much more time consuming process. As a result the analysis is incomplete because it is limited to a description of coded response frequencies.

A copy of the questionnaire is located in Appendix C, Section 1. Codelists describing responses to the various questions are included in Section 2 of Appendix C. Sections 3 and 4 contain tables of single and multiple response frequencies. Section 5 includes two supplementary tabulations - a multiple dichotomies table and a cross tabulation. (These various descriptive statistics were generated by SPSSX on the Michigan Terminal System at Simon Fraser University).

The single response frequency tables (Section 3) summarize answers to single response questions, i.e. those questions for which a single answer is appropriate. The tables display "value labels", abbreviations of the various coded responses, the codelists in Section 2 of Appendix C; "values", the numerical code for each "label"; "frequencies", the frequency of responses; "percent", the percentage of the total number of potential respondents giving that particular response, i.e. the % of the total respondents in the sample; "valid percent", the % of the responses of "valid" cases i.e. the percentages of the various responses to a question as opposed to the percentage of respondents (in other words it excludes "missing cases" - those either not giving an answer or those that state "don't know" - from the calculation.) The "cum percent" refers to the cumulative percentage of responses from "valid cases" (i.e. those, but only those, that did answer the question). For example, in the case of question 3, the "value label" indicates the various location codes; the "value" indicates the numerical code of each value label; "frequency" indicates the number of respondents from each location; "percent" shows the number of respondents from each area as a percentage of the total number of respondents (including the two "missing cases", in this case respondents who did not provide an agency address); "valid percent" refers to the number of

respondents in each location as a percentage of the total number of valid responses (i.e. "valid cases" - those that gave an answer to the question as opposed to the "don't know" or "not stated").

The multiple response analysis (Section 4 of Appendix C) generates frequency tables with a similar format but for questions to which there could be several responses rather than one. "Category labels" are abbreviations of the various response codes for each question. "Code" refers to the numeric value of the various category labels. The "count" refers to the number of responses for each category. "Pct of responses" depicts the count for each category as a percentage of the total number of responses. "Pct of cases" indicates the percentage of "valid cases", mentioning various categories of response (i.e. respondents who gave one or more answers to the question as opposed to those that did not give an answer, or stated that they did not know).

For example, the first multiple response tabulation (Section 4, Appendix C) refers to the service mandate of the organization (q. 14). All 66 respondents answered this question supplying a range of service mandates that were divided into fourteen groups ("category labels"). Eight respondents mentioned legal services (the "count") thereby representing 10.4% of the total number of responses given to the question (total responses = 77). The eight respondents including legal advice as part of their mandate represent 12.1% of the valid cases, in this case all 66 respondents. In contrast in the following table "Why mandate not met", 22 of the respondents gave a range of nine different types of responses (q. 16). 86.4% of the 22 respondents (i.e. the "valid cases") who believed that their agency had not met its service mandate gave "inadequate funding" as one of the reasons (or, in the case of one respondent, the only reason), although this represented only 33.3% of the total number of responses (57). Tables in section 5 (a multiple dichotomies table and a crosstabulation) are explained at the appropriate points in the text.

## DESCRIPTION OF FINDINGS

Although our specific interest in conducting this study was to gain some idea of the services available to prostitutes and sexually procured juveniles in Vancouver, the questionnaire was distributed to a variety of agencies throughout the Greater Vancouver urban area, presumably the major catchment area supplying Vancouver with prostitutes and sexually procured juveniles.

## 1. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESPONDENT GROUP (q.'s 3-13)

Because of the small size of our respondent group (n=66) we have not listed the various agencies represented in order to ensure our respondents' confidentiality. They include various executive directors, district supervisors, coordinators, program directors, superintendents, researchers, teachers, administrative officers, social workers and counsellors in a variety of agencies including the Ministries of Corrections and Human Resources, various psychiatric health care clinics, hospitals, probation services legal assistance programs, community centres, neighbourhood houses, special schools, church organizations, emergency aid clinics, rape crisis centres, womens groups, youth services, and various local societies and volunteer organizations. (See also q. 14 on agency mandate).

The geographic distribution of the respondent group is shown in Table S1 Appendix C Section 3. The prefix "S" to the table number indicates that it is located in the single response frequencies section. Conversely the prefix "M" refers to multiple response frequency tables (located in Appendix C section 4). Thirty-one respondents were located in Vancouver (codes 1-3), thirty one from the greater Vancouver area (codes 4-11, 15) 2 from the Fraser Valley and 2 did not provide this information. (The term "out of range" refers throughout to "don't know" responses or for questions where no answer was given i.e. "missing cases"). All but one of the respondents (apart from two who did not answer) described the agency for which they worked as a non-profit organization (Table S.12).

Questions 4 and 5 indicate the range of services provided by our subject group, and the sources of funding for each service. Given that we have responses from representatives of every type of agency we initially mailed questionnaires to, the results presented here probably provide a fairly accurate representation of the scope of services potentially available to prostitutes and sexually



procured juveniles, and the sources of their funding. The responses to questions 4 and 5 are represented in a series of separate single response frequency tables (S2-S11) and collectively summarized in a multiple dichotomies response table (M29).

The services listed on the questionnaire (q. 4) were classified into nine groups; protection services, child/youth services, family services, probation, financial aid, medical and mental health services, legal services and other services. Each single response frequency table indicates the number of agencies offering each of the 9 services, and the relative contributions of different types of funding to each. We thus find that 72.3% of the subject group work in agencies which do not provide "protection services"; of the 18 respondents that do the majority (10) are funded by the Provincial Government. For the most part the various tables indicate that the Provincial Government is the largest single source of funding, although many services are multi-funded.

The multiple dichotomies table (M.29) offers a general description of the range of services offered, and the general availability of each, although the results here are obviously skewed by our sample - we clearly underrepresent probation and corrections, although some commentators would point out that these are not "social services" anyway. The table indicates that 72.7% of the respondents to our survey work for agencies which offer child and youth services, (although these apparently are not the services most frequently provided- see tables S.22-28) 60.6% of the agencies represented provide family services, 48% provide medical counselling, 36% provide financial aid services, 28% provide legal counselling, 27% provide protection services, 18% provide medical treatment, 18% provide probation services, and 18% provide some other form of service not included in our categories.

Several qualifying observations should be made at this point. Firstly, there is quite likely to be some ambiguity in the responses to the question as we posed it. Some respondents may count referrals as a form of service, and include the more common types of referral that they make (for example, referral of children to some other agency) as the provision of that service. Similarly, counsellors or social workers might provide information for pre-sentence reports, and frequently interact with probation officers. Some respondents might have included such activity under the category "provision of probation services", some might not. Several other factors which we have not been able to anticipate undoubtedly also influence our respondent's interpretation of the question, and may bias the



information. Despite these possible distorting influences, the overwhelming impression one gets of our respondents' perception of their professional activity is that the majority of agencies and organizations include services for children. It must, however, be acknowledged that the coding groups are not mutually exclusive - it is difficult to see how they could be - and there is a certain amount of overlap, particularly in such categories as "services for children" and "services for family". It should also be noted that there is a sense in which social service personnel with a certain kind of experience may be more likely to complete the questionnaire and return it than others. This may reflect the almost unanimous concern for and disapproval of the sexual exploitation of juveniles by almost all of our respondents in each substudy. It is possible that those people with the greatest contact with sexually procured juveniles (which by definition means that they provide services for juveniles) or those with the greatest contact with children generally are the most likely to return the questionnaire. In any event this finding is hardly surprising given the nature and purpose of social work and allied professions.

Tables S.13 - S.20 depict the various proportions of different types of service - "residential", "drop-in", "appointment", "outreach", "other" - offered by the subject group agencies. The table S.13 indicates that twenty-one of the respondents work in agencies which provide residential services, eleven of them in exclusively residential facilities (see also 1. 9, table S.21), 41 of the subject group agencies provided "drop-in" services, 5 were classified mainly as drop-in centres (Table S.14) 39 of the subject agencies offer service by appointment (Table S.15). 25 of the subject agencies provide "outreach" services (a more proactive style of social work which attempts to actively seek clients rather than awaiting referrals), although apparently very few emphasize this style of social work (a tendency which a number of our respondents have criticized). Only 5 subject agencies provide "crisis phone-lines" as such (Table S.17) although all of them are obviously equipped to fulfill this role. One respondent worked for a crisis centre (Table S.18). Given that nearly all the subject agencies are non-profit organizations, only one charged a fee (q. 11, table S.29) to its client on a contract basis (Table S.19). 47 of the remaining subject agencies did not charge a client fee, 15 charged a "client user fee" (a nominal fee paid by the client which only partly covers the cost of service; eg. the \$10 fee charged users of hospital emergency services).

Tables S.22-S.28 summarize the relative proportions of various age groups serviced by the subject agencies (q.

10). The seven tables reveal that our subject agencies service all ages of clients with the under 14 and over 60 age groups serviced relatively less than the age group average and the 21-30 and 31-40 age groups serviced relatively more than the average.

Question 12 - "What is the average amount of time spent with a client serviced by your organization?" - and question 13 - "How much of this time would be on a one-to-one basis?" yielded answers that were uncodable.

## 2. SERVICE MANDATE (qs. 14-16)

Perhaps the best description of the range of services represented in our sample is given in the responses to q. 14, outlining the various service mandates of the subject agencies (Table M.1). Our 66 respondents gave a total of 77 codeable responses classified into 14 different categories, the most frequent of which entailed the "enforcement of Ministry of Human Resources Policy" (16 respondents). Eight respondents mentioned legal advice and seven respondents worked in neighbourhood houses. There were 6 representatives of probation services, 5 representatives of "juvenile outpatient services" (educational and vocational counselling programs), and 5 of medical services, with the remainder representing women's centres, crisis centres, detox centres, residential programs for disturbed youths, alcohol/drug counselling and food and shelter (complete codelists are contained in Appendix C.)

Questions 15 and 16 were designed to describe the respondents' evaluation of the success of their respective agencies in meeting the goals of their organizational mandates. Table S.30 indicates that 38 respondents believed that their respective agencies had met their goals; 25 respondents believed that they had not. The latter group included the majority of respondents from the Ministry of Human Resources (roughly 75% of them) and almost all of the agencies specifically organized to provide services for youth. These findings, together with information collected in the informal interviews, reflect the widespread feeling that very little active effort is being made to help sexually procured juveniles. (Similarly, the analysis of official police statistics presented earlier in the report indicates that the criminal law is rarely used to control the sexual procurement of juveniles.)

In accounting for the failure of various organizations to meet their mandates (q. 16) the respondents identified one main factor - inadequate funding resulting in personnel

shortage (Table M.2). The answers to question 16B (which asked for comments on answer given to question 16) simply reiterate these findings.

### 3. SERVICES AVAILABLE TO PROSTITUTES AND SEXUALLY PROCURED JUVENILES (q.'s 17-23)

Having developed a descriptive profile of the respondent group and the agencies they represent, the remainder of the questionnaire dealt specifically with services available for prostitutes and sexually procured juveniles and issues generally related to the subject of prostitution. The first group of questions related to the provision of "front-line" services.

24 of the subject agencies were described as providing direct front-line services for adult prostitutes (Table M.3), 33 of them provide front-line services for sexually procured juveniles (Table M.4). It should be noted that the question as originally phrased was difficult for respondents to answer - while some of their front-line services might be used by prostitutes or sexually procured juveniles, the same services might be used by a variety of other types of client as well. In addition, front-line workers might not necessarily know if their clients were prostitutes or sexually procured juveniles in any case. We suspect, therefore, that most of the respondent's answering this question affirmatively had direct knowledge that their agency serviced prostitutes or sexually procured juveniles, although several respondents pointed out that the services involved were not specifically designed for these target groups. This hypothesis is partly confirmed by the answers to question 19; 24 of the subject agencies were described as having adult prostitutes as clients, 28 of them were described as servicing sexually procured juveniles (Tables S.32 and S.33). In most cases, however, prostitutes and sexually procured juveniles constituted only a small proportion of the overall agency clientele.

In the case of adults, counselling was the most frequently mentioned front-line service (10 cases) followed by financial assistance (Table M.3). In the case of juveniles, counselling was again the most frequently mentioned service (17 cases) followed by "child protection" (11 cases). 10 respondents included "referral to another agency" as a front-line service for sexually procured juveniles.

Because of the problem noted above - the respondents' incomplete knowledge of their clients' activities - we also asked if other services that agencies provided might be



used by sexually procured juveniles and prostitutes (q. 20). For both adults and juveniles, medical services and counselling were the most frequently mentioned responses (Tables M.5 and M.6).

In questions 21 and 22 we asked respondents to describe the services that they believed adult prostitutes and sexually procured juveniles might need (Tables M.7 and M.8). 18 of the 40 respondents that answered this question with reference to adult prostitutes mentioned the need for "emotional counselling", 17 mentioned job training - the two most frequent responses by far. In the case of juveniles four categories were mentioned consistently - safe shelter (18 responses), counselling (15 responses) abuse services (14 responses) and "realistic alternative lifestyle" programs (12 responses - 49 of the 66 respondents answered the question). For further details see the codelists for questions 21 and 22 - Appendix C, Section 2. There was a much greater variety of responses to this particular question than to most of the others; when it came to making suggestions about desirable changes to the way help-control organizations react to prostitutes and sexually procured juveniles, our respondents had a great deal to say. This observation itself lends credence to one persistent impression that we formed; there is a great deal of dissatisfaction with the present system of provision of services for juveniles and the the style in which they are delivered.

The final question in this section of the questionnaire dealt with problems associated with the provision of services to adult prostitutes and sexually procured juveniles; taking both questions together "client resistance" was mentioned as the greatest impediment (19 and 11 responses respectively), although the lure of the street life was seen to be particularly relevant in the case of juveniles (15 responses). 10 respondents also noted that many social service agency staff were not trained sufficiently to service juveniles.

#### 4. SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF PROSTITUTES AND SEXUALLY PROCURED JUVENILES (q.'s 24-29)

In this section of the questionnaire we asked a series of questions about links between prostitution and "pornography", and about factors which might predispose people to sexual procurement.

In questions 24 and 25 we sought to determine if there was any perceived link between prostitution and the production of sexually explicit films and magazines. 14 respondents answered this question in relation to adult prostitutes, 28 in relation to juveniles. In each case only two respondents (the same two) suggested that "many" prostitutes or juveniles that they knew were involved in sex films and magazines, although several - 8 in the case of adults, 15 for juveniles - stated that "some" were (Tables S.34 and S. 35). All fifteen respondents answered the question "Have these same juveniles ever been sexually procured?" affirmatively but it turns out that the question as phrased is meaningless - the only logical answer is yes (the previous question limited answers to information about sexually procured juveniles only). At least these responses do attest to the consistency of our respondents.

The remaining questions in this section related to perceptions of factors which may predispose people to prostitution or sexual procurement (q.'s 27-29). 36 respondents answered this question in terms of adults, 48 answered in the case of juveniles; in both cases sexual abuse was mentioned most frequently. Physical and emotional abuse were also frequently mentioned. In both cases "economic need" was perceived as an important factor but much more so for adults than was the case for juveniles (Tables M.11 and M.12). Similarly "lack of work" and "poor self image" were more frequently mentioned as predisposing factors of adult prostitution than they were of the sexual procurement of juveniles. Conversely, "unstable family" environment was mentioned more frequently in the case of juvenile sexual procurement. Sexual and physical abuse and economic considerations thus emerge as the most frequently perceived antecedents of adult prostitution; sexual, physical and emotional abuse, unstable family environment and economic need were perceived as the main factors predisposing juveniles to sexual procurement.

It is worth noting that "substance abuse" was cited relatively infrequently as a predisposing factor for both adults and juveniles, a finding similar to that emerging from the interviews with police officers. Once again it is



worth noting that had these interviews been conducted ten years ago (during the time period that Monique Layton was conducting her field study of prostitution in Vancouver) the findings would probably have been quite different with substance abuse mentioned much more frequently (assuming that Layton's findings which consistently related prostitution and drug dependency were correct). In the case of our social work and allied professions subject group, "abusive family background" replaces substance abuse as the most frequently perceived predisposing factor in the sexual procurement of juveniles and a major influence in the genesis of adult prostitution.

The perceived importance of abusive family background, particularly sexual abuse, is certainly commonplace in the recent literature on prostitution. A recent study in San Francisco, for example, (1978) conducted by the Unitarian Universalist Service Committee, estimated that 80% of the 60 male and female hookers they interviewed had either been victims of incest, sexual abuse or rape prior to their involvement in prostitution. The problem with these findings, however, is that reliable estimates of the incidence of incest and sexual abuse for the general population are not available. We thus asked two questions which required respondents to distinguish their perception of levels of abuse among all clients from their perception of the incidence of abuse among sexually procured juveniles (q.'s 28-29). Because of the differences in the number of respondents answering the two questions, the tables (S.37, S.38) are difficult to compare visually. But one striking difference does emerge; estimates of the occurrence of sexual abuse are much higher for juveniles who have been sexually procured (for example, 12 respondents estimated the figure to be between 81-100%, the highest frequency estimate given in any of the answers to either question) than they are for client populations in general. It is thus clear that the group of respondents who answered these questions did perceive the incidence of sexual abuse among juveniles who sell sexual services to be higher than it was in their client groups generally.

##### 5. REFERRALS AND OTHER SERVICES (q.'s 30-31)

Perhaps the best indication we can provide of specific services available to prostitutes and sexually procured juveniles is that given by the question on referral services, and services offered (questions 30 and 31.).

The question on referrals (q. 30) identifies the number of respondent agencies which do provide services for prostitutes and sexually procured juveniles; and for those that do not, it identifies the agency or agencies that

respondents would refer such clients to. Question 31 identifies the types of programs offered by the agencies that do provide services that juveniles and adult prostitutes might use.

The responses for the first segment of question 30 "To 333m would you refer juveniles who have been procured for sexual purposes?" show that 15 of the respondent agencies provide services for these client groups. The remaining 43 respondents who answered this question would have referred such juveniles to some other agency; of these, 35 stated that they would refer sexually procured juveniles to the Ministry of Human Resources. Only 4 respondents identified some other agency to whom they would refer such juveniles (Table M.13). In the case of juveniles who have nowhere to stay( the San Fransisco study found that 65% of the 60 prostitutes they interviewed had been runaways) 44 of the 45 respondents who worked for agencies that did not include services for such juveniles would have referred them to M.H.R. (38 responses - 17 respondent agencies offered these services; see table H.2, Appendix C, section 5). Only in the case of juveniles with drug and alchol problems did respondents recommend referrals to some agency other than M.H.R.; 34 respondents would have referred such juveniles to some form of outpatient drug and alcohol counselling, 16 of the respondent agencies provided this service themselves (Table H.1, Appendix C, Section 5). For the most part the respondents working for agencies which provided the various services listed were M.H.R. staff.

What these findings clearly show is that through referrals, street juveniles generally end up as clients of the British Columbia Ministry of Human Resources, the major Provincial institution responsible for social services. Since they do, M.H.R. deserves more focused attention and is discussed in the final section of this part of the report ( a brief overview of more informal interviews with M.H.R. staff.)

In discussing patterns of service and referral for adult prostitutes our questionnaire does not allow direct comparisons between juveniles and adult because we did not ask a range of questions for each that are strictly comparable. In the case of adult prostitutes with alcohol and drug problems, the pattern of referrals and services is much the same as that described above for juveniles (the majority of referrals would have been to alcohol and drug outpatient counselling; similarly counselling was the most frequently mentioned service available for juveniles with drug or alcohol problems - see Table H.3). In the case of adult prostitutes who have been raped, the majority of referrals were to rape relief (28 responses) or the police

(12 responses); we did not ask the same question with reference to juveniles since by legal definition sexual intercourse with a juvenile constitutes statutory rape. In order to make the questions about services and referrals of prostitutes comparable to the questions about juveniles we should have included a question on prostitutes with nowhere to stay. Despite these inadequacies in our questions, it does appear that M.H.R. is generally perceived as playing much less of a role in providing services that adult prostitutes might use. Indeed it appears that no services exist specifically for prostitutes with the exception of the volunteer "Alliance for the Safety of Prostitutes", although prostitutes can make use of a number of services available to adults generally. Counselling represents the main type of service offered.

Similarly for "sexually procured" juveniles (Table M.19) and "sexually abused" juveniles (noting that procured juveniles are, in the legal sense, abused) counselling represents the most commonly available service (22 and 18 responses respectively) although M.H.R. does arrange for foster home and group home placements (Tables M.17 and H.4). These placements assume a more obvious importance in the case of services for juveniles who have nowhere to stay (Table M.18). Again, most of these various services are provided by the Ministry of Human Resources.

What our analysis cannot do is evaluate the effectiveness of these various services, although we do subsequently describe M.H.R. staff comments about the effects of Provincial Government budget cutbacks on the quantity and quality of services available, and about the effectiveness of various styles of social work.

#### 6. PERCEPTIONS OF PROSTITUTION IN VANCOUVER AS COMPARED TO OTHER CITIES IN CANADA (q.'s 32-36)

When asked if the prostitution and procuring situation in Vancouver was uniquely different from that in other parts of Canada, 20 respondents said that it was, 33 said that it was not, and 13 did not know or did not give an answer (q. 32, Table S.39). The majority of our respondents thus perceived the prostitution situation in Vancouver as to be similar to the situation elsewhere in Canada.

For those respondents that thought that Vancouver's prostitution situation is uniquely different, the visibility of prostitution was given most frequently as the reason. (Table M.21). Several other respondents implied that there were more prostitutes in Vancouver than elsewhere (eg. "good climate"). Others attributed the perceived difference to a wide range of factors varying



from the influence of local women's groups to the alleged free prostitution advertising provided by the Vancouver newsmedia.

When it came to the perception of the demand for social services, we asked if the number of prostitutes and sexually procured juveniles had increased, remained constant or decreased over the past few years (q. 35). 17 respondents stated that there was no change in the number of adult prostitutes, 11 said the number had increased. 20 respondents stated that the number of sexually procured juveniles had remained constant, 19 said that the number had increased. None of the respondents suggested that there had been a reduction in the numbers of either sexually procured juveniles or adult prostitutes during the past few years (Table H.5).

For those believing that the numbers of juveniles and adults had increased three major types of reasons were given (Table H.6); 1. the lack of training and opportunities for those involved in prostitution in a period of unfavourable economic conditions generally (Codes 2 and 4; nine responses), 2. the "liberalization" of attitudes towards prostitution (codes 3 and 5, twelve responses) with the result that 3. access to street life, especially for juveniles, is much easier now than it has been previously (code 8; five responses).

## 7. ATTITUDES TO LEGAL CHANGE

In attempting to assess attitudes to the desirability of proposed legal changes, we used the same question format as that included in both police and prostitute interviews, the choice of one of three scenarios - "legalization", "decriminalization", and "criminalization" - or some "other" alternative. 49 of the respondents answered this question of whom only four chose some alternative to the three precoded legal scenarios that were described in question 37. Of the 45 respondents choosing one of the three scenarios described, 10 opted for criminalization, 18 for decriminalization and 17 for legalization. The crosstabulation presented in Table M.30 indicates the variety of reasons given for the choices made (q. 38). The 14 codes in the left hand column are defined in the codelist (Appendix C, Section 2), the three codes in the top row are defined in the questionnaire (Appendix C, Section 1, q. 37). The cells in the cross tab are each comprised of 4 figures: the first, "count", indicates the frequency of responses; the second, "row pct", indicates the % of responses for each of the 14 reasons given by the various advocates of each of the three legal scenarios; the third figure, "col pct", indicates the % of respondents

mentioning each reason. The "tab pct" indicates the number of responses in each cell as a percentage of the total number of "valid cases" (i.e. those that answered the question). Thus, for example, 12 respondents noted that prostitution "won't disappear", 5 of whom had selected "decriminalization", as the most desirable legal option (i.e. 41.7% of the respondents that mention this reason) 7 had selected legalization (i.e. 58.3 of the respondents who had mentioned this reason). The table also shows that 27.8% of the respondents who had selected "decriminalization" mentioned this reason whereas 41.2% of the respondents who had selected "legalization" mentioned this option. 26.7% of all respondents answering this question gave this response (the sum of the two "tab pcts" 11.1 and 15.6).

What the table shows is that, for the most part, advocates of decriminalization and advocates of legalization frequently offer the same reasons for the option chosen (although in varying proportions). Control of disease was mentioned as a reason 7 times by advocates of legalization, but only once by advocates of criminalization. Similarly, advocates of legalization suggest that this option would be safe for prostitutes (6 responses) but only one advocate of decriminalization mentioned this factor. However, advocates of both positions generally stressed the importance of three factors: the resistance of prostitution to attempts at suppressing it (12 responses); that it would provide a less sexist alternative to the present situation (10 responses); and that it would relieve the police and courts of a considerable amount of work that did not really seem to be effective anyway (14 responses). Advocates of legalization stressed this final factor most (10 responses.)

Advocates of all three positions believed that their chosen scenario for legal change would help to curtail crime and would have the effect of removing prostitutes from the streets - but for slightly different reasons; advocates of both decriminalization and legalization tended to believe that prostitutes would move off the street because they would have somewhere to work without fear of criminal or civil sanction. Advocates of criminalization believed that more effective street soliciting laws would essentially drive prostitution underground. In fact this has their main reason for advocating criminalization. The other most recently mentioned reason given by advocates of criminalization was their belief that prostitution was inherently immoral (4 responses). (It should be noted that code 11, "more police power", found its way into the codelist erroneously; the code is tautological - by definition criminalization produces more police power - and should therefore be ignored.) The image one thus receives



from advocates of criminalization is that as a legal strategy it would help to suppress prostitution, clear the streets, and act as an important symbolic statement of a certain kind of social value (of course the question in a democratic society is whether this vision of social values is consensual). Advocates of decriminalization and legalization stress the persistence of prostitution as a reason to adopt an alternative approach which would not only serve to reduce the cost of law enforcement but also help to reduce crime related to prostitution and to control the visibility of prostitution by designating some legal niche in which they could practice their trade unhindered.

It appears to be over the issue of control that advocates of decriminalization and legalization disagree. Advocates of legalization tend to stress dimensions of control (i.e. medical control, control of visible aspects of street prostitution) more so than advocates of decriminalization (the distinction of the two scenarios is after all, constituted around the issue of regulation). The most frequent reason given by advocates of decriminalization was that this alternative would be the least sexist of the three. Advocates of decriminalization are much less interested in regulating prostitution than advocates of legalization.

Table M.23 provides a tabulation of the same data but without distinguishing advocates of the three legal scenarios.

Tables M.24 - M.26 depict the perceived effects of the three scenarios of legal change on the mandates of the various subject agencies (q. 39). The most striking aspect of the three sets of responses is the overwhelming majority opinion that no matter what the legal scenario adopted, it would not change organizational mandates one bit; it appears that prostitutes and sexually procured juveniles are perceived as needing the same kind of social services no matter what the legal environment. One real issue remains - how to provide those services in an increasingly unfavourable fiscal environment. In this respect money would appear to be more important as a determinant of services provided than any other single factor.

When it came to recommending extra-legal approaches to prostitution (q. 40), almost half of the respondents that answered this question suggested that transformation of attitudes towards sexual equality and the creation of equal opportunity structures would alter the conditions which generate prostitution in the first place. As a corollary of this attitude, a number of respondents suggested that as much as anything, prostitutes need alternative lifestyles,

but very few appeared to think that social services could effectively provide these alternatives - only two respondents indicated that they thought the provision of more social services would significantly change the lot of adult prostitutes. Their perception of the situation with regard to juveniles, however, was quite different.

While our respondent group were divided over the nature and extent of the criminal laws' involvement in adult prostitution, there was consensus over the role of law in the control of the sexual procurement of juveniles (see Table M.28 which describes answers to questions 41, 42, and 43). 43 of the 51 respondents (84.3%) advocated stiffer criminal penalties to control the sexual procurement of juveniles. In recommending extralegal measures to control the sexual exploitation of juveniles, the majority of the remaining responses simply state the need for adequate services (35 responses), a code which is virtually indistinguishable from the other frequently suggested needs to provide more education, more training, more child protection and more of an effort to deal with abuse. A number of respondents also noted the need for increased public awareness of the nature and extent of the sexual exploitation of juveniles. It should be noted, however, that although many of our respondents believe that there should be more intervention in the case of juveniles very few respondents recommended compulsory care (it is difficult to care for a person if that person does not want to be cared for) and 15 respondents suggested that a punitive approach would not be particularly successful. In fact a punitive approach was judged to be more likely to exacerbate the problems faced by youths that our respondents perceived to be victims rather than offenders.

The overwhelming impression one is left with in reaction to the information provided by this question is that a very high percentage of our subject group believes that the services available to sexually procured juveniles in Vancouver are grossly inadequate. It is in this respect that some of our discussions with social workers help to contextualize the information provided by the questionnaire. In conclusion to this study of the help-control professions we therefore offer some impressionistic sketches of the general attitude prevailing among many of the social workers we spoke to. The information used here is drawn partly from the final two questions in the questionnaire but mostly from interviews with M.H.R. personnel who felt that they could not adequately portray their impressions and attitudes in anything but an interactive situation (although it should be added that other considerations played their part; the desire for anonymity is better insured in situations where

there are no written or taped records). Since we believe that of the various techniques we have used in the field study, self-administered questionnaires provide the least penetrating information, we interviewed social workers whenever possible - indeed, part of our original purpose in distributing the questionnaire was to facilitate precisely these kinds of contacts.

## INFORMAL INTERVIEWS WITH SOCIAL WORKERS - SOME CONCLUDING COMMENTS

It is only fitting that given the central importance of the Ministry of Human Resources in the help-control complex that most of our contact with personnel in this field was with M.H.R. staff. Although we have not had sufficient time to separate our questionnaire respondents into sub groups in order to see if there are distinctive differences between, for example, M.H.R. staff and the other categories of respondent, since M.H.R. is the main organization responsible for providing social services for juveniles (in this case sexually procured juveniles) it seems logical to focus some attention on this agency in particular. When we do this, the findings of the questionnaire survey are underscored and given a slightly different significance. Let us first consider some of the general themes emerging from the questionnaire findings, and then place these in the context of the less formal and less structured information provided by the interviews.

Several of the questions in the interview suggest that, for the most part, social workers see little chance of successful intervention in the lives of adult prostitutes, although they do feel that counselling and job training can be of some help. Instead many of them believe that adult prostitution is more likely to be influenced by changes in economic conditions, in gender based power structures and in public perceptions of the part played by gender roles in attitudes to prostitutes and prostitution. In the case of juveniles, however, the general perception is that more, much more intervention is necessary. In British Columbia, however, the resources for such intervention are scarce, and diminishing.

While the number of juveniles on the street (whether involved in prostitution or not) is perceived as remaining constant or increasing, more and more provincially funded services are cut. And, of course, less intervention is perceived as meaning more juveniles on the street. As it stands, there are almost no financial aid services available for juveniles, and in lieu of other social services they are often left with one of two choices - returning to an abusive home situation which they cannot tolerate (for whatever reason) or "hustling" to make a living. The traditional style of hustling for female juveniles has been prostitution. And over the past 10-15 years in Vancouver, it appears to have become more acceptable for boys who would otherwise be involved in the more traditional male hustling roles - petty theft, burglaries, and the like. Both forms of hustling are becoming more visible and several of our respondents have



suggested that the more visible it becomes the more likelihood there is of other juveniles becoming involved. While this is happening, the money necessary to finance intervention is being withdrawn, agency staff are released, programs are cut, neighbourhood facilities are closed and the unemployment rate rises. This scenario has left nearly all the M.H.R. social workers we have talked to with various degrees of frustration and a certain sense of helplessness. These feelings were not clearly as apparent in the responses to the questionnaire as they were in the various interviews that were conducted.

This is not to say that should the resources be made available, the social workers we have talked to would agree about the form intervention should take although it is clear that most rule out a directly punitive approach (see table M.28 and the commentary above) since they perceive the juvenile as being a victim as well as (or instead of) an offender. Several of our subjects have been critical of the general move towards a largely reactive style of social work - waiting for referrals - rather than proactively searching out clients and identifying juveniles at risk. Several respondents also noted that the structure of the juvenile care system itself, from group homes to detention centres, might well serve to add to the ranks of the street-kid culture. Since there is very little classification of juveniles in the State's "care" system, they get thrown together in a situation where the experienced street-kids introduce the appeal of street lifestyle to neophytes for whom it provides the one thing they often do not get from either their home environment or the state's system of care - a sense of autonomy. The problem with the street culture is that the juveniles' search for autonomy itself often produces other types of dependency.

And although directly punitive measures are not recommended by most social workers, a number of them have observed that social work with juveniles often becomes a form of bargain-control. The services delivered are often dependent on the clients pliancy and willingness to comply with directives based more on institutional requirements than they are on the clients' interests (depending, that is, on what the interpretation of those interests are). A number of respondents thus suggested that there is a sense in which social work itself has failed its clients because institutional factors require the control of juveniles, not their help. Weighed against this, we must nevertheless acknowledge that many social workers do believe that their efforts to help people do meet with a certain amount of success at an individual level.



In conclusion, what this study generally indicates is that there is a sense in which social workers feel they need more power to intervene in the lives of juveniles, and there would be universal agreement on the need for more funding to intervene, but opinions diverge when it comes the style of intervention.



CHAPTER VI  
VIEWS FROM THE STREET:  
INTERVIEWS WITH HOOKERS AND HUSTLERS

## CHAPTER VI VIEWS FROM THE STREET: INTERVIEWS WITH HOOKERS AND HUSTLERS

### METHODOLOGY

#### 1. CLARIFYING SOME TERMS

Our purpose in interviewing 48 "hookers" and "hustlers" was to gain an insight into the nature of the working experience of those people that sell sexual services, and the rewards, problems and hazards that are involved. At the outset it is important to describe the choice of the terminology used here. The terms hooker, hoe, and prostitute are used to distinguish adult males and females (i.e. 18 years of age and over) who sell sexual services for money or other goods. The term "transsexual" refers to males who intend to have, or have had, any one or all of a series of operations to change their sexual gender. The term "transvestite" refers to men who dress as women or impersonate women, but who do not intend to change their biological gender identity. We deliberately do not refer to juveniles as prostitutes despite the convenience of doing so, because, as one social worker we spoke to has pointed out, the term "juvenile prostitute" may be a contradiction in terms. Adult prostitution is not criminalized in Canada because it involves the contractual behaviour of two consenting adults. The juvenile, on the other hand (17 years of age and under), cannot consent to such a contract without the consent of his/her parent or guardian. The term "juvenile prostitute" is thus an unfortunate one because it implies a form of consent that Canadian law implicitly denies. This is all the more unfortunate when we realize that the term is highly emotive, often has a pejorative connotation and suggests that a juvenile so labelled willingly chose that activity as a way of making money. This is not to deny that there is a sense of choice in a person's becoming a prostitute, but this research suggests that it is often a choice made in the face of very few alternatives. We have met few people who could be adequately characterized as having been "forced" in the most literal sense into prostitution--although we have met many who had very few opportunities for other sources of income when they began prostitution and even fewer once they had started. The issue is one of freedom in relation to constraint, not one of choice or force.

The most adequate term from a legal point of view for what the media usually refers to as "juvenile prostitution"

would be "the procurement of juveniles for sexual purposes"; consequently we use the term "sexually procured juveniles". When specifically referring to juvenile males, we use the street term "hustler".

## INTERVIEW DESIGN

Because we intended to interview both prostitutes and sexually procured juveniles two different interview schedules were developed. They elicit essentially the same information, but they do so in slightly different ways. In the case of the adults we interviewed, we prepared a formal interview schedule with a questionnaire filled in by the interviewer. In two cases the interview was filled out by the respondent and mailed to our post office box. About half of the interviews were taped. In the case of younger juveniles we adopted a slightly different strategy, much less formal, which allowed the interviewers to get a feel for the way that subjects viewed themselves - we did not want to be responsible for changing our subjects' definitions of themselves by, for example, referring to them as prostitutes. We then transferred the information onto one of the standard interview forms.

The adult interviews were structured into twelve groups of questions which covered:

a) the choice modus operandi (street walking, bars, escort services, advertisements, etc.) and since most of the sample group worked the street, reasons for the choice of stroll.

b) reasons for choosing Vancouver as a location.

c) characteristics of the working milieu (competition, safety measures, identification of peripheral groups who facilitate the trade and the structure of payments made to them).

d) relationships with, and attitudes to the police.

e) relationships with residents and business people in the various Vancouver strolls.

f) characteristics of tricks, relationships with tricks, demands of tricks, problems with tricks.

g) overhead expenses - the economic costs of the business.

h) circumstances which led to the choice of or recruitment into prostitution (and, in some cases,



circumstances which led to a person's quitting the trade - we deliberately included a number of ex-prostitutes in our subject group in order to gain an insight into problems associated with leaving the trade).

i) the occupational hazards of prostitution (medical, legal and social).

j) knowledge about and history of use of social services.

k) attitudes to legal change.

l) biographical information - age, place of birth, educational and occupational history and nature of family relationships.

#### DESIGN AND PRETEST OF ADULT QUESTIONNAIRE

In designing our interview schedule we examined other field studies of prostitution conducted in Vancouver (Layton, 1975; Kohlmeyer, 1982) in order to allow for some degree of comparability between these studies. In no case have we simply duplicated the questions asked by other researchers, but we have asked questions in such a way that they provide information which is comparable to that of the Layton and Kohlmeyer studies. Unfortunately, however, we have not had enough time to proceed with these comparisons as of the time of writing.

It was impossible, given the duration of this study, to complete any methodologically rigorous pretest of the interview. We did, however, subject it to a form of pretest in two ways. After we had developed the first draft of the questions, we interviewed an ex-prostitute in order that she might exercise questions that were considered to be offensive, ambiguous, irrelevant or so esoteric as to not be understood by our subjects. The questionnaire was revised extensively as a result of this experience. Then armed with a second draft of the interview we contracted the two women who organize and run the "Alliance for the Safety of Prostitutes" to subject the interview to further critical scrutiny, make suggestions for modifying the format, and propose additional questions that they felt we should include.

After two four hour meetings with the Alliance women and four members of the research team, the final draft of the interview schedule had been completed. At this point, the interviews began.

## DESIGN OF JUVENILE INTERVIEW FORMAT

The question format designed for interviewing juveniles was constructed in such a way that it provides much the same information as the adult interview, but the style of the interview was quite different. Although when we interviewed adults many of the sessions were taped, the interviewer would record as much information as possible by hand. Most of the questions were pre-set although there was a great deal of ad-libbing. One of our interviewers, however, a social worker dealing mostly with young street people (particularly native juveniles) felt that the interviews should be as short as possible if we hoped to get any response at all, and the questions rephrased for a younger subject group. To reduce the amount of time taken to complete the interviews we dispensed with hand recording and used a tape recorder only. We redesigned the interview schedule to provide a series of structured probes for the interviewer (see Appendix D, Juvenile Interview Format) who would reword the questions in a way that the subjects would most readily understand. After the interviews, a transcript was made, and the information then translated onto the regular questionnaire. Five of the interviews were recorded in this way.

## SAMPLING METHOD

It should come as no surprise that methodologically adequate random sampling procedures simply cannot be used when conducting street research on this scale in such a short period of time. We have had to use what might be best described as a "snowball" sample. As such, we have not managed to interview representative samples of prostitutes in different types of trade (street, bar, escort service, etc.), or in the different strolls used by street prostitutes and sexually procured juveniles (the West End, Chinatown, Hastings, Broadway, Granville, and Georgia). Similarly we have not been able to obtain representative samples of various age groups or gender types. In some senses, then, our sample is systematically biased. The biases reflect the nature of our street contacts (the majority of the persons interviewed mainly work the West End), and the differential willingness of different groups of people to be interviewed at all. In particular, we have found it very difficult to break into the escort service business despite the contacts members of our research team have established with women and men who work both the street and as escorts (although we have been told on several occasions that, many people who work for escort services do not work the street because several of the

escort agencies insist that their employees do not do so). For entirely different reasons we have found it particularly difficult to interview women who work on Georgia Street. The general consensus emerging from the various groups we have interviewed (police, social workers, prostitutes, street juveniles) is that the Georgia trade is almost exclusively controlled by pimps. Perhaps as a result of the control exercised over them by pimps, either the Georgia women are less willing to be interviewed, or it is much more difficult for researchers to break into the Georgia Street scene and get to know them. This second possibility would appear to be confirmed by our experience being introduced to prostitutes at the weekly meetings of the Alliance for the Safety of Prostitutes. While the founders of this group have been particularly helpful in introducing prostitutes to us by letting the female members of the research team attend some of the meetings, few contacts were made with the Georgia women because they rarely attended.

In contrast, a number of women and transsexuals who work in the West End and women working in Chinatown and/or Hastings did attend the meetings, and through them we met many more street people. We also developed contacts informally through the general social networks of the eight research assistants involved with various stages and components of the interview research. Our contacts with street people were thus always facilitated by a personal introduction.

We did try one other method of introduction to sexually procured juveniles - interviews with inmates of the British Columbia Youth Detention Centre. The Director and staff of the centre were particularly helpful to our research effort by attempting to arrange interviews with a number of juveniles in their custody. In order for an interview to take place, we not only required the consent of the youth, but also that of the parent or guardian. With the help of the Detention Centre staff we developed a list of youths willing to be interviewed, and then sent a letter to the parent or guardian of each describing the purpose of the research (that it related to juvenile sexual behaviour) and requesting consent to conduct the interview. Of the twenty or so requests for consent mailed out at the beginning of April 1984 only two were returned. As it turned out, neither boys had hustled sexual services, one was 14 years of age, the other 15, although both were familiar enough with the practice. The low return rate itself bears some consideration; while many factors might explain it, one can not help but wonder how the attitude that it implies fits into the circumstances that led these youths to their residing in the Youth Detention Centre in



the first place. For one reason and another, then, our Youth Detention Centre contact did nothing to increase our number of interviews even though the staff were very cooperative.

Although our sample is biased, we do have a fairly representative group of prostitutes and juveniles from the largest "stroll" in Vancouver - the West End. 31 of the 48 juveniles and prostitutes that we interviewed worked the Davie Street area (Davie is the main thoroughfare of the West End residential district) and includes both adults and juveniles, males and females, and transsexuals (for maps of the strolls see Chapter 8 and Appendix A). We thus have detailed information on what turns out to be one of the most unusual areas of street prostitution in North America, unusual to the extent that the majority of the people working in the area do not work for pimps in the stereotypical sense of the term. This statement immediately needs some qualification, for the term pimp potentially has a very broad meaning if defined as someone who "lives off the avails of prostitution" and there is no doubt that some of the West End hookers that we interviewed have supported sexual partners at various times financially. But they did not work for their partners in the same sense that most North American prostitutes work for pimps. Legislators should pay particular attention to this characteristic of the West End stroll because many of the prostitutes and juveniles in the area believe that if they move off the street it will be much easier for pimps to take control (the visibility of the street trade and the constant police presence make for a much safer environment for the hookers and the hustlers).

The West End is also unusual in comparison to other Vancouver strolls and many street prostitute areas elsewhere; there are almost as many males working the area as there are females, and nearly as many juveniles as adults.

The interviews usually took about 1 1/2 to 2 1/2 hours to complete, although several continued for 4 or 5 hours. They were conducted by 5 different members of the research team, one of whom was responsible for the lions' share, administering 24 of them.

Because we had decided to try and gain as many contacts as we could through the street scene as well as through official agencies (police, social workers, etc.), it required at least one member of the research team to spend a great deal of time in and around the various strolls, although this effort finally concentrated on the Davie Street area. As a result of this, the research

assistant became a familiar figure in the social world of the Davie stroll, and gained the opportunity to informally observe and describe many features of the lifestyle that simply could not be captured in the interviews. Our interviewer/observer also had a chance to experience the recent displacement of prostitutes and hustlers from the traditional street location in the West End to an area east of Burrard Street, away from the main residential area. (In Chapter 8 the dimensions of this change are recorded together with a short description of some of the problems associated with the move).

An account of this researcher's experience conducting the interviews is included as a postscript to this chapter to give a more detailed description of the methodology that we employed. But the essay does more than this by describing some of the experiences and observations arising from this kind of interview research which necessarily immerses the researcher in the world of his or her subjects.

In describing the results of the interviews two approaches are combined. From the hand-recorded information single and multiple response frequency tables of the various coded answers were generated. In this way we produced the same type of descriptive statistical profiles as those in our studies of policing and social services. Again we used the SPSSX package on the Michigan Terminal System of Simon Fraser University. The single and multiple response tables are the same type as those used for the study of social services (for a description of the interpretation of the tables see Chapter V, pp.154-155.)

While these simple descriptive statistics allow the reduction of a mass of detail into a comprehensible form, they tend to lose touch with the flesh and blood subject. For this reason we taped as many of the interviews as subjects would allow, and produced transcripts of twenty-four. Using the frequency responses as a backcloth, we use sections of the transcripts to try and bring the questionnaire information to life. While time does not allow us to weave a coherent and systematic account of our subjects' lives through the medium of the transcripts, we do present what appear to be representative quotations to illustrate the quantitative elements of the analysis. The descriptive statistics provide the framework of the analysis, the transcripts add the colour.

The quotations of our subjects are indented in the text; the statements of different subjects are separated by a blank line.



## THE INTERVIEWS

### SOME GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SUBJECT GROUP

We begin by describing some of the general characteristics of the subject group - age, gender and place of birth (other biographical details are discussed subsequently).

In total, we interviewed 48 prostitutes, hustlers and sexually procured juvenile females. Their ages ranged from 15 to 56, but only 4 were over the age of 30 (Table S.45). The average age was 22.25, the mode 18. Six of our subject group were legal juveniles (under the definition of the Young Offender's act), although the majority of the others (65%) initially became involved in prostitution as juveniles (see table 43). Indeed 42% of our subject group (18 of them) had "turned out" by the time they were 14 years of age. Our subject group included 28 women, 5 female juveniles, 8 male adults, 2 adult transvestites, 1 juvenile male, and 4 adult transsexuals (Table S.59). 15 of our subject group were born in Vancouver, 8 of them came to Vancouver from elsewhere in British Columbia, 15 came from other parts of Canada, and 5 came from Europe. Only one person came from the United States (coded as "other" in Table S.44) but given the nature of our sample, this finding may not be particularly significant.

The majority of our subject group work in street locations primarily, although the number of responses to Q.1 (104) indicates that many prostitutes change their modus operandi. This is particularly true of the older people in our sample. 27% of the sample group also worked in bars, although this reflects the inclusion of 3 respondents who left the business within the past 3 years, and 2 respondents who had left the business for more than 5 years, all of whom worked mainly in Vancouver hotels and bars. Tables S.29 and S.30, depicting the number of our respondents who claim to have left the business should be interpreted carefully - it appears that five of these respondents have not really left the business at all. One young adult male, for example, considers that he has left the business because he no longer works the street - now he works for an escort agency. Three other young women (2 juveniles) also claimed to have left the business, but since the time of interview we know that at least two are still working. One other respondent who stated that she had left the business still works part time. Our sample thus includes 42 active hookers and hustlers, but we added the other 6 women who used to work in the business so as not to

give the impression that once people become involved in prostitution they are involved in it for life. Obviously the age factor plays its part here; one does not see many women over thirty years of age in the West End (see also the interviewer's comments on the working life-span of hustlers in the postscript to this chapter), although it should be noted that our 56 year old respondent (Table S.45) is still an active transsexual prostitute working almost exclusively by telephone. In the case of the six respondents who had left the business, none could be said to have done so purely because of their age (five of them are still under the age of 28, the other left the business when she was 25), although there is no doubt that many customers prefer younger persons.

Eight of our respondents worked for escort agencies at one time or another, although only two of them work exclusively this way (some work the street and carry a pager so that the agency can get in touch with them). Only four of the respondents rented an apartment specifically for turning tricks ("trick pads") and eleven used their own apartments at times, most of whom work a phone business (9 responses). Many of our subjects, however, provide their services in cars and underground parking lots (see Section VI of this chapter).

Given the variety of types of people in our subject group a series of analyses of each distinct group (males/females; active hookers/ex-hookers; those that "turned out" as juveniles/those that "turned out as adult; etc.) should be completed but time simply has not permitted us to look at these dimensions of the data. We do, however, point out the obvious differences between various sub-groups of our respondents whenever appropriate.

#### SECTION I. CHOICE OF WORK STYLE (Q.'s 1-3)

As noted above, 39 of our group work the street. Despite their varied geographical origin, 35 of our respondents began their prostitution careers in Vancouver (Table S.2). Of the 39 who worked the street, 31 work the Davie Street area in the West End. The remaining responses include the well known strolls - the East End (9) and Hastings (8); Granville (5); Georgia (4); - and two areas not generally known for street prostitution, Robson and Commercial (although some respondents have mentioned other people that they know of who work in these areas). Many of the respondents had worked several areas, although the general pattern is for them to work in one area during any given period of time; of the 30 respondents that answered this question, 15 of them had worked in more than one

street location (Table S.1). We have, however, met several people who work one area during the afternoon, another at night. Several prostitutes worked the Broadway area because of the court orders preventing them from appearing on the streets of the West End. One thing is certain from these findings, any attempt to control street prostitution which is area specific (applying only to the West End, for example) will simply displace it to some other location. Area specific discretionary law enforcement would likely have the same effect.

In describing why they chose a particular style of work, most of our respondents who worked the street said it was because tricks were easier to meet (Table M.2).

When it came to the particular street location (q. 2a) West Enders again mentioned the greater likelihood of "catching" tricks there. One 21 year old woman, for example, had worked in many street locations but spent most of her time in the West End.

I've worked on the East side. I worked on Granville Street, I catch dates down there sometimes. I've caught dates on Georgia. I usually work on Davie. I've caught dates on Robson, Hastings, Broadway, Commercial. I've caught dates in White Rock, Richmond, but Davie usually. (Q. On Broadway and Commercial as well?) Yes, I was down there picking up my welfare cheque when I was in the hospital.

(Q. Why Davie?) Because on Davie the tricks know to go down there and it's more accessible. They have places to park. They know where to pick you up. They know that you are male/female/transsexual, whatever. They usually all know the prices. They've been there before and if they haven't their friends tell them where to go.

Another woman now hooking in the West End originally worked the East End before Davie Street became well known as a stroll:

I work Davie Street area because there's no interference from pimps. Most of the girls that work in the area are independent and I prefer to work in an area where I'm not going to be hassled by a pimp. I have worked in the East Side, years ago, because that's the area that was known for working girls so I worked down there. Then it progressed up to Davie Street. I sometimes worked



daytime down there and evenings up here. If the police got too heavy up here I'd go down there.

But the important consideration in many cases for the choice of street location related to the social scene on the street - one works with one's friends (14 responses: Table M.4). As one woman put it:

I knew most of the people there - it was fast and I had the best rapport with the women. I didn't have a pimp, so I couldn't work Georgia. Besides, I knew a lot of people with trick pads in the West End, so it made it simpler.

Some people simply went where their pimp told them to go, as was the case with one West End hooker when she first turned out:

I didn't start out on Georgia; I started off in the West End at Bute and Comox. I was working for someone then, and that's where he put me. (Q. Did he tell you to go to Georgia sometimes too?) No, I went there on my own with another girl that was working for my old man's friend. (Was your pimp black?) No. (Do you still work Georgia?) No, just the West End - I don't work for anybody now.

These comments also show that the West End is not exclusively worked by independent prostitutes.

The West End was also favoured because the East End was perceived as a lower quality stroll by virtue of the number of addict prostitutes working there.

The girls in the West End are a lot more agreeable. There's not as many junkies. I don't know. I felt comfortable there. It's sort of the rumour there, Jervis Street is the better street. (Q. Where would you hear something like that?) From my boyfriend.

In terms of off-street prostitution, our sample does not provide much information. It is clear that a number of people working the street also work for escort services (including a number of juveniles that we have met). In one case, a young male respondent worked only for an escort agency now that he felt he was generally too old to work the street (21 years of age). A number of our respondents work bars as well as the streets, and 3 of the ex-hookers used to work some of the higher class local hotels. Many of the street hookers also use the telephone to facilitate business with "regulars" (repeat customers) and some of

them advertise in local newspapers. Only one of our respondents worked exclusively by phone, although she too used to be a street worker.

## II. VANCOUVER AS A LOCATION (Q.'s 4-9)

In our questions on Vancouver as a location we gained some general idea of prostitute mobility, and the attractiveness of Vancouver as a place to work. As noted above, over 70% of our subject group started working as prostitutes or were first sexually procured in Vancouver (Table S.2). Nearly 70% of them had worked in at least one other city (Table S.3) of whom some had travelled extensively, working all the while. One young man, for example, had:

...started working hitchhiking when I was a kid. (Q. In Vancouver?) In Canada and the States. I hitchhiked all over the country, down south. (Q. And that's how you started?) On the road, with the truckers. (Q. So would you say essentially you've been everywhere around Canada and the States?) Canada and the States, yeah. I've never been anywhere overseas. I've been to Mexico. (Q. Where did you go in Mexico?) Tijuana. I lived in a little hotel in San Diego for \$15 a week over a bar, it was really wild. It was so cheap. I was living with a bunch of Indians. It was a lot of fun. I got ripped off before I left for a bit of money in my knapsack but I had a good time.

Sometimes, business and pleasure trips would be combined:

I went across Canada once with my girlfriend and I worked in all the major cities from here to Toronto in the hotels. Actually the trip across Canada was combined business and pleasure. I wanted to go to Toronto anyways and we thought it would be a good idea to try it on our way, my girlfriend and I. It didn't work out too well because we didn't know how the hotels worked and ended up not making half as much money as we expected to.

One of her much more travelled counterparts had worked in a variety of places:

Montreal, Toronto, Edmonton, P.E.I., Vancouver, Saskatchewan, Halifax, Penticton, Kelowna, England, L.A.. I went down to L.A. with my mother



and caught dates there. When I used to go on vacation I would always catch dates.

Several others had worked extensively in other parts of Canada before coming to Vancouver:

I started in Montreal which is my birth place and when I was a little older I went to Toronto. That was in the 50's I was in Toronto. I was there for 2-3 years. I had a house there, I didn't work the streets. A big house. I wasn't working that much myself, I had people working for me. I was married twice. I am a transsexual so I was married to a female - that sounds weird - and I had 13 children. Not all mine, 6 are mine, 7 adopted. Some are still living, some are not and the ones still living, they're all married and have kids of their own. (You mentioned a couple of other places.) Toronto and Montreal, and I worked in Victoria for about 2 months, I couldn't handle it. My family was living there and I had to quit.

When comparing Vancouver to other cities as a place to work, our respondents were divided (Table M.5). Some said it was better, some said that it was not as good as other places they had worked. Some said that there were more bad tricks in Vancouver, some said that there were less. Six of the respondents said that they had come to Vancouver specifically to work (Table S.4), four of whom came from Edmonton.

From the answers that were given here it does not appear that Vancouver is really perceived as being a hooker haven in comparison to other cities, although some of the younger subjects in our group had travelled to Vancouver specifically to work here. In the case of 3 that were interviewed, however, they only stayed for three weeks and we have heard that recent anti-street prostitution resident group activity in the West End has resulted in others leaving the city.

A sample of our subjects' responses indicate the range of opinion that exists:

I don't think it's as good as Toronto but it's better than the other places between here and Toronto. (But that could be based on the fact that you know Toronto better than Vancouver.) Yes. I lived in Toronto for a long time first and I think Toronto is better because it seems to have more businessmen and seems to have more

money. There's more hotels too. There seems to be a bigger market in Toronto than here.

Vancouver is the best climate in Canada. It's a big convention centre, it's on the Pacific rim, it's one of the Pacific rim countries and we have visitors from all over the world coming here. It's a real central thing for Japanese, Asians and all sorts of people like that.

The cops are really easy, Davie Street has no pimps, literally no pimps compared to anywhere else. The weather's good. There's better money in other places but compared to all the other hassles in other places it's worth it.

Compared to Alberta and most of the other cities in Canada, Vancouver is more relaxed so you can literally work easier but you always have the pimps bothering you more here than in other cities I find. There are always at least 30 pimps driving around to bother you. At least 30 a week. I get a lot of them all the time. Five a day driving by and by and by. But usually in Alberta it's really, really rough because in Calgary especially, it's almost all pimps and you have to have someone backing you up. In other words you have to pay them. The same in Edmonton. I was in Edmonton about a year and a half ago, before I came here again and there was only 1 or 2 corners where independent girls could work. I worked on one of those and I still got hassled a lot. Vancouver is not as tough either. In L.A. you have a black girl in a bar and one minute she's talking to a person, and the next minute she's telling that person to leave the bar. They turn around and say no and the next thing you know, they're dead on the floor; the other girl walks out the door with the shank. Nobody does anything, nobody says anything. You just let her walk out. The cops came about 1/2 hour later and they said who did it? Nobody, ok that's fine, throw the body in the wagon.. Hooker dies. But Vancouver, it's a little bit more caring just because the girls are closer. The transsexuals can work a hell of a lot easier. They can't really work easily in Alberta. The people I hung around with in Calgary, if they saw a transsexual they would kill them. They just don't like them, they don't like them at all. You have quite a few bad dates in Vancouver but it's easier to work, you don't have as many restrictions also. I have

gotten more bad dates here and in Edmonton than anywhere else.

All in all, the choice of where to work ends up being a selection of the least problematic option, although a variety of other contingencies clearly play their part.

### III. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE WORKING MILIEU (Q.'s 11-12)

In this section of the interview we wanted to gain some idea of the nature of the working milieu in terms of competition for tricks, safety measures, relationships with people who may facilitate the trade, and the extent and nature of pimping. The responses to the question of pimping provide a useful insight into the general independence of many of our respondents.

The majority of our respondents flatly stated that when it came to competing for tricks, most people simply did not bother that much (Table M. 6). There is very little that one can do to actively compete, apart from certain aspects of physical presentation. As one young woman described the situation:

There's competition for tricks in a healthy sense, like if you were competing in real estate to sell property you would try to do more to influence your clients. You're happy-go-lucky, you're more polite or whatever you think is going to catch their fascination. I haven't found any violence in competition. People actually getting heavy or beating on you or something like that. It's sort of a healthy little competition.

Only 4 respondents suggested that there was open hostility on the street; for the most part our subjects simply said that it was not a problem (49% of the "valid responses") or that they worked on their own or with friends (14%). For the most part it is the neophyte and in some cases the juveniles, who experience a sense of competition, and this is mainly over territory:

Well when I first came there I worked a couple of blocks down on Comox, that's where they all start. I started down on Comox and a couple of the girls came on heavy; they came down and started saying stuff but then I just sort of minded my own business and after a while they liked me and the girl that first came down heavy on me, she's my friend now; like we get along really well. (Q. What kind of stuff were they

saying; were they threatening you?) No, they were just saying this is the rule of the street, I was a new girl, they explained things. They realized that I wasn't pushy, I wasn't arrogant. If you're pushy you're looking for trouble right away. I relate it to any job; if you go into any kind of position in any sort of job and you go in there and you try and out do everyone else, they automatically dislike you so I just minded my own business, stayed on my corner and after a couple of months was accepted and I moved maybe a block and then about a month after that, I worked where I liked. As far as they were concerned, I'd been there for years. I got along really well with all the girls but there's a lot of factors maybe if I was on drugs, if I was a junkie or something they wouldn't like me because all those girls, most of them don't do drugs. There's the occasional girl who's been there for years and years, she has a drug habit and they just accept her because she's been there so long. But for a new girl if they have drug habits we try to get rid of them as fast as possible.

As our subsequent description of the distribution of street prostitutes and sexually procured juveniles indicates, the West End stroll is divided into several areas, each containing different sexes and/or ages of prostitutes. Within each area, a hierarchy of corners reflect the seniority of the people working. As one young hustler put it:

When I first started working here, 3 or 4 years ago, they used to have territories. Jervis Street you couldn't work unless you were 19 and a girl. Bute you could work, Bute and Nelson. Georgia Street girls started cutting in on Bute then; that's when there was a whole bunch of stabbings going on. Broughton was for the older guys that had been there for a year or better. Nicola was there for hustlers with 6 months or more and Cardero was for first timers. (It's not like that anymore.) No, you work where you want now. (Q. So when you came out did you go right to Cardero?) When I came out, I came out on Nicola usually because I found better business, better pay up there. At first you didn't quite know exactly what to charge, \$40, great, lots of money and then you realized, hey, this is shit.

While many of our respondents suggested that the prostitutes were a fairly coherent group when it came to



establishing prices, a number of the younger respondents complained about undercutting (5 responses):

Right now everybody is undercutting, I don't. Well I do sometimes, seriously. It's \$80 for a lay and \$100 for a half and half. I charge \$70-\$90 and if I can \$80-\$100. \$70-\$90 is really not undercutting, but it's the lowest you're supposed to go. I don't compete that much and have quite a few regulars and it's just whoever stops, stops. It takes longer to catch a trick these days.

Commenting on the juveniles, a young woman noted:

A thirteen year old girl is working on Jervis Street right next to that corner and nobody is kicking them off. 13/14/15 year old girls that are getting into the D.A. (a drug) and they're undercutting. They're doing \$20-\$30 blow jobs but nobody kicks them off. (Q. Why do you think nobody kicks the other people off?) Because nobody's bothered and because they'll come back again. There used to be a lot more unity in the streets. I've been working down here 8 years now off and on and people have really known me for about 3 1/2 years and about 6 months ago I was kicked off Jervis Street by someone I've never met before, by some big bitch and I turned around and said help me out here and everybody kicked her off. The new girls think that if they're bigger and stronger they can come down and kick everybody off which is not true. But nobody wants to help anyone else out because they're so worried about getting their fix or their goddamn rent paid they're not worried about the other people running around the street trying to get their rent paid and they're doing cheaper dates. Then all of a sudden everyone falls back down, going where's the money going to? How come we're not making any money? They're really fucked.

When it comes to establishing territory it is clear that while areas within the West End stroll are territorially divided among different types of prostitute, much of the corner space within each is distributed on a first come, first serve basis. There is, however, a distinct feeling of seniority on the street:

You get there first. It's usually by seniority. The number of years a certain person has been around working at that corner and usually to work



that territory you have to get in good with that person first of all and then you've got to prove yourself; prove your worthiness. In other words if nobody likes me I'd be working down on Granville Street if I was lucky. Quite a few know me in the area so I'm allowed to work where I work. I'm sure if one of the trannys decided they didn't want me working around there I'm no match for a big tranny. I'm sure that I'd lose it but nobody's done that so far. In fact I have people I don't even know asking me to work with them. I say no because I'm o.k. where I'm working. It's not my territory, it's not anybody's territory, its a combined group that works there.

One of the transsexual prostitutes from the West End gave a similar account:

A territory is established by a person that's usually been there the longest and the new people that come on to that territory owe the person that has been there the longest a degree of respect for letting them come to work there because they're in the area where I'm going to make money so obviously they are going to affect my income if a client should drive by and see them, money that might be mine. The way it works to my experience is that you just respect the older people in the area and you don't get out of hand and if you get out of hand they tell you and you either leave the area or stick to the rules, whatever they might be. Seniority; there is very much a strong sense of that on the street.

For the less senior street people, the move into established territories thus appears to be a little more problematic; as one adult described their experience as a juvenile:

When I went down there I had to stand up to everybody; it's a test of guts. If you've got the moxy to stand up to them then they will leave you alone. You may take a few shit kickings but if you can't fight back or don't fight back then they will walk all over you. It depends on how you establish yourself and then you establish your territory by being there saying that's my spot and you work away from me. Most of the girls that are down there now know me and they stay away from me. If I tell them to move, they move or I'll move them.

And as one of the most succinct street philosophers put it in the response which most clearly captures the information provided by our quantitative analysis (see Table M.8):

You start standing somewhere and if nobody kicks you off it's yours. If they kick you off it's theirs.

The process of territorial claiming was highlighted particularly well in June this year when the West End prostitutes moved east of Burrard away from the residential area following the notice of public nuisance injunctions. There were several skirmishes with prostitutes who already work the area claiming that the territory was theirs. Several pimps tried to drive the West End prostitutes out of the Granville area, but were unsuccessful. For several nights, however, the young hustlers were unable to establish a corner territory in the much more confined area of the new stroll. At the time of writing, the ecological structure of the new stroll is only just being established. We also have evidence that some police officers in the new stroll area east of Burrard (the adjacent police patrol area to the West End) attempted to drive the prostitutes back into the West End, the typical reaction of many groups to street prostitutes - anywhere but here (for more information on this move, see Chapter VIII).

As to the safety measures prostitutes take, we were concerned at this point in the questionnaire with finding out if prostitutes helped each other. Table M.7 shows that while almost 30% of the respondents that answered this question take no specific precautions, there is a sense in which the street prostitutes and juveniles watch out for each other, some in a quite direct way; the majority of respondents reported that both they and their working companions would systematically take the car license plate numbers of customers (19 responses). Many of the hookers work in partnerships, although not necessarily with just one other person:

I never took safety measures all those years I was working. I would do what any other woman would do in terms of I wouldn't go with anyone who was really, really drunk unless we did a double. Safety measures? what I would do is I would go out on doubles, that's what I do now. What I do now is, I don't turn a trick unless there is someone else in the apartment, I go over to G.'s when she's home. Someone's got to be there or else it's got to be a double, which is

probably why I don't make any money. I won't negotiate. I've never been very good at acting. I turn them off. "Did you come, did you come, did you enjoy it?" Fuck off ! You're only a trick. Tricks don't like this.

Most prostitutes appear to take various kinds of precautions when it comes to their individual dealings with tricks, a topic we discuss in more detail in the section on customers.

#### PIMPS AND LOVERS

Of our 48 respondents, 60% of them "shared" their money with some other person (Q. 11d, Table S.5). Of these, however, only 8 shared their earnings with a person fitting the stereotypical image of a pimp (Table M.9); someone to whom the prostitute hands over all, or the majority of their income. The information presented here is very difficult to interpret. Most of our subjects said they shared their money either with working partners (i.e. people with whom they work on the street as prostitutes) or with friends. For example, two hustlers we know will frequently give each other money, depending upon who is making it at any given time. These two young men have no sexual relationship with each other. Alternatively, a young woman or juvenile working the street might help to support a boyfriend who deals drugs, or who lives on unemployment or welfare. In the case of juveniles who are not eligible for financial aid but live by hustling, they are technically living off the avails of prostitution during the periods that their girlfriends support them; technically they are pimps. The same may be true for adult males who are on welfare, and also supported by their prostitute girlfriend. The majority of our respondents, however, would not classify such "friends and lovers" as pimps (Table M.9 - 22 responses). These findings are problematic, however, to the extent that many women who do give their earnings to a stereotypical pimp (a person who is deliberately searching out women - usually more than one - to work for him) would also classify him as a lover or at least they would do so initially. Our sample contains a number of subjects who worked for stereotypical pimps, but soon realized the extremely exploitative nature of the relationship. Then again, there is a problem of how to classify the several young hustlers that we know who practice a form of serial-polygamy with prostitute-girlfriends. In a sense these young hustlers are financially parasitic, but they do not perceive the women they court as working for them, and the women see their men simply as boyfriends. In a similar fashion, a 17 year old



woman we met believed that her pimp (a man for whom several women prostituted themselves) was her genuine lover and that they would retire on "their" earnings, all of which go to the man. Despite her family's attempt to "protect" her from this man, she has since run away with him to Edmonton to work there.

While there may not be a legal difference in these various types of people with whom prostitutes share their money there is a great deal of difference from the perspective of the hookers, hustlers, and female juveniles. Quite simply most of them do not like pimps:

I've never had anybody to pimp for me at all or procure, I don't need that. I pick and choose to go with someone for one reason or another, I have my reasons for not going with them, I don't go, that's all. There are girls downtown, like Bxxx, for instance, who get beat regularly, at least twice a week, get robbed and raped at least twice a week and if it isn't a trick that's doing it, it's her old man that's doing it so what the hell. Or the drug dealer's beating her up because she doesn't have money for drugs. Poor bitch doesn't get a damn thing. It's really a vicious circle, you have to have drugs to go to work and you have to work to get the drugs and so on and so on and so on and if you have an old man that wants it too you have to support his habit as well. (Q. Do you find that that is happening more now?) Yes and the kids that are out there now, and I say kids, are really getting into it more and more and more and the pimps are putting out younger and younger girls all the time and nothing is being done. Nothing can be done until you get the pimps off the bloody streets because the girls get beat up regularly, they have their money taken from them, you've got to produce the money or else, and if you get caught keeping it, you get badly beaten. Whether he's black, white, or yellow, it don't matter and in most cases it doesn't matter what their skin tone is, most of them are yellow anyway because they can't beat on a man, they have to beat up on their bitches and that's all they're good for. Most of them are really intelligent and they are in excellent health and physical shape but they're just too bloody lazy. They're trash, they're garbage. If their mother was good looking they would probably have her out working too. (Q. Do you hear a lot about pimps coming up from the States? Is that true?) Yes, it is. Right now you walk down Davie

Street and all of a sudden with spring and summer coming, take a look at how many black girls are now working the street or the extra white girls are now working for pimps and most of them are black. There are white pimps, too. I'm not saying black because I am prejudiced but I am against pimps. I don't give a shit if he's East Indian or Chinese or Japanese or white, anything. I don't care what his nationality is. Any pimp or any man who makes a woman go on the street, makes her go. If it's her choice and he agrees to it, that's different.

The ambivalence of the boyfriend as pimp - pimp by law, but not by street reputation - is well displayed in the final part of this respondent's analysis: "if it's her choice and he agrees to it, that's different." The issue that distinguishes the pimp is the element of coercion or exploitation in the relationship. As one woman put it:

In any situation that you are involved with a person, on the personal level you are going to share things and they're going to share what they have; it's just a give and take type of thing, sometimes they might not have something and you help them or they help you when they have it and you don't, and they look after you when you are sick and keep you company.

Another young woman felt pretty much the same way:

I shared my earnings with my boyfriend the whole time I was working. (Q. What did he do in return for your money?) Not much. Rented my hotel rooms, looked out for me. He was around if I needed him. More often than not. Even if he wasn't just around the corner watching me, he was down the street and I could always come and get him if I needed him. (Q. Does that make you feel a little more secure?) Yeah, and he also would come and check on me every couple of hours just to see how I was doing.

And again:

(Q. You didn't have a pimp?) No. I didn't give my money to nobody. I've shared it with my boyfriend, I wasn't giving it to him, it was still mine.

The secret of the pimp is that despite his dependency on the woman, he manages to reverse it so that the woman



appears dependent on him. But not so for one young woman who often gave money to her boyfriend:

He treats me nice, he buys me jewellery with my money and he takes me out for dinner with my money and he takes me to movies with my money. (Q. Do you just hand him over the money?) Sure, yeah. No, not all of it. I make him feel like he has to, I make him feel bad, I make him know that I'm giving him the money. He'll say I'm going out to the bar and I'll say with what money and he'll go, and I'll say here's 50 bucks, be back by two o'clock. He has to be back by 2:00 or he knows he's not gonna...

This kind of dependency can become so great that the boyfriend comes to be perceived as a pimp:

(Q. Did you give your money to your boyfriend?) Not really, he kind of conned it out of me in other ways. He got it one way or another,. He was sneaky about it. He made me feel like I was holding on to it but he would run up all these bills so what difference did it make. You may as well have been handing it to a pimp!

Nevertheless, in the case of lovers, most of our subjects felt that the relationship was a reciprocal one. In contrast, contrary to the popular image that pimps protect their women, Vancouver women who had been pimped in the stereotypical way said that the men had done absolutely nothing in return for the money they gave them:

(Q. Pimps you were involved with, did they ever do anything at all for the money that you have given them?) Are you kidding, did they ever do anything for the money? Threatened to beat me unless I brought enough money. Beat me, do all sorts of things, I mean I could really get into this.

We have recorded some fascinating accounts of the methods used by pimps to persuade women to work for them, and there is no doubt that from the woman's point of view the relationship to begin with is perceived as an emotional affair and no doubt continues that way for many women. But the majority of women that we spoke to who had been pimped (but had broken away from the relationship) had almost nothing positive to say about the experience. The few women that we interviewed who were actively working for pimps had a totally different perception of their relationship with their man.

When it came to the question on why our subjects share their earnings (Table M.10), we gained very little indication that force plays a major part in the West End street scene.

Our final questions in this section of the interview related to people facilitating the trade. Our original purpose in asking these questions was to establish whether pimps themselves helped to introduce customers to prostitutes, and whether other persons peripheral to the prostitution scene help to facilitate the trade. 31 of the 41 respondents who answered this question said that other people did help introduce customers to them (Table S.6), but in the majority of cases it was other hookers or hustlers that did so, or in some cases the customers themselves (Table M.11). In many cases, hookers introduce customers to each other in order to perform "doubles" (situations where more than two people are involved in a sex act). Sometimes prostitutes have specific partners with whom they "turn doubles", but often they will ask other hookers that they don't really know that well to help them. Sometimes hookers will pass on dates that for some reason (usually the type of service requested) they do not want to accept:

Yes I've been introduced to customers by other working girls. I don't find it so much prevalent now but when I started working it was. You would give them \$10 for giving you the tricks, as a matter of point of respect because they are going out of their way to give you something that perhaps might have been their's, you turn around and say here's \$10 for giving me the trick.

Taxi drivers seem to play only a small part in the trade.

In question 12 we asked about a variety of people who might help to facilitate bar prostitution. We did gather some information in this respect, but most of it came from either the older active hookers, or from the respondents in our sample who have since moved into other occupations:

What I used to do when I worked in a hotel was I would leave a big tip for the waiter for not ratting on me to security and there was one hotel that I worked at, where I really got in good with the waiter and he would call me and let me know. He'd give me codes like "It's foggy out here" which would mean there was no business or "Boy the planes are coming in like crazy", "The

landings really clear" and he'd let me know and I would just give him 10% of what I made. I would just leave it as a tip after I left the bar.

Generally then, we find that the prostitution trade flourishes in Vancouver without the need for a network of people to directly facilitate it. Like any other service business, the major problem facing the prostitute is access to clientele. Vancouver prostitutes and juveniles that we have interviewed work the street in locations well known for their "red-light" activities. It is because this is the easiest way to meet customers that the prostitutes are there in the first place.

#### IV. RELATIONSHIPS WITH AND ATTITUDES TO THE POLICE

In this section we asked a series of questions about our subjects relationships with the police. The first question asked pertains to a general assessment of relationships with police, the remainder refer to specific types of police practice. Tables S.7-S.14 display the series of yes/no answers to the various questions about police activities. Generally we find that our subject group have fairly positive perceptions of the Vancouver police, although almost everyone that we talked to had negative comments about particular police officers. There tended to be a direct relationship between the age of respondent and positive perception of the police - the younger the respondent, the more likely the attitude would be fairly negative. Our younger respondents were, however, aware that the more hostile their own attitude, the more hostile the attitude of the police: the hustlers in particular tend to have the more abrasive type of attitude.

In general though, relationships seem fairly amicable (see Table M.12):

Usually okay. It depends on what cop it is.

Generally speaking, excellent. There are good and bad in every occupation and there are asshole police and there are other ones; like two actually came down to my home in Richmond where I was living temporarily and brought me two big boxes of groceries and stuff like that. Totally unexpected, as a matter of fact, I couldn't figure out how they found out where I was living.

Well they like me. I get along with them fine. They couldn't do too much anyhow. They only bug

people, the girls who are on drugs. And the girls who cause the disturbances. Most of my friends and I, we did our business and that was it and then we didn't hang around down there. (Q. Was that even after you got into that incident where you were in a bit of trouble?) Well, I haven't really had any trouble with them.

I don't talk to them. I don't know any of them. I knew a couple of them but I talk straight with them. I don't mouth off to them. If they ask me if I have anything on me I tell them. I give them a reason why I have it on me and usually that's it. They don't bother me, they have no reason to. They've seen me around enough and I've never been picked up and I've never caused trouble so they have no reason to stop me.

I have a pretty good relationship with the police. I don't do anything illegal so they have nothing really to bother me about. I keep to myself.

Some relationships I have with police are very good, some of them are very fatherly, some are nice, I find the older policemen that have seen years of service, tend to understand life, lifestyles, life trends, whatever you want to call it, and they just - well age teaches you everything and they don't react as violently to things as younger officers. Some young policemen, fresh on the force, can be complete assholes in the sense that I'm wearing a badge so I can say or do anything I want to do.

Some of them can be alright, some of them can be pricks. Depends on what cop it is. There's good and bad in everything.

In the individual questions on experiences with police, however, (Q. 15) we find mention of several specific incidents of violence, mostly from the younger respondents:

Yes, police have beaten me, many times. Do you want me to tell you all the times? I can't remember all the times but several times. (Q. So what were the circumstances? An actual bust or other situations, just a working over as a form of street justice?) Well, remember last year? They came to my house, or the year before, we'd had our first shit kicking. I've been beaten by



the police when I was a kid and they were taking me back, like I was AWOL or I would call the police on my stepfather who was beating the fuck out of me and they would come over and they would call me a little whore, a little slut. I'd run away, they'd catch me, they'd beat me up, they'd take me to the detention centre.

I was beaten once in Montreal. That's only because I didn't speak any French, they didn't speak any English so they just beat me and a friend of mine up and left us back on the highway. We were hitchhiking and we were accused of doing something. It wasn't a severe beating or anything.

I don't know if you call it beating, kidnapping - taken to a farm that was surrounded with pig muck, stripped of your clothing, had your purse ripped up, all your makeup taken off, your hair messed up, punched around, raped and then thrown in pig muck. Having your jacket taken away and leaving you with ripped jeans and a t-shirt in the middle of December in Edmonton. The cop, he's been removed right now because of some other incident. It's a drag when you have to walk 30 odd miles back to the nearest pay phone in blizzards, sleet and snow, and by this time you're pretty cold and you stink and nobody's going to pick you up, nobody's going to give you a ride.

A total of 17 of the 39 respondents informed us that they had been beaten by police, although many of the incidents did not occur in Vancouver (Table S.7). Nine respondents claimed that the police had asked for money:

Porky again in Edmonton. In fact he demanded money from me so he wouldn't take me back down to the pig farm. This I did not do; in other words I walked home again.

In Montreal it has been suggested very strongly by detectives walking the street that I buy them a drink or I won't be working for the rest of the night. I've heard of it but I've never experienced a situation where police say give me money to leave you alone.

They've taken it from me in Montreal.

This was years ago, back in the 50's when Axxxxx



was the police chief and he disappeared with a bunch of money. In those days, this town was wide open, this town was roaring.

Several years ago in Toronto, one woman mentioned the systematic attempts of two police officers to force her to give them money:

About 6 months later I'm in the hotel again drinking and the same cop, I didn't recognize him, came and sat down with me and they were out to get me. They set me up because I made sure I was smarter by then. I made sure I didn't say anything but they managed to arrest me and they took me down, finger printed me, took my picture and kept me overnight. As it was, this is the honest to God's truth, I knew some really, really heavy people that I was running around with in Toronto and I told them about it and these cops when they arrested me were insinuating that I pay them money in order to keep working. They showed me pictures of this big boat they had and told me they had to make payments and everything. I just played dumb like I didn't understand because I was not about to go along with that because you get yourself involved like that and you're really in trouble. Anyways, I got in touch with these people, I told them about what happened and they said ok, we'll take care of it but you're going to owe us. They did, and when I showed up to court the cop never showed so I guess they paid him off.

While bribery does happen, then, it does not appear to be a problem in Vancouver, at least in the case of our subject group.

13 of our respondents have related incidents in which they claimed that police requested sexual favours of them, although a number of these incidents do not have sinister implications - the policemen paid for the services provided just as any trick would. As one of the more cosmopolitan of our respondents remarked:

They're usually willing to pay for it. If they don't they either say give me a favour or I'm going to bust you or put you in jail but in larger cities I think the answer to that question would be yes because the police there are totally different from the police here. I find the police here in Vancouver are like kindergarten in comparison to some larger cities like Montreal or

New York, San Francisco, Hawaii, Los Angeles. (Q. If you got into a situation like that would it be normally a cop that was on duty or would this be someone who was on duty that saw you later?) I have seen police on duty and talked to them but it's not saying that it doesn't happen. I've heard stories where they've made very strong suggestions because police are just like anybody else who are basically turned on by a beautiful woman.

Yes I have. I have been propositioned with money and have done some. There is some weird infatuation. There are several good looking police driving around. If they offer me money to suck them off with the rubber attached that's fine. As long as they are paying the right price and they put the safety catch on their guns, that's fine.

As a matter of fact, yes. Not in the last while but a few years back, yes. I had to do this and I had to do that or else, but that's very rare; very rare; but they're humans too. When they're off duty they wouldn't mind taking a few of the girls out and they do, married or not. They want some strange piece, too. They certainly do and they like it, too.

Right after we got out, the RCMP that took us out asked if we would do them a stag. As they were taking us out of jail, "Incidentally, would you mind doing a stag for us?"

One, yes, actually. One cop, he was driving an unmarked car and he goes well I'll tell you what, I'll make sure that you never get busted if you give me head. There's another chick that got stopped by him too. I asked him for a light and he goes it's in the glove compartment and a gun popped out and I said I'm getting out and he said, hey man, cool it, I'm a cop and I just said fuck you man, get away, if I get busted, I get busted. That's when the by-law was here a few years ago.

Eleven of our respondents related incidents in which they accused police officers of stealing money from them, but the majority of our respondent group had never experienced this problem (Table S.10). Those that did usually referred to small amounts of money disappearing when they were arrested or searched.

In contrast, all but three of our subject group had been requested by police to show their identification, a reflection of the persistent intelligence activity of the police when it comes to prostitutes and prostitution (Table S.11):

Yes, they ask for I.D. a lot. They don't ask me in the bars because they know me but just on the corner when I'm working. (Q. Why do you think that is?) I think in a way it's good, like I can see their point too because what if we pick up a trick or something and he does kill us or something and they have no way of identifying you. So I think it's good.

Yes they do ask for I.D. but they've never been insistent upon it and I find if it's dealing with people, if you recognize their authority, they're going to have to treat you O.K.. If you don't recognize their authority, then of course they are going to go out of their way to make sure that they let you know that you better come up with something. I've seen it happen to friends of mine that have refused to show I.D. to them and the policeman jumped out of the car throwing the person's purse on the hood, dumped everything all over which they're not allowed to do but they do anyway and they do it just because the person refused. Basically, it's in how you deal with people.

I was never able to produce I.D. because I never carried my I.D. on me and they told me that the next time, if they catch me without my I.D., I'm going to go down to the station but they never did. They knew that I wasn't one of the more seedy characters. I was quite trustworthy as far as they thought. As far as I'm concerned, I was quite trustworthy. (Q. How could they be sure about you? You look pretty young.) I was accused of being 14 years old and 16 years old but they knew I wasn't after they spoke to me and realized I was on the level.

The prostitutes and juveniles have become accustomed to the police photographing them while working (Table S.12) and often rationalize the procedure as a safeguard for them rather than as a threat to their civil liberties.

In Vancouver they come up and ask most of the time and it's understandable why they want to

take your picture because when they find a dead body and they don't know who it is, they don't have any I.D., they can always match it up. Then again, Edmonton, Calgary and a lot of other cities they just come, point you toward the car and they just take your picture whether you like it or not; but I like being asked because then I can make sure I look O.K.

Yes, the police have my picture. (Q. Do you go to the station or do they take it right there?) Here they've taken it right on the street and tell you they're going to take you down to the station.

They've always said I would like to take your picture so sure I go along with it and you never know, something might happen to me and I might be in such shape that I'm unidentifiable and that might just help. I find that the people that use their camera more forcibly are the press more than the police and there's always the little boys running around clicking off a camera. The press are the people that are exploiting the picture thing, not the police. They usually come up and ask you, usually quite polite about it because the ones that are doing it I find are the police that have been around for awhile.

Yes, they took my picture very sneakily. They drive by when you're not looking and I thought that was illegal. I told the girls don't, if they come up to you, say no, I'm not doing it, and if they insist, say no I don't have to, it's against the law, which it is. It's a harassment thing.

Not forcibly but they said we have to have your picture taken and they took my picture. It's not like they pinned me down and took my picture but they said we'll get it one way or another. The ones that took my picture were actually quite nice about it.

Yes. (Q. Lots?) Yes. (Q. Forcibly?) Yes. (Q. What do they do, do they just come up on the street?) Right on the street corner and when I'm standing there they take pictures and all those Shame the Johns idiots take pictures too. (Q. Shame the Johns take pictures?) Yes.

As well as asking what problems our subjects encountered in their interactions with police, we also asked if the police had ever helped them. There were



several affirmative answers to this question, as for example in the case of one young woman:

A couple of girls jacked me up one night as I was standing on the corner, and oh thank God there was a cop coming around the corner. I was scared shitless. The funny thing is that I had been extra mouthy with this one cop just 15 minutes before - he must have thought "Oh, that mouthy little cunt." I guess he just saw that there was something wrong and he pulled right over and just sat there and watched. And then he says "Hey, you, come here." I went over, shaking, and he said "What's the matter?" It was really great - he got me out of there. The more you're nice to them, the more you find they are nice to you. If you're a real little bitch, they kind of let you have it.

And in the case of another woman:

This one cop ran two blocks to get this pimp off my back. He intervened and got this guy out of there. And yet when he first came downtown he was a real jerk but he learned more or less the law of the street, not the law of the street but the ambience of the street. He had the intelligence to deal with it properly and not go around being an asshole.

Perhaps the greatest amount of resentment felt about Vancouver police came in the questions asking if the police ever hassled the prostitutes when they were not at work - over 1/2 the subject group said that they did (Table S.14).

#### THE PROSTITUTE AS "CRIMINAL"

Although we asked detailed questions about our subjects' criminal records, we have generalized the findings to indicate the range of criminal activities our subjects have been involved with. For the most part the information focuses on prostitution charges (Table M.12). We did not accurately record the various drug offences and property crimes that our respondents had been involved with - we know that several have fairly extensive records, particularly some of the young hustlers. These tabulated data do not therefore give a reliable indication of the number of criminal convictions registered against our subjects, but they do include all the prostitution charges that our respondents could recall.



To complete this section of the interview we asked our subjects to describe the present laws relating to prostitution. In some senses their responses are difficult to interpret to the extent that many of our respondents (police, social workers and prostitutes alike) do not understand the present interpretation of the law. Table M.13 displays the range of responses to this question. As might be expected, since most of our subjects are street prostitutes, they were mostly familiar with the soliciting and bawdy house provisions (70% of the responses).

Some of the specific answers to this question are of interest, because they indicate the lack of importance of legal considerations in prostitute decision making and activity patterns.

Before, remember when they had that by-law and then they changed it and then they changed it back - well I guess during that time before the by-law changed, that's when they took the picture of me and I didn't even know the by-law changed and this one cop pulled me over and asked me how I was doing and he says you're lucky that the by-law changed and I says the by-law changed? I didn't know that and he goes yeah, I had 3 warrants for you, 3 summons for me to go to court on that.

Other respondents did not have much of an idea about any laws relating to prostitution; although the belief that it was legal to stand on the street certainly did influence the behaviour of two of our subjects.

I really don't know of any because no one ever told me. When I was working there weren't any criminal laws. There weren't any laws, the by-law wasn't changed and as far as I knew it was legal at that time and it's only now that they're trying to change it. I knew that it was probably illegal to be caught in your room and I always figured that if the police set you up and posed as a trick and then caught you, okay then you're in trouble or when they come busting into your room, then you're in trouble but as far as I knew it was legal to stand on the street.

The other had an acute sense of the present interpretation of the law:

All I know is that if a prostitute is pressing or persistent she can be arrested for soliciting

which is not prostitution, it's the act of being a prostitute. That's the only law I know so I just curtail myself from being pressing or persistent.

The third respondent had perhaps the most realistic view of the law enforcement situation if our police interviews (Chapter IV) are anything to go by:

Indecent exposure, jay walking, not having your seatbelt on. All the hunky dory things that they're thinking of now. Loitering on a public corner. Actually right now I walk from one side of the corner to the other. They can't get us for loitering. Bawdy housing, living off the avails, theft, drugs - having them in your purse. I think that's about all I can really think about right now. I know it's not illegal to work.

#### V. RELATIONSHIPS WITH RESIDENTS (Q.'s 18-20b)

Because of the steadily increasing pressure of groups opposing street prostitution in the West End of Vancouver (the "Concerned Residents of the West End" and "Shame the Johns") we asked our subjects about the nature of their experiences with residents in the areas in which they worked. The question mostly applies to our West End respondents, since the other strolls in which our subjects work are either not used as intensively as the area in the West End, or are not located in residential areas. The responses to these questions tended to change throughout the study period - the first subjects we interviewed perceived far fewer problems with residents than subjects interviewed towards the end of the study period. This largely reflects the appearance of the "Shame the Johns" in April and May this year, and their practice of picketing the prostitutes and customers.

50% of the respondents maintained that residents had been abusive (Table S.15); these responses came exclusively from people working in the West End stroll. Abuse ranged from insults to projectiles hurled from apartment buildings (Table M.14). The projectiles often produce the very disturbances that other residents complain about as the hookers vent their wrath - being hit with an egg is not a particularly pleasant experience apparently.

They walk by and call you names. Oh, physically they have, of course they have, at that apartment right on the corner of Jervis and Davie I got hit by an egg. You know I got eggs thrown at me from that apartment. I've had, in Calgary, I've had

oranges and pop bottles and stuff thrown at us and eggs. They're throwing ice out of there right now - a couple of times when we've been up there. I guess it's cheaper than eggs. They were throwing all kinds of shit. (Q. In Calgary that happened too?) Yeah, we were working behind the Westin and they were up in the parking lot. Right behind me a pop bottle went, I could feel the breeze from it. I almost died.

They're not happy with their own lives so they want to bug a minority and the gay people should be behind us and so should everybody be because they've all gone through the same thing and they don't realize it. They're so caught up in their own little world making Canada a better place. They don't worry about unemployment. They worry about a hooker on the corner they've got to get rid of.

There's a lot of older people around that area. There's older people and younger people and the younger people would throw ice cubes out their window at us and scream and stuff and there were older people that walked by us and really didn't say anything and we weren't rude to them either. (So mainly you had a problem with the younger people.) Yeah younger people and then when things started with the Shame the Johns and stuff, that's when I quit, just before then, that's when people started coming out and saying stuff. We've never said anything to these people and they've passed us by on the street several times and all of a sudden they had a reason to say things so they did and they were very rude.

A drunk resident that lives about 1/2 block away from here came up the back alley with a cast on one hand and a bandage around his head with dried blood all over his nose, drunk, pissed to the gills. He was shouting "I don't want you hookers here, I don't want you hookers here. It's my city. I want you all to die. I'm bringing out a gun. I'm going to shoot you all." I said "What's the matter? We're not making any noise." He goes "I don't care about the noise, I just don't want your fucking bodies around here."

Yes, very. The guy on Bute and Comox like I say, he'd talk down, call me slime and he says I'm the lowest, disgusting thing he's seen on earth and this one big fat lady about a week and a half

ago, she came up to me and she did some fancy judo kick in front of me and said "When I am on this sidewalk, you get the hell out of my way, you slime bag" and I was just laughing my head off. I just take it as a joke. I'm supposed to be the young one. I think they should grow up a little bit. (Q. Have you had anything thrown at you?) No. I've been chased down the street with cameras when I've been in tricks' cars.

I'd say we barely make a fraction of the noise compared to what CROWE do. They're definitely trying, it seems to me, to bring the situation to a head one way or another. I think they're trying to make things worse, to try and make the violence come out and everything. It will work too.

As noted above, however, several of our respondents have suggested that the situation in the West End has not always involved these open disputes:

There's a lot of people that walk down the street and we can see that they're walking home from work. We regularly see them because they live in the area and they say hi and we'd say hi and after a couple of times of them seeing us, they'd stop and talk, ask us how we were doing, etc. They never took us out. There were men and women who would stop and say hi. There's older ladies that would ask us how we are and talk about the weather and just general chit-chat and move on their way with their shopping bags. Young mothers with kids with strollers just strolling along and we'd make remarks about what a cute baby or whatever and they'd stop and talk. It was pleasant. They weren't rude to us. (Q. Have the "Shame the Johns" changed the situation?) Yes, I think they have.

Despite the general problems that were beginning to occur in the West End until the stroll moved east of Burrard many of our subjects did not seem to think that residents complained very much to the police, although there were exceptions (Table S.16):

I imagine some people complain about the activity. When it gets noisy, yes they complain which I don't blame them for doing, the police come down and say who's making the noise or whatever and they keep it down and if that continues they come and park their car on the



corner so people eventually have to leave.

Not with me cause I work during the day. I'm quiet, I don't make any noise, there's no real line up of cars. We've had a couple of complaints and it's not really the girls that are screaming, it's the dates and they're throwing their beer and they've got their hoses. Usually the cops just drive by and wave. They go "We just got a complaint, quieten down!" and they will leave and go back to their coffee break at Boston Pizza.

There's one building in particular there's a lot of complaints from. They have a security guard or a supposed security guard that walks around and I was sitting on the wall. He said "This is private property. Leave or I'll call the cops!" and I said there's no sign, you can't charge me. There's got to be a sign up and I waited there for an hour and a half for him to come back with the cops; no one showed.

When it came to complaints from business people, our subjects generally said that there were none (Table S.17); indeed their perception is generally that local business people actually favour their presence:

Most of the business people that I know are glad because that's where most of their money comes from.

(Q. Were there any businesses where you were working?) Around the corner. With the Shame the Johns and all that sort of stuff trying to drive the hookers out, there's a lot of businesses I think that will suffer; they will certainly experience a decline in their income. Restaurants that we frequent and we have money to spend. (So in other words there wasn't complaints from the businesses.) No. Just think, the drugstore makes a lot of money from us and we used to get to know the girls in the drugstore and say hi. I've gone out for coffee and lunch with some of them.

I know Georgia Street they are pouring soapy water out the windows now. They also put spikes up so the girls couldn't sit down. I've had no complaints because the people on Davie really realize that they are getting 30% of their business from goddamn hookers. If they lose 30% of their business, I'm sorry, they're going to be washed up.



## VI. TRICKS (Q.'s 21-40)

In this section of the interview we look at the "trick" through the eyes of the prostitute, the component of our study which gives the greatest insight into who customers are and what they are like (in fact, given the failure of our trick study, it gives the only insight). Several of the questions in this section on the economics of the trade are dealt with in Chapter X.

We began with several general questions about the best working times in terms of the number of customers on the strolls. The responses generally confirm the activity patterns reported in Chapter VIII; lunchtime and the evening period generally. Thursday, Friday, and Saturday are perceived by the majority of respondents to be the most lucrative days of the week, although every day is mentioned by at least eight respondents (Table M.16).

Our subjects gave a wide variety of opinions about the desirability of having regular customers (Q. 23). Several of them favoured regular customers (especially some of the hustlers) by virtue of the regular income it produced, and because it afforded the opportunity to begin a phone business.

I do not have as many regulars as I want to. I'm trying to build up a call business but since everybody's from out of town, it is hard to do. I think I have about 5, maybe 10 that were from town that would call me. Toronto was much better for that. Toronto you could get regulars like crazy because it's such a big city and people there seem to be into sex a lot more than they are here and they're into kinky sex in Toronto a lot more than they are here which is very dangerous.

Other hookers were less interested in having regular customers because they were perceived as wanting more for their money than one-time customers. Some of our respondents, usually women, couldn't stomach seeing a trick more than once if they could possibly help it - this was especially true of those who despised the men that purchased their sexual favours.

As one woman put it:

I have quite a few. Most of the regulars are the ones I don't want. Like the one that was on the

phone they expect too much, you know, they come back 4 or 5 times and I still do them. So I do give them better treatment than the other ones.

Hustlers, in contrast, tended to develop more amicable relationships with their tricks which would often end up in weekend trips skiing, or journeys to other cities in Canada and the U.S.A.

As one young hustler explained:

I keep picking them up all the time, they're so easy. I've had one for 4 years almost. He drives a fucking Porsche, I know his license plate off by heart and everything. (Q. How often does he come by to see you?) He comes once a week. \$100 for a blow job every time. He wants to take me to New York for two weeks for \$1000 a week. (Q. Are you going to go?) Yeah, I think so. (Q. Is he alright?) He's alright like even once he said I got no money, I'll come and pay you next week and he'd pay me double, he's never going to rip me off plus I know his license plate and what he drives.

One older transsexual prostitute developed much longer term business relationships with tricks:

Yes I do have regulars, some for a number of years, one 14 years. Another one I had a thing going on for a lot longer than that but he died at the age of 81. (Still going strong.) Not so strong anymore. It was more of a social thing; I would go over and cook him a nice little gourmet meal and play the piano for him, we'd sit and have cocktails afterwards.

A general descriptive statistical review of the prevalence of "regulars" is displayed in Table M.14.

When it came to developing non-business relationships with tricks, very few of our sample group had done so. Several young hustlers proved to be an exception to the general rule:

I've had ones that have been so nice to me, I go over to their place all the time. One guy has become a friend of mine, he's really good. I didn't have to trick him to take us up to Blackcomb, for three days. Nothing. He's really decent, easy going, the guy's right on and he treated me like we'd known each other for years

and that's the way he is.

A few of the women had also developed non-business relationships with tricks:

Yes. I fell in love with a rich guy. He told me I had to stop seeing any other customers, he wanted me totally for himself and he was about 35, he had a really nice body, he was good looking, and he didn't act like a normal trick, he was really something else. It wasn't his wealth or anything. I was really upset when he split up with me. The reason for that was because of his wife; she was pregnant.

A couple of times. We just met for drinks or dinner. (Q. You ended up staying because you wanted to?) Yes.

I've gotten some really good friends out of it. A couple of them are really good friends of mine. I went out with a couple of them, like dated them. (Q. And that would mean that you wouldn't take money from them?) No.

Generally, however, the women that we talked to like to keep their relationships with their various tricks strictly at a business level. (One of our respondents completely reversed the question by noting that some of her relationships had turned into tricks.) One woman typified the attitudes of most of the women when she said:

It's hard to become friends with a customer because in a way you don't like them even if you can talk with them and stuff like that; in a way you kind of feel a certain amount of distaste towards them.

This feeling becomes paramount in question 26 when we asked our subjects to generally describe their feeling towards their customers. There was a great range of answers, the general dimensions of which are described in Table M.19. The most frequent responses simply referred to customers as generally being "nice guys", but nearly as many of our subject group referred to at least some of their customers as "jerks" (but generally using more explicitly derogatory descriptions than that).

Representing the more acidic view of customers, many of our women respondents had very little good to say about the men they sexually service:

50% are fat, unkept, goddamn fucking slobs who stink. I will not take them out no matter how much...well if they gave me \$1000 I'd give them a blow job if they took a shower first. About 1/4 of the dates I take out are very good looking men and in that case 75% of them are Italian and I love Italians. I'm very, very partial to Italians and blondes.

For some women, the pretense they feel they must sometimes muster to satisfy their tricks becomes too much, particularly when the customer diverges from the informal rules of quick commercial sex. One woman became particularly frustrated with the men who wanted her to be something she could not be - satisfied with her sexual relationship with him:

Honest to god, "What's a nice girl like you doing in this business?" "I'm going to pick you up because you look so lonely and you look like you need the money and blah, blah, blah." If you want to be nice, give me the fucking money. This one guy came up to me, he wanted me to blow some coke with him but I don't do coke. He said "What would be your idea of a really good time? I want to satisfy you." I thought oh no, one of these, like fuck I want to satisfy you too. Look honey, I'm not here to be satisfied. You giving me the money is the satisfaction.

Some of our respondents felt more ambivalent about the situation:

Some of the tricks are very appreciative of the service. My particular customers, as most customers that would return to a particular person, would appreciate the service that that person gives them. But there's a lot of tricks walking around that are complete assholes too and I refuse to do it and there's not enough money they can pay me to put up with their bullshit.

Sick would be the word I'd use. Sick. No, I shouldn't say that. I would say some of them are really sick, sick, sick, sick, sick and need to be locked up, they need help. On the other hand some of them are really neat. They are caring human beings. They really are nice, warm people.

Most of them are nice. You see different girls attract different types of customers. Just like xxxx attracted mostly pretty nice customers.



There were girls who dressed up in S&M and they attracted the freaky guys and there were girls who looked like the really nice, square girls, they usually attract guys that are pretty nice and square themselves. The girls that looked kind of seedy and looked really scruffy they tend to attract kind of scruffy customers. Those women seemed to have more problems than anybody.

Some of the younger women tended to have a more favourable view of customers generally:

Most of them are really nice; I like them: sexually they do nothing for me, but as human beings they're really nice people.

My customers, my own customers, the people I go with, are pretty good, some of them aren't bad. Lots of them are married and have kids and all that. (Q. How would you describe tricks in general? The whole concept of being a trick?) The whole thing is a big head game.

One rather unusual response (or at least unusual in the case of our subject group) was given by a woman, now no longer a prostitute, who had worked for several pimps. The attitude instilled in her by "her man" provides an interesting glimpse of the mentality that is associated with this style of prostitution. When asked to describe her tricks (all picked up in hotel bars) she replied:

They were out of towners. They were usually in between 40 and 70. They're business men, they drank. I just have a good time talking to them. At first I really liked their company and it was interesting talking to them but towards the end I lost my patience. They were interesting men. Sometimes you would meet customers that would really hassle you over the price and it would make you so fed up and so frustrated that you wouldn't even feel like going to bed with them. You just feel like walking away from them, which I did quite a few times. Clients are one thing, I went out with black men only on a social basis and that's how I differentiated between a man and tricks. A trick was a white guy and that's the only way I could do it because it was really hard. (Q. All white men became tricks, didn't they?) Yes, even the young ones. So I was really turned off white men for a long time. It was really weird. I guess a trick would be a white man, older. I have no respect for anyone that



paid for it. I still don't.

When it came to the question of why men buy sex (Q. 28), 45% of the respondents who answered this question suggested that the main reason was the uncooperativeness of wives. Variety in sexual partners was mentioned several times, as was the belief that one of the more significant aspects of commercial sex was the feeling of power that it affords the buyer (Table M.63). Most of the respondents gave a variety of reasons thus making these answers particularly difficult to code.

Some they enjoy the risk because they're doing something that's illegal, they enjoy the risk, the possibility of being caught. Others--had one regular that used to come down with his wife. She used to bring him down, give him the money and say here, I'll be back in an hour to pick him up. Wives, like many women don't do certain things.

Men buy sex for all kinds of reasons. Their wives won't do what they want them to. I don't know. If I had a lot of money I might even pay for it. It avoids a lot hassle. I've been hurt in a lot of relationships so I know what it is. It's just like purchasing a movie and watching it. You enjoy it for the length of time and then you return and that's all there is to it. There's nothing else to it. Just the discreetness of it and that's all they want out of it is the immediate satisfaction and nothing more or it's either that generally or they're really lonely. They're really lonely and they don't know how to make friends or they don't know how to go out and meet anybody.

They're lonely, immature, sometimes their fathers have told them you're not a man unless you go out and get a hooker. Sometimes men buy sex for their sons so they can lose their virginity. They come down and think a hooker will do it and we will if there's money involved. Their wives are pregnant, they can't give sex; their wives are frigid, they won't give sex; they have no one to turn to; they have no friends; they want company; they're in from a different city; they're bored; they don't feel like having an affair; it's always better to have a one night stand instead of an affair because the wife probably won't find out and it doesn't matter that they don't love her.

I'd say 50% of them is out of curiosity because

the women down there are supposed to be thought of as sexy and all that sort of stuff and a lot of them really aren't. 25% are getting something that they don't get at home which is, for example, the S&M trips. Husbands who want blow jobs, but they don't get them at home, buy them. The other 25% are just lonely people that are very unsuccessful with women.

They're just men that need to get something and they can't get it for free and everybody needs it once in awhile. They're not bad people, some of them are good people, some of them are bad.

Men who go to prostitutes go to prostitutes (and I've been hooking for 19 years) because it's a power trip. They pay the money, they get to call the shots. They own you for that 1/2 hour or that 20 minutes or that hour. They are buying you. They have no attachments, you're not a person, you're a thing to be used.

Men buy sex because they are taught to; it's a notion that's put into them from childhood that men should go out with prostitutes so it goes from generation to generation.

In the case of the hustlers (the majority of whom do not consider themselves gay), several of them felt that one of the main reasons that bisexual men in particular bought sex from males was that they simply did not know where else to go:

I think because they don't know how to get it. They say they do but they always come back it seems. Plus I feel that they don't have any commitment either. (Q. Think that a lot of these guys that you go with are married?) Oh yes, quite a few of them. One guy goes, "Well I can't go home, see my fiancée's there, she doesn't know about this part of my life, it's private from her." Well shit you got to look at them, they're bi-sexual. They get the pleasure from both so they got to get out too.

However when it came to unabashedly gay men, one respondent simply could not understand why they ever patronized hustlers:

I have no idea why gay men buy sex. I think it's pretty stupid. I don't know why. I think that they can just go to any of these gay bars around

here, and find some cute little guy or some older guy or whatever they want for nothing. I think they enjoy paying for it.

#### CUSTOMER PREFERENCES

In order to gain a general sketch of customer preferences we asked several questions which aimed to describe the types of services that customers requested most (Q. 29) and the general demand for juveniles (Q. 25). We also asked if our respondents had ever had female tricks (Q. 27).

In discussing customer service preferences, 77% of the responses referred to two main types - oral sex ranked first and intercourse second (Table M.21). The demand for all other services paled in comparison to these. One of the more detailed answers should be sufficient to give a general impression of the consensus:

The most popular sexual service is a blow job because they can't get their wife or girlfriend to do it. Society's ideas are that blow jobs are a sexually perverse thing for a normal woman to engage in. That is the most popular. You also get requests for greek lays, requests for dominance, discipline. But 8 out of 10 requests involve a blow job if it's not in the sense of a half and half or preparatory to finishing the lay. It's a blow job or a hand job. Men like cocks sucked, what can I say, and they can't get it that much from their wives. That need is why prostitutes make money, you want it, you go down and get it. It will cost you 40 bucks/50 bucks. You can take a girl, spend \$50-\$100 and get not as much as a kiss or a hand shake so why go through all that. Set a little bit aside and go down and have fun later. Your girlfriend is still your girlfriend and you've got your pleasure. You're a nice guy, she still respects you and you still get off.

One young man who worked for an escort agency said that most of the requests for his service were for bondage and domination, although he had to agree that "blows and lays" were the predominant service provided by street hookers and hustlers.

Several of our older respondents noted that service preferences had changed since their youth and that had this survey been conducted 20 years ago, oral sex would have commanded higher prices than intercourse; and be much less

frequently requested. (Other details on prices - Q. 24 - and the frequency of 'dates' - Q. 39 - are contained in Chapter X, a discussion of the economics of prostitution).

In order to try and provide a surrogate measure of demand for juveniles, we asked our respondents if they were ever requested to help procure juveniles. Of the 43 respondents who answered the question, 25 said that they had. This represents a fairly high percentage of the adults in our sample. Several respondents also suggested that the demand for juveniles was growing:

Yes, lots of requests for kids. Especially in the last 4 or 5 years. It's getting worse. They want younger and younger and younger like 13 and 14 and 12 year olds. In one case an 8 year old and you call me sick, you call me sick. Another one wanted a 6 year old and I said oh boy, you are sick, sick, sick, sick. Some of them will ask you to shave your pubic hairs because it reminds them of a little girl. No way! (Q. So you think that this is on the increase.) Oh yes, it is, definitely. You just look at the streets these days at how young those kids are especially in the West End. It's terrible, where are these kids' parents? (Some of the ones we've talked to have come across Canada to get away from their parents and away from their family.) All right. Where are the agencies that are supposed to take care of those kids? What the hell is Grace doing? She's cancelled it all.

Yes, in other words I tell them I'm not going to get you someone under age. I go I'm under age. "How old are you?" 16 years old and I'll want to tell them that I just turned 16 last week. I have been asked that and if I can't get away with it I will just tell them to get lost and I will take down the license plate number and I'll report it to the police. In other words I have to report it to the police. I know that they'll want to do something. They'll tail the guy and they'll write him up a ticket for anything. They'll follow his car and if he does something wrong, that way they are pretty well discouraged and they'll go home for a couple of days.

Well, I was a child. This one trick, my girlfriend's trick, I would go out with him now and then, he wanted to pay us \$1,000 if he could get M....'s sister 10 year old. That was 10 years ago. It's less closeted now. (Q. But is that



because of economics and because of social services being cut?) But it's always been there just like wife battering and incest, it's always been there.

As well as the one respondent just quoted, several other prostitutes took a particularly dark view of men who requested their aid procuring children. Several others similarly said that they would report such incidents to the police:

Yes, there is a lot of demand for juvies, especially up here on Broadway. Tricks'll pull up and ask if I'm working or not and I'll say yes. Well do you know where I can find 14, 15, 13 or whatever and I say get the fuck out of my face and if I see you again, I'll call the cops and I've got your license plate number and I better not see you again.

Conversely, one respondent took advantage of her knowledge of this demand:

(Well you are a child) Nobody knows how old I am. My tricks all think I'm 19 and my I.D. says I'm 21 so the cops think I'm 21 and they have asked me for really young girls. Really young. Lots of tricks ask me to call them daddy. Wear shorts and bobby socks and that's why I wear my bobby socks, ask me to call them daddy and all this.

For the most part, our subject group took extreme exception to the demand for juveniles, and the most commonly used word to describe the potential procurer was "sick".

The answers to our question about female customers came as something as a surprise (to us at least) - 18 of the respondents said that they had met female customers, although this includes several respondents who refused to provide the service (Table S.19).

In the case of female prostitutes, most of the demand is for them to join a male/female couple:

I've been procured by a man, he was up from Oregon with his girlfriend and he wanted someone to service both him and his girlfriend. (So it's pretty rare probably.) Yes and no, there are a lot of...it's always the men that procure the women, it's not the females that go procuring them. It's the men, they want to see somebody go



down on their girlfriend.

In Vancouver, I've had about 7 or 8 women that I can remember. In Ontario when I was working in Ottawa when I was younger sometimes the guys would take me out and would have a wife there. They would want me to meet their wives and so on and once I got to know them. Then they would give me more money for a little bit of sex and I am bisexual, it didn't really bother me that much. In fact, I'd prefer women clients half the time. I love to get a woman client just because its something new, something different because basically I don't really have to do any sex and its a change.

I had one lady who came and she had promised her husband on some anniversary that she would, she was a brunette, a gorgeous brunette, she promised that she would get a blonde for him and their anniversary. He wasn't with her though. She made the arrangements.

We have heard of individual women approaching female prostitutes on the street:

Yes, I've had a couple of women. It's just normal. It's the same thing. If a girl stops, it surprises me, I've had about 3 and I used to really like girls. (Q. Women actually drive by in the car and stop and say "how much are you"?) Yes. It's the same type of deal.

One young hustler has also reported being picked up by a woman on the street:

I've worked five years and had about 3 or 4 women. It's very infrequent. They're really shy. The first one I had, I didn't know. She pulled in the parking lot, I was working down on Cardero when I first started. She pulled into the parking lot, I was standing there and she kept watching me. I thought it was probably a cop or something and then she left and then some guy came to me and said you know that lady that was sitting in the parking lot there, she wants to go home with you so I walked over and talked to her and I said I didn't know and she goes well I'm really shy.

In another instance, a young man who worked for an escort service at the time of the interview also described an incident with a woman client:

I had a blind girl through the escort agency once. It was pretty neat. (Q. Somebody set her up?) No, she called and talked to me herself. It was strange; she didn't really care what I looked like cause she really couldn't tell, but I guess she was just really lonely and I went over and spent the evening there, we got really drunk and really stoned and went to bed and I stayed the night and I left in the morning and that was that. I also had an older lady pick me up in a limousine and we drove around Stanley Park talking, just like we're talking about prostitution, about the drug laws, about abortion, about politics, about everything. We drove around the park drinking Grand Marnier. I was in a 3 piece white silk suit and she took me to this small party and showed me off to her friends and then we left and she ended up paying me \$700 and all we did was talk. Talk for \$700 for 4 1/2 hours. That was the best time I had all year. I had a really good time. She didn't have to pay me a cent. (Q. Do a lot of women call the escort agency for men?) Yes they call but....They're gigglers you know. They got a couple of girlfriends in the background, they go oh we're talking to an escort. They all know in the back of their minds exactly what the score is and yet none of them will admit it and they play around but they never come through. They're usually phoning from somebody else's house or they give a phony name. It's very rare. I've had two in 3 years, 4 years I've only had two.

The results of this question are thus not as surprising as it first appeared; a lot of hookers and hustlers in our sample have experience of female tricks, but the experience is extremely limited.

#### PROSTITUTE PREFERENCES

Having asked our respondents what services customers prefer, we asked them what services they preferred to provide, what kind of customers they favoured, and what age of customer.

Of those that answered the question about service preferences, about half preferred oral sex; half preferred intercourse (Table M.24). Seven of our respondents probably spoke for everyone when they suggested that they would

prefer giving no services if they still got paid. In the case of some prostitutes, this is not quite as flippant as it might seem. Some hustlers claim that it is not unusual for a trick to pay them without any sexual services being provided. In the case of oral sex, they sometimes claim that the trick is the fellator rather than the fellatee, and it is in this sense that one of our subject hustlers said that he preferred oral sex.

When it came to the question of why particular services were preferred, 3 reasons dominated the answers; the preferred service was either fastest, easiest, or less intimate (Table M.25). There was actually no consensus, however, on what was fastest, easiest, or less intimate, as these reasons were variously given for both of the two most preferred services - "blows" and "lays". Blows were thought to be less intimate by some of our subjects because of the use of condoms - physical contact is hardly made. The same reasoning has been applied to lays, because of the use of condoms, but also because intercourse appeared to be less intimate than oral sex. Many prostitutes that we met, indeed most of the women, preferred to exorcise any form of intimacy from their relationships with tricks - it is for this reason that very few prostitutes will actually kiss their customers.

In asking what kind of customers our clients preferred we received a wide variety of answers, although one answer stands out - the preference for oriental tricks (Table M.28):

Japanese, they pay really well. They end up giving you presents on top of the money they give you. They're just so wonderful. They are my favourite. After that I guess the businessmen that are travelling in from town.

The prevalence of this response reflects the general feeling that for many prostitutes oriental culture produces men closest to their idyll of the perfect trick; someone who is polite, reasonably generous, and not "pushy". This is not to say that all of our respondents identify orientals in this way, and not some other racial group. The real essence of the preference of most of our subjects is a desire for customers who just do their business, are polite, and leave:

I like a plain man that just wants to enjoy himself and have a good time, not one that wants to demand this, that and the next thing.

Just give me somebody who wants to get their

rocks off, doesn't want no big trip and that's it.

Some of our respondents would nevertheless like to enjoy a little of their business experience if possible, and so would flippantly add that it would help if their tricks were "young, good-looking, with 24" waist, 14 inch biceps, cute buns, dark hair and a tan; but only if there was no hassle involved".

When it came to the question of what age of customers our subject group would prefer, hand tabulations indicate that two answers predominated: a) while some of our subjects did prefer younger tricks, a majority of them preferred older men because they were perceived as causing fewer problems:

Between 40 & 50. I think they're the easiest to get along with. They're not too old where they take their time and they're not too young where they take too long.

Customers preferred? - The elderly people mostly around 40-45, they're real nice, they'll talk to you, they respect you, they don't think you're bad people, most of them.

I prefer my tricks to be about 40. I find they're a lot more mellow to deal with.

I like the older ones better because they're a lot easier and they really appreciate you because you're a nice young thing and they really treat you well and I don't mind the really young guys either because you know that they can't hurt you but then it's the guys like the college students are the worst, they're the worst ones. Those young guys they come down because they think they're so sexy and that the girls down here are horny. They expect because they're so young and good looking that you really should go for free and they're really disagreeable as soon as you get to the hotel.

b) the remainder of the respondents did not really care what age their tricks are:

Doesn't matter just as long your money's money, red-50, 10's are purple, 100's are brown, it's all the same to me. I don't even remember any of their names and they come back again, what's your name again. I don't know you.



There's no age. I never go out with really young ones, under say 30 because they've always been trouble I find. They like to rape you, beat you for the money but then there's no specific age group for that.

#### PLACE AND TIME LIMIT

The two questions on location of service and time limit give a clear indication of the quick turn-around of much prostitution activity. The number of responses for the question on location (Q. 30) indicate that most of our subjects provide services in a variety of places, most frequently in apartments (a "trick pad", the "customer's home" or the subject's home). Also in hotel rooms, and often in parking lots or back alleys. The younger the respondent, the more likely the use of parking lot or back alley.

The general sentiment when it comes to the amount of time spent with a customer is generally "the faster the better". For the street prostitutes and hustlers, 30 minutes was the maximum, although many preferred not to stay more than 15 minutes. (There are more responses than respondents - Table M.23 - because most of our subjects would graduate their prices according to the amount of time they spent with a customer. That escorts generally command higher prices than street prostitutes is partly a reflection of the amount of time escorts sometimes spend with their customers.)

As an example of the typical type of response one gets from most street hookers, this despiser of cocaine-using customers told us:

Usually if I spend more than 5 minutes with a date it's too long. It's the ones on cocaine that I love because they never come. Mind you they almost get there everytime. Just a couple more minutes, I know I can come. 1/2 hour later....just a couple more minutes. (Q. Is there a point where you simply say no more?) I try to be fair. If it goes beyond 1/2 hour I say I'm trying my best, if you want me to stay longer, then you're going to have to donate more money to the cause because the cause needs refurbishing and they usually say yeah you're right and if they want to spend more money, then they spend more money, otherwise that's it.



In another case our respondent echoed a sentiment that echoes through much of the information we have gathered:

I'm not going to spend \$50 for like 4 or 5 hours with a guy, it's something like 1/2 hour. I'll sit and talk to them for 10-15 minutes. The sex only lasts 10 minutes. Talk to the guy for another 15-20 minutes or whatever if we get into a good conversation. If he's an asshole, that's it, bang, it's over with.

And for one very impatient provider of sexual services:

Actually I'd like to get it to be 2 minutes flat. Get up there 30 seconds, undress 20 seconds, suck for about 1 second and then all of a sudden it's all over and you just leave - 2 minutes flat.

#### STAGS, CONVENTIONS AND OTHER FUNCTIONS

22 of our 48 respondents had worked stag parties, conventions and other group functions. These events are attractive because they allow the opportunity to turn a lot of tricks fast. A number of respondents had worked stags, a few of the bar prostitutes and escorts had worked conventions, and some had travelled to logging camps, although these were not apparently trips that left particularly fond memories.

A typical stag party works in the following way, although they are apparently more lucrative in many cases:

I did a stag way out in North Delta. (Q. Just once?) Yeah but I've taken a lot of grooms who've come down to the West End; their friends will come down and drop them off and I'll take them to my place. (Q. But you've never gone with a group of guys?) No, except for that one stag. I made about \$240-\$250 but I was there for a long time. I think I was there for about 3-4 hours and it was a long time driving in and back. I didn't think I was paid well enough for it. When we do a stag, this is another rule on the street, when you're doing a stag, \$200 to walk in the door for each girl so there was two of us so there's \$400 right there. That \$200 includes a strip, the groom and the doorprize and either girl whoever wants to do what. One girl says okay I'll do the strip, you do the groom or whatever. (Q. So you wouldn't both strip?) No. We did this one time

they paid us extra money to.

Another of our subjects had a little more stag experience:

Yes, I work quite a few stags. (Q. How do you get them? Do the people come to the street?) On the street, people just drive by and ask me; I like stags, I like to do them. I love to dance. I love dancing even if I have to take my clothes off, I love to dance. You can have a good time. (Q. Make good money too?) Oh yeah. You can always convince people into so much at stags.

In another case our subject did stags, but was not that much interested in dancing:

Stags I do every so often. I do not like stripping, I used to strip when I was younger, under age of course in famous Dino's which burnt down thank God. I have worked stags. I won't take my clothes off in front of a group of people there's no way. I usually just get paid for going there and doing work on the side.

Other people, however, refused to do stags or other group functions reasoning:

I refuse to be involved with a lot of people on a sexual basis. I find it dangerous.

A number of others, presumably, had not had the opportunity; for some, the males in particular, the opportunity will probably not be presented.

#### DESCRIPTIONS OF TRICKS

In order to provide a general description of customer characteristics we asked our respondents to describe the age and income levels of their tricks.

Table S.21 reveals that 38 of our respondents (76%) estimated that the majority of their customers were in middle to upper income brackets, although the majority of our subjects noted that tricks come from all income brackets.

It varies from the top right to the bottom. There's a rich man that drives a Continental that wants a blow job for 20 bucks and there's the guy that comes in a beat up station wagon with all his painting gear thrown in the back,

with his coveralls on and he's just so happy to be with a girl that he would spend some time with him and just very willing to give you all the money you want that you can muster and a lot nicer than the guy that's driving the big boat down the street and he's dressed up in a beautiful suit with diamonds all over his hands. (Q. Do you find the rich guys are more chintzy?) Yes, 100%. They've had it all and their whole life seems to be an effort to show everybody how much they have. But when it really comes down to it it's not that rich guy, it's the little guy painting houses or digging ditches or a regular working guy, that wants to see a girl because it's a dream for him. I'm going to go out now and have myself a working girl and have a good time. Where it's the guy that has all the money, you can ride in my Cadillac for 20 bucks. (Q. Is there any correlation between what the upper and lower income in what they want?) The lower working man is just happy to be with a lady and is willing to do pretty well because they're shy and they feel like they're doing something out of their regular life where the guy that has all the money and the big car, demands it all; like I have to have this, and that's not good enough. I want to try this and no, no I paid you so much, and we're going to do this and I'm going to get off and that's that. They are firm in their desire, almost to the point where they are ignorant. The man that has the less income is thrilled to pink to be able to experience this and he'll go on till his next paycheque when he can afford it, dreaming about it.

Several of our subjects reiterated this sentiment:

A lot of guys they don't really have too much money and the guys who have the highest income, the guys who are very wealthy are the cheapest. The ones who work a straight job and they live on their own, they're bachelors or whatever, they're the ones that really spend the money. It's really odd.

Upper income don't like to spend any money. Mine are usually middle income or low income. Low income being they save every time they get a paycheque, \$30-\$40 and at the end of the month they have enough to go out and have a good time. They just want to have a good time. The upper income guys want everything for 20 bucks or else.

You take them up for a \$50 blow job and they end up almost raping you and they give you no more than \$5 and slap you in the face. That's the main kind of hassle.

In describing the general age of customers, we computed the mean scores of the various estimates that our subjects made. It should be noted that there was a certain amount of variability in the answers; some of our subjects stated that they serviced mostly younger customers, others said their customers were mainly older men. Our calculation of the averages of the various estimates suggest that the majority of customers were over the age of 40 (although the majority is a small one (Q. 34a):

	Teens	20's-30's	40's-50's	60 or over
Average	10.0%	32.0%	40.0%	18.0%

A number of our respondents said that they would never turn a teenage trick; some said that they preferred them.

#### REFUSING TRICKS AND PROBLEMS WITH TRICKS

When asked if our respondents had ever refused tricks, all 48 of them unequivocally said "yes" (Table S.22). When we asked what kinds of problems our subjects had experienced with tricks, it is easy to see why they would refuse potential income.

When it came to refusing tricks obviously some of our subjects were able to exercise more discretion than others - somebody badly in need of money will be much less likely to refuse a potential customer. For the most part our subjects relied purely on their intuition in vetting customers that simply look "weird" (see Table M.27):

Yes I refuse customers a lot. Just getting bad vibes. If it seems weird or something to me. (Q. So it's more of a feeling than anything?) Yes. (Q. Has anyone ever forced you that you've said no to?) Yes. (Q. And you had to go with them?) Yes. I've had knives pulled on me but that was after I went with him, when we got to where we were going. (Q. Did you have any bad vibes about those people that pulled knives on you before they did it?) A couple of times I did and I guess I just let the vibes go because I needed the money.

Yes, I refuse tricks if I sense that there is



danger in it for me because the years I've been exposed to prostitution I've developed almost a warning signal in myself. It's just an uncomfortable feeling. You learn to assess people with sexual desires, to know who is being sincere with you.

A number of our subjects associated trouble with certain racial groups more than others.

My customers, most of them, are white because I don't mean to be racist but I find that most East Indian men either harass you or they're very cheap and they won't let you out of the car and they do shit like that. There's really not that many black men out there and the ones that are out there are usually pimps and you can tell the difference between the pimps and the ones that would be customers. I have had one black man as a customer and he was a working normal joe kind of thing. In general I hate to be prejudiced about East Indian men but they are really time wasters. They're also violent. They have no respect for white women let alone hookers.

And one resented what she perceived as the increasing exploitation of women on the street:

Half of my tricks I refuse because their head space about hookers is wrong. I've been working since I was 11 years old. 3 years ago people got treated nice. If you used to work, girls got treated with respect. Nobody would offer \$50 for a lay or anything like that. If you went out there as trick you had to pay money. People were treated nice. Now it's kinda, I'm paying you so I can do what I want with you, how I want. But it's not like that, not for me anyways. Even if I have to go broke I ain't gonna let somebody step all over me.

Although we subsequently devote a complete section of this chapter to the hazards of prostitution, it seemed appropriate to include our main question on "bad tricks" in this section of the write-up since our view of the customer through the prostitutes' eyes would be otherwise incomplete. To the question "What kinds of problems have you experienced with tricks?", we were often appalled with the answers:

Do you want problems I have right now because of dates? (Those and previously.) I have two scars



on the back of my head. I have a broken nose in two places. I've had a broken jaw which has a pin in the back of it. I've had 5 or 6 broken ribs. I've had burnt hands in Edmonton. My hands were scalded; they were put on a hot plate; I still have scars all over my hands. I've had a drill bit pushed into my finger. I've had a gun pulled at my head; the trigger has been pulled and then the guy was laughing because he didn't have it loaded. I've had hoses pulled on me, fire hoses, high pressure hoses. I've had bottles thrown at me. I had a beer bottle break over my body. I've been set on fire. I've had gasoline put on me. I've had my pussy tarred, not set on fire though, thank God. I've had my eyebrows shaved. I've had my head shaved in one place. I've been stabbed. I've been run over. I've been thrown from the third storey of a building. I have been robbed numerous times. I've been punched out numerous times. I've got scars all over me from dates and from just living. Thanks to the dates I am now accident prone. I can walk in front of a goddamn car and I don't know what's going on. (Q. This is all stuff that has just happened to you by tricks?) Yes, just by tricks. (Q. Going back to the question of why men like sex, do you think violence is part of the reason why these particular guys are buying sex?) The S&M. The people that give me violence don't pay for it. They're just people that promise and then beat the shit out of you. One looked like a good looking guy. Clean, responsible, had his own car and he came in. I asked for the money. The next thing I knew I had this knife in my head; right across my nose and he ripped off my swimsuit and he yelled out "You're not a guy". Of course I'm not a guy. I was standing with M..., a trannie. I worked with this trannie, and when a trick approached he thought she was the female and I was the male. (Q. So in other words you're talking about 15-20 bad tricks?) No, I'm talking hundreds. Hundreds and hundreds of bad dates in 8 years. Drug addictions, having needles stuck in your arms when you don't want them. Being forced to drink. Being slapped around. It happens all the time. I haven't had any bad dates in a couple of months thank God. I nearly killed a bad date a couple of years ago. He had a knife and I stabbed him almost to death because I was so frustrated. The guy is still in jail and will be for quite awhile but now I can protect myself in a way I never thought possible. I can fight a guy now

better than most guys can fight. I just go crazy. Anybody that hits me, I'm sorry, I'm not responsible. I turn around the room, I say I'm not responsible, I go on them. I don't care. I don't care anymore. I don't care if I live or die. The only thing that is keeping me alive right now is my cat and the hope that I can get out of the business. Make enough money to stay the way I want to.

In the case of this woman we can corroborate parts of this story - we met the two people who picked her up from the hospital the last time she had her nose broken by a trick, and they were familiar with several of the other incidents described. It seems almost incredible that a woman can keep working despite these experiences, but in this case she feels that she has no other options available. And although she may credit her cat for keeping her alive, this belies her own survival ability - she has had cervical cancer twice, and has stayed away from heroin for three years after maintaining a three year habit. She is 21 years old.

One of our eighteen year old subjects' experiences were similar, but not yet as extensive:

These three guys picked me and my girlfriend up to do a double (we do them all the time) no big deal. They looked like really clean cut guys. We got to my apartment which was about 4 blocks (this was when I was living in the West End for about a month or two) and my girlfriend went to the bathroom and I said before we start I have to get some money from you. We've done this so many times. I asked them for the money and all of a sudden one pulls out a big gun and he sticks it to my head and he said do you want to die? And I said no. I was scared but then I was mad and my girlfriend started crying. Then they tied us up with all my nylons. Then they raped us. Then they tried to rob us. They were out to rob us but there was nothing to rob; we had not made a dime that night. That's what makes me feel good about it. So I was raped, I feel bad about that but then at the same time these guys went to all this trouble to pull their gun out, get identified by us and they didn't get anything.

In the case of another young woman, the situation was not quite so bad:

I've had lots, well I can't say lots, but I've

had a few bad tricks. I've had tricks, like this one guy in Edmonton. He paid me and everything, we did it, then after we finished I started getting funny feelings. He started to dress too fast and when I came out of the bathroom, he was going through my pants for the money. But I don't hide it in my pants. Right away I hurried and put on my pants and he didn't have his shoes on and then I could hear a blade open. But he didn't want his money back. All he said to me was "You're just like the rest of the bitches." and he came at me and I put my hand up and he cut my hand open. Then he split. I've had tricks that say they're going to pay me and you don't start getting bad vibes but then when you get to your destination, they try pulling out a knife and just try to force without paying. (Q. So that might be another reason why you prefer older guys cause there's not as much violence?) Yes.

In some cases a weapon is not necessary. One of our fifteen year old respondents (presumably when she was younger than this) was scared enough just at the possibility that her trick might have a weapon that she succumbed to rape:

I was raped once. He was just sort of taking his time and I knew that there was something wrong and I went to get out of the door, he just leaned over and clicked the door and so I knew that right there and then just to not fight with him because he might have had a weapon on him and I'd get hurt so I just gave it to him and then he let me go and that was it.

Transsexual and transvestite prostitutes are also subject to violence, but we suspect that this is not because their customers are unaware of their sexual gender; as one of our respondents put it "there is a certain kind of guy who really likes looking at a pretty face while he's got a cock in his hand." Instead a certain kind of person searches out transsexuals to assault (as in the case of the mistaken identity of our 21 year old woman respondent above; she complained that her tricks often did not want her once they realized that she was not a man). One transsexual we interviewed was severely beaten with a hammer earlier this year. In other cases, the outcome was not quite as serious:

A guy a couple of weeks ago pulled into the parking lot and he got ready to pay me and then saw law pulling into the parking lot so he



waited. Are they gone? I'm going yes, yes, it's okay. This was supposed to be a trick in the car and all of a sudden he just boom, he hits me in the head a couple of times and I started to scream and I got out of the car and that was that. He just punched me in the head a couple of times. He gave me a fat lip and 3 or 4 lumps on my head just for nothing. Just out of the blue.

Table M.29 provides a statistical summary of the different kinds of "bad trick problems" experienced. Only five of our respondents said that they had not experienced bad tricks (3 of whom were neophytes), with assault and sexual assault constituting the most frequent problems, followed by robbery. We will return to these issues subsequently in discussing other hazards of the trade. For the moment it is sufficient to note that prostitution is an extremely dangerous profession. The Alliance for the Safety of Prostitutes hands out "bad-trick" sheets; each week a double-sided single spaced 8x14 sheet is distributed describing problem tricks identified by prostitutes. The current situation with the Green River murders in Seattle has been reported as driving a number of prostitutes to Vancouver although we did not actually meet any of them. Several Vancouver prostitutes have died in the past ten years, but we do not have reliable figures as to the number. But they are not really needed for it is clear that prostitution is a dangerous business, and that whatever form legislative change might take, its designers must always ensure that it is not at the expense of the prostitutes' safety. Prostitutes need protection. The issue is what form the protection takes.

## VII. COSTS OF SERVICES AND OVERHEAD (Q.'s 24, 39 and 41)

Questions relating specifically to the economics of prostitution (Q.'s 24, 39 and 41) are discussed in Chapter X. It is worth giving some idea of the prices for various services at this juncture as a reference point. In the West End the average prices appear to be \$50-\$60 for a "blow job" (oral sex), \$70-\$80 for a "straight lay" (intercourse), and \$100 for a "1/2 and 1/2" (a combination of intercourse and oral sex). In the East End the prices tend to be a little lower (\$40-50, \$60-\$70 and \$80, for oral sex, intercourse and 1/2 and 1/2, respectively, but sometimes much lower than this). We are told that Georgia Street prices are a little more expensive. Several juvenile females charged slightly higher than the West End prices - these were also the subjects that tended to get the most tricks.

# VIII. PROSTITUTION AS A CAREER (Q.'s 42-49, 80)

In this section of the interview we asked a series of questions about prostitution as a career; circumstances that led to entry into the profession, viable career alternatives, and, for those of our respondents who had left the profession, the reasons for their 'retirement'.

In asking what circumstances first led our subjects to "turn out", 45% said that it was straight forward financial need. A further 8 respondents who said that they turned out when they ran away from home should probably also be included in this category. Ten of our respondents noted that "friends" had provided the necessary help to turn out, another 5 simply stated that they were turned out by pimps. Only three mentioned entry into prostitution as a way of supporting a drug habit. And only 2 said that it involved the "excitement" of the trade; generally our respondents had straight forward material reasons for their involvement in prostitution (Table M.30).

Table M.31 reveals a small inconsistency in our respondents' answers. In question 43 we asked if other people had helped our respondents turn out; the answers to this question indicate that seven of our respondents considered themselves to have been turned out by pimps. Roughly 50% of the respondents that answered this question said that they had turned out by themselves, the remainder said that they were helped by other people. Three of them said their entry into prostitution was more by accident than anything. The following accounts indicated the range of circumstances that led our subjects into the trade:

I was going to school, I was living on my own and working and where I was working I wasn't making any money. I was working as a telephone salesperson on commission. I wasn't making anything. I was hitchhiking to school because I wasn't making anything and I was hitchhiking to school because I never had any money to get to school. One guy offered me \$50 and I thought he was a real weirdo. And then I really needed some money. So I got in contact with him again and I got some money. Then my girlfriend put me in touch with another man and he was giving me \$150 once every two weeks, or once a week; whenever he wanted to basically. I was making \$400-\$500 off him a month. (Q. So you started out with one customer basically?) Yes.

I was taken back to a foster home after my



step-father went to jail, me and my mom started having problems, I started running away and I turned a couple of dates then. I quit after my baby's father died, I'd come back to Vancouver and never even used a needle before that and I just, depression I guess, I was really down and I started fixing and I started working. It got so bad that I just didn't give a hell for the first year or so.

Monetary. I was on my own at the age of 13, and no where to go and no money to do it on. I had to eat. Somebody asked me if I would like to go up to their apartment for dinner and what not and I said sure and they paid me and I thought, ding, the light went on and I thought now this is an easy way of doing things. But it really isn't. It's tough, very tough.

My first trick, I was 15. My ex-old man put me up to it basically, glamourized it. It was a very strange experience. I was lucky enough I guess that my first trick was a half decent person. (So this was with help from your pimp?) Yes.

When I was working the street I got a disease that's when I was beginning and I didn't know what I was doing. A young girl forced me to do it, she said it was alright, she said all the other girls do it. I had no other choice. (Q. Is that how you turned out?) Yes. MHR wouldn't help me. I went down to this office and they never helped me out. They said go back to Quesnel and I didn't want to go back to Quesnel. (Q. How old were you then?) 16. They put me on independent living after I was working the street for awhile. (Q. So this is the person that told you this is all you do?) She didn't tell me that, she just told me the basics. She didn't tell me the whole thing, who and who not to get into, how. She didn't stick around very long. (Q. So you turned out just to make money to live?) Yes, I didn't want to live with my mom. I got tired of living with my mom. She kept kicking me out telling me to go look for a job, go look for a job and there's not many jobs in town for a 16 year old that's only got a grade 8 education.

Oh a girl said to me, well you look like you need some money so why don't you go with this here guy. This is my regular. This is the first time. \$100 for a blow job and that was that. (Q. Where

did you meet the girl?) She was working down on Nicola. (Q. And you did it once and went right on?) Yeah, far out. Money.

(When you lived in these group homes you were still working then?) Yes. (Q. How much time a day did you spend on the street?) For the beginning of it not much but then in the middle of it I was spending a lot, almost like 16 hours each time, each day that I was there. (Q. Did you go to the street just to work or did you go there to see your friends?) First I went there just to see friends and then I got tied up with a pimp and so it more or less was like I was in lust with him and all this stuff and it just kept going from there. (Q. So you were 15 then?) Yes. (Q. How old was the pimp?) 21.

I told you I had a stepfather who beat on me so the only way that I could get out of that situation, I could call M.H.R., call the police, they wouldn't intervene, they wouldn't do anything about it, so I'd run away and it was the only way that I had of keeping myself alive, being half-assed independent.

I ran away from home. (Q. How old?) 14. (How did you get going?) A girlfriend and I did it. (Q. Did she already work?) She had turned a couple of tricks, that's about it.

In the case of the males that we interviewed, the descriptions of their entry into the trade are not very different.

(Q. Do you remember your first trick?) My first trick, I don't know, I had this guy pick me up in Moncton, New Brunswick when I was 14. He literally picked me up. I liked the guy. He was the sound man for a band in Montreal that I know really well and we were sitting there and we had dinner and stuff and he just looked at me and said do you want to give me a blow job? And I said no I don't and then he came up with all these excuses why I couldn't stay, then he called this woman that he knew and told me he was sending me over and this was an older lady about 35 so basically I had sex with her in order to stay there for the night. I don't know if you classify that as a trick, that was my first trick. (Q. When was the first time you got cash

money handed over?) It would be on the highway, a trucker or it was a car. I could never remember the specific one but it was during my hitchhiking days. I used to get cash from all of them whether I tricked them or not.

A lot of tricks like young, good looking men. I was 13. I was walking around the street. I lived here all my life in this area. Some guy made me a good proposition just to go with him for a little while. I thought ok. And he's saying here's 100 bucks and I think hey, wow, \$100 at 13, I feel like a millionaire. I just slowly got into it. (Q. So in fact nobody else actually helped you to get going.) No. You start yourself, I'm the only fault I'm working because I started it. Believe me, if I had a job, I'd quit.

In the case of many transsexuals, prostitution is seen as a way of facilitating an expensive sex change (we have met several sex changes financed by the avails of prostitution):

When I first came to Vancouver my family sent me here to find out what I could get done here as far as getting a sex change. They knew when I was sixteen. When I was sixteen I admitted myself into a Psychiatric Institute for a month and they came up with the conclusion that this person is not gay but is extremely effeminate and would like to be a woman. My family gave me some money and said here, go to Vancouver and see what you can get done. I met a queen here by the name of L.... and another by the name of P... and I lived with her for a while and her roommate worked the street and at that time it was virtually impossible to get financial assistance for my medical condition.

The image of the entry into prostitution given by these accounts suggest that economic considerations play the most important role, and that pimps had only recruited a few of our subjects. The others, most of whom turned out when they were juveniles, were often initially turned out by tricks. Friends on the street scene often helped our subjects in the initial phases of their careers; we thus find that 15 of our respondents recall situations in which they helped other people turn out (Table S.25). The reasons they gave for doing so are shown in Table M.33. Only one of our respondents had helped turn out other people by virtue of being ordered to do so by a pimp. Several years ago when

pimps were perceived as having a much more extensive control of prostitution in Vancouver, one of our respondents helped turn out certain women so that they could avoid the domination of the local pimps:

Yes, I've helped turn out many women. C... was going to get someone and get them to work for him and I said bullshit on this. I'll turn you out and show you how to do it on your own and make your own money and keep it for yourself. While I was teaching her the business, every pimp in town thought I was taking her money which was ridiculous. I wanted to teach her to do it for herself and not go through what I went through with all those pimps. The girls that I did turn out were girls that I'd talked to about working and they wanted to learn and rather than a pimp teach you, I'll teach you and you do it for yourself. I took them with me and I told them what not to say and just basically follow my lead. I'd do all the talking until they learned for themselves and they would never go into a room with a client by themselves at first. Never. It was just too dangerous so we would do a double which the guy loved. I mean two girls for the price of one. I did this to protect them. I hate pimps. I don't think any woman needs a pimp.

Similarly the other respondents who helped other people to turn out did not appear to receive any material gain for doing so:

A girlfriend of mine was going to work and I said I'd help her but I never pushed her to it. (Q. She was going to anyway so you gave her a hand?) She wanted to do it and then she decided she didn't want to do it but I just said if you're going to do it you'll be my friend down there and you will be accepted because you are my friend and you don't have to worry about that stuff, you'll stand with me and I'll make sure everything is taken care of.

No, I don't really help people turn out as such. If they want to get into it on their own, fine. Once you've decided you want to do it, then I will help you learn the ropes. But I will not force anybody or recommend it to anybody, not anybody, male or female or anything in between. No way. Get a job honey, forget the streets. Get a profession you can fall back on at least even if you must hit the street temporarily, get



something to fall back on.

Well, not really turn someone else out but; well I look at M..., she was working for a pimp. She was working for another person downtown. She was going nowhere fast. M.... is young and she wants to be a woman, she's going to try and prove it by doing young freebies or whatever comes along. I figured well I know what she's going through because I know what I went through and I promised myself a long time ago I would never help anyone again because every time I have tried it, I've been fucked up but M.... has been really good. She knows I'm trying to help her. Not necessarily putting someone out. She's been here for two months, I've never asked her for any rent. Once in a while when I can't make the money I'll ask her to help me out with the groceries or getting something to eat for the boys but she does all my housework, all my cooking, everything for me here. I take care of her and she takes care of me.

My sister got me into it actually. I started when I was in Kelowna. Every once in a while she would have a trick that she didn't have time for, she'd have two set up at the same time and obviously couldn't do both. She said B..., would you be averse to making \$80 for twenty minutes of work. I think every girl at one point in their life wonders what it would be like to be a prostitute for a day. Here was my chance, so I took it. And it didn't bother me that much. I always thought that prostitution would be a really disgusting line of work. I couldn't see how anybody could do it, but I did think it would be neat to try. I got my chance, I took it, it didn't bother me. She was really open about what she did, and I understood. It worries me sometimes.

In other cases, our respondents simply refused to help anyone else get into the business because of their own feelings about the effect of prostitution on someone's life:

I have never wanted to help turn anybody else out because I wouldn't want anybody to end up like me. I am suicidal. I have suicidal tendencies. I try to commit suicide every couple of months. In my own little ways, jumping off bridges, swimming out across the lake, stuff like that, but girls that have really needed the money I have taken



them out and gotten them a date and at that time I tell them this is the only time I will take you out. I don't want to see you out here again. But to train coming out permanently, no I would never do that. Never. I wouldn't want them to turn out like me.

It is clear in the case of the last respondent that she does not have a particularly favourable view of prostitution, despite her involvement in it. Indeed, when we asked what advice our respondents would give to someone considering turning out, nearly 70% of the respondents who answered the questions said, "don't do it" (Q. 80 - Table M.60). A remainder of the answers represent types of advice that would be given to a would-be prostitute to avoid the many pitfalls and hazards of the trade. Some of our respondents noted that although they might advise a would-be prostitute not to bother, they realized at the same time that this advice was itself contingent upon other factors; they realized that most of the people who might be asking for advice in the first place would nevertheless continue into the trade because of the lack of any viable alternative. In that event, our respondents said they would readily give advice about the hazards of the trade. The perceived relationship between economics, job opportunities and the decision to become a prostitute is also demonstrated by our respondents portrayal of their own access to job alternatives (Q. 46b). 23 of our respondents said that they had no viable alternatives to prostitution (56% of the respondents who answered this question - see Table S.27). Most of them see prostitution as a profession which is extremely difficult to leave:

I used to be an artist, I had an agent, I'm a hairdresser. Being a woman and then being a prostitute and having a record, it makes it very hard/difficult to get into anything and keep anything if people find out what you've done or what you've been or who you are. My step father used to beat the fuck out of me when I was up for a scholarship. I was a straight A student throughout elementary, high school. If they would have let me skip the amount of times they wanted to, I would have finished my Grade 12 when I was 13 but they didn't. So it wasn't from lack of brains, it was from lack of opportunity. Then when I had the kids, I just turned 17, I was even more entrenched in it. I couldn't go to school. I tried to go to school and there wasn't enough money so I had to work and I couldn't handle it. At one point I was working part time, had a

square job, looking after the kids and going to school fulltime. It was overpowering. (31 year old woman)

I have a grade 7, most of my education is grade 7 or grade 8. I have my grade 12 automechanic, machine shop, welding and autobody and I cannot get a job because I am female. (Q. The question people would ask is "Have you looked for those kind of jobs?") Yes, I've looked for those jobs. I had a job for 2 1/2 months in Calgary where I worked at Mxxxxxx Nxxxxxxx. I had a female boss. Her boyfriend asked me out. I did not know it was her boyfriend. I was fired. I did not get 1 cent for 2 1/2 months worth of work. I went to court and they had no records of me contempt of court - six months in jail. Basically because I was a hooker. So in other words the cops here want me to have a straight job but I can not get one. I have no fucking experience. I'm nearly 22 years old and I cannot get a fucking job. This place, I've only lived here for a week. It's looking up. (21 year old woman)

And for an 18 year old hustler:

If I did have a chance at a job, I'd be there. I don't. I did have a chance with my uncle but he died. He owned a cab company in Vancouver. A cab company and 1/2 of another cab company. He died, then the rest of the family sold it.

For transsexuals, the problems can be even more complicated:

No, I can't get jobs, not really. Not because of lack of jobs, it's because of the transsexualism, it's very difficult. If they even have a clue that you might be a little different or somebody says something, there's no way. I've never used any of my training really except my nursing; the one I did and got bounced out of when they found out I was a transsexual. I fought it for two years in court. It wasn't a matter of my gender - or lack of it - it was because it was a private hospital and if any of their patients had found out, there would have been a lawsuit against them so either I resigned on my own or was to be fired. I would not resign so I got fired. And then of course the Medical Association stepped in and said "You are constituting fraud. You aren't L..." and I said well I am now legally. I had my

name changed a long time ago before I started working for you. "But you took your training under that name and evidently it wasn't your name then." What's the difference, it's still the same person. I studied for four years in Saskatoon and I went there as a female. I went through all my training as a female. Nobody there knew. Nobody really gave a damn. I came out here and went to work and I worked there for 7 years. I went from an ordinary R.N. all the way up to administrative matron. I was next in line, I would have been administrator.

Most of our respondents conceived their job options as extremely limited and often not particularly appealing, as in the case of one young native Indian transsexual:

I think the only things I could do if I really wanted to push trying to get a job would be housekeeping, daycare or waitressing.

For one young woman, even though she did not have many options now, the future looked brighter:

Not right now, no. (Q. But you are going to school?) Yes, I'm finishing my grade 12 and then I'm registered in a Dental Assistance course at V.C.C. I'll probably start in January.

Another woman claimed to be in quite a different situation compared to the majority of our respondents:

Well I've had lots of jobs, lots. I've done everything from a paper route when I was a kid up to when I was about 15 years old and then I got a job working in a shoe store. I worked as a waitress in an old folks home, I worked in a dry cleaners for about 1 1/2 years and did the cash and helped with the books too. I did the banking and stuff. I learned how to do that there. (Q. So you could get a straight job if you wanted to?) Yes, I have one now.

Table S.31 depicts the jobs presently held by our subjects. Six of our subjects actually hold jobs, five of whom are retired from the prostitution trade. There are several students, and two "artists" but neither actually subsists on their artwork. The three "service-prostitutes" are part-timers. The reality of the situation then, is that very few of our subjects moonlight. Most of them do not see themselves as having viable job alternatives. As noted earlier, only 6 of our subjects have actually left the



profession, the remainder who claim to have done so still either work part or full-time as prostitutes (Table S.30.). And yet 65% of them would quit prostitution were a good paying job to become available (Table S.29) although a number of our subjects commented that they would still turn tricks on the side.

Table M.59 displays the various kinds of jobs that our subjects have held at one time or another. The traditional service occupations constitute the largest single occupational category; 70% of our subjects held a service job (waitress, gas jockey, hairdresser, etc.), 12 had held jobs we categorized as white-collar labour (clerks, typists, etc.), and 8 of our respondents had been or had become involved with social work. Many of these occupations reflect the marginal status of women in the labour force - a concentration of "unskilled" (so-called) generally low-paying types of work (since most of our male subjects were under 20 years of age at the time of interview, most of these occupational groups were mentioned by the women, and sometimes the transsexuals). An examination of prostitution in Vancouver during the period of 1900-1920 shows the social position of prostitutes at that time to be not much different (see Deborah Nilsen - "The Social Evil: Prostitution in Vancouver 1900-1920" in B. Latham and C. Kess, 1980, *In Her Own Right - Essays on Women's History in B.C.* Camosun College, Victoria: pp. 205-228).

The overall impression given by these results is that very few of our subjects prostitute themselves by a choice made independently of economic considerations (they would choose to do other work if the opportunity was available). And many commentators suggest that economic contingencies have forced prostitutes to do what they do. These findings beg the question: "how do our respondents feel about themselves in relation to the work they do"? Twenty-eight of our subjects said that they feel differently about themselves because of their profession than they would feel if they worked a regular "straight" job (Table S.24) - seven of the respondents suggested this was because of the job itself, nine of them said it was because of other peoples' attitudes. 12 respondents said it was a combination of these two factors. As one ex-prostitute summarized the ambivalence of the situation:

You get to the point where you think that, everybody else that isn't working is a square and you are doing the only thing that is right. It's just a way of protecting yourself to say, hey what I'm doing is okay; everyone that wasn't working was a real jerk because here we were making all this money. That's the way I thought

about myself but I would never admit that I was a hooker. I was not a hooker. Even when I was doing it, when I would go with a trick and I would be in his room and I was giving him a blow job, I would be thinking to myself boy, little does this guy know I'm not really a ho. So what if he gave me money and I did what I did, I'm not like those other girls.

Yes I think it does make you feel different. There were times three years ago I'd wake up, look at myself in the mirror first thing in the morning and go I'm a hooker - you're not worth anything. I'm finally just getting out of that. If I had a square job I'd probably be more happy with myself. I wouldn't be able to do as much - oh I probably would. No I wouldn't because I wouldn't be able to see the places I've seen. Everytime I go somewhere I'd have to work to make up the money. I wouldn't have been so sick. I wouldn't have had to pay the bills I've paid. I would feel different though. I'd feel a lot more different about myself. I'd also have a different outlook towards life and I would be square and I wouldn't have the same outlook, I wouldn't be able to express myself the way I am. The way I do now. It's people's attitudes. The attitudes the dates put into your head. The job itself. Working the streets, people say it's easy. But they don't really know. It is very hard. Since I've been working I started writing songs. People that have read them have said they're very, very depressing. So my outlook towards life is depressing. When I come back here it's like my own little refuge. I can do whatever I want. I lead a split life. I've got to do two things. I'm a hooker and then I'm just me. Doing my hair the way I've done it is a way out of myself, it is a way of escape. The way I've always wanted it. It's not as radical as I want it. I want it short on top so it sticks out all over the place. Just like a mane but I can't do it. I want to catch a date - I'm having trouble catching dates like this. But nowadays I have hair like this you know people go down "I went out with a hooker with green hair all over, green hair all over. Got to take her out." People will come down and they will look for a hooker with green hair. Having my picture in the papers and on TV, fuck I had dates. (Q. Who said "Oh, I saw you on TV. I want you. 100 bucks, fine"? ) I'm still getting them. The papers have helped. If they had just kept



quiet I may have moved. I'm willing to move. I'm willing to move to a different location. If they want me to, if there's response, if it's reasonable.

Many of our respondents said that it took a considerable time for them to adjust to their role as a prostitute (some said that they never did):

For years I had a very low self esteem. Society's attitudes makes one feel different about themselves. The reinforcement that you're a whore, that you're nothing, that you're a low life does have an impact on how you feel about yourself. If you're constantly being told that given the same message for years and years and years by society, by the social agencies, by the police force, by your family, you can't help but have a low self esteem and it's only in the last couple of years that I've started feeling good about myself. For years I didn't.

Now I feel good about myself. For awhile I was really confused. I didn't know how I felt about myself because people, they treat you a lot differently when they know you're a hooker. They really talk down to you or treat you as a lesser being. Now I say fuck you, you think you're so high and mighty, I probably fucked your old man and he paid me good. Now it's like, you're no better than I am. I'm probably better than you are because I can face up to life and not ignore things that you ignore but before it was like I didn't feel as good about myself as I do now. I've come to accept it.

Another hooker, now a part-timer, found the reverse effect:

As you get older it gets worse. I went out on the street a couple of weeks ago because my monthly bills had been too high and I did need to make some money and I was standing there and a couple of people I know in the business world walked by and said something like aren't you a little old for this and I was looking around at the kids and remembering I used to be just like that. But then the defenses went up and it was like I was just out to make some money and that was that. It did bother me for a little bit or just in snatches. But as you get older, yeah, I'd say it bothers you, it gets to you because of other people's

feelings and looks. They start to get to you.

Weighed against these comments, fifteen of our respondents said that being a hooker made them feel no different than if they had a square job. 6 said it made them feel superior (Table. M.32).

When it came to leaving the profession, only one of our five ex-prostitutes gave age as the answer. In the case of another, she feels that she is too well known for her political activism to catch dates now (many tricks do not appear to appreciate feminist prostitutes that much), another left in order to break with her alcoholism:

Well I ended up drinking so much that I gained something like 25 pounds, I was no longer attractive to customers and I was really fed up. If I didn't get what I wanted, I was always drunk, I was turning into an alcoholic and if I didn't like a customer, I'd tell him to stick it. I was really bad. I was nasty towards them.

The remainder simply just wanted to get out of the profession. The same goes for some of our part-timers (most of whom are under 23 years of age):

Well the first time I left I was completely sick of it. I was sick of my boyfriend too, but I continued to see him after I moved home. I was starting to feel a little bit trapped by it all. I wanted to get away from my boyfriend basically the first time I left it. (Q. So you moved back home?) I moved back home for 4 months and then I moved out with him again and I had a straight job working in a restaurant and I also worked the street but I didn't work nearly as much as I did before. He collected welfare and I had my job and for extra money I'd work downtown and then the second time I quit, I had to. (Q. So you got into a bit of trouble so you couldn't work if you wanted to.?) I couldn't go down there for personal reasons. This was 4 months ago.

In the case of this young woman, we know that she is once again on the street. The retirement of several of our subjects, however, has been permanent for a number of years (Table S.30). A second of our part-time respondents couldn't really decide whether they had left the trade or not:

I really haven't left but I have. Just getting

fucking tired of it, not being able to stand it anymore.

A third says he has quit for good, and expects to do well at his new career:

My reason for leaving the street: just like anything else, I graduated to something I knew I was better at. I realized I was good at something and finally directed my energy towards that. By the time I'm 25 I plan to be pretty well off and not too many worries and I believe that every inch.

The latter respondent, considering himself retired, now works as a male escort!

When it came to the circumstances that might lead our retired subjects back into business (Table M.34) serious money problems was the only eventuality mentioned (the remaining responses reflect the answers of the part-time contingent of our subject group). Of the respondent's mentioning serious money problems, one (an 18 year old) has subsequently returned to the business.

The final question in this section of the interview asked respondents if they had ever been involved in the production of sexually explicit films or magazines (Table. S.28). Seven of our respondents said that they had. Several others said that the opportunity had often been presented to them but they had refused:

There are guys that drive around and ask if they can take a picture, but most girls they basically say if you want that you go and get the girls that get into that. We're just selling our bodies on a person to person basis. We're not actually wanting to be movie stars. (Q. Do you think the introduction of video has made a difference to you? Lot's of people could make their own videos or would like to make their own videos.) I don't know. I've never really thought about that. If they want to make their videos, they can make them with someone else. I certainly wouldn't be the star and a lot of girls feel that way. Very few girls would even think about it twice.

No I have not. I have been bugged. When I was addicted to heroin, I had a needle waved in front of me so I would do nude photos but that got taken care of in my own way. (Q. How?) When my brother heard about it.

Never, never let anyone do that. So many people see those things and they go "Hey, magazines." Jesus! You go into a little corner store and here's a picture of you on the front page of a magazine, it would be pretty funny.

No. Absolutely, geez I don't need that kind of notoriety. It's bad enough any where I go in Canada everyone goes "Hi, M..." Hi D..., I haven't seen you in years." Ask any pimp. They'll tell you about that fucking old bitch still around, trying to rule the roost so to speak.

One juvenile female, however, was not perturbed by the threat of notoriety:

All sorts of people, there's a few, there is some, quite a few guys pick you up who are for modelling agencies or porno flicks, whatever. (Q. Have people ever asked to do photos?) Oh yeah. (Q. Have you ever done photos?) Yes. (Q. Have tricks ever had pornographic information or material around?) Not that I know of. They might have, I didn't really ask. (Q. Have you ever done pornographic movies?) No. (You've just had pictures taken?) Yes, they paid good money for those too, for me they did.

#### IX. HAZARDS OF THE TRADE (Q.'s 50-58)

Table M.35 provides an inventory of the various hazards our subjects associate with the prostitution trade. As might be expected from our earlier discussion of customers, 'bad tricks' (coded variously as "violence", "trick violence", "rape" and "bad tricks") are perceived as the most formidable hazard of the business (68% of the respondents included bad tricks). Medical problems were mentioned by 12 respondents, pimp violence was mentioned 8 times (i.e. by all the subjects who had pimps):

Hazard one would be your potential bad trick, being beaten, raped, stabbed. Maybe just the mental stress that we suffer. A lot of girls take it all the same, a light attitude but you know deep down inside it bugs them.

You could die. You always take a risk with police or some irate person coming along running you over with the car and you take a lot of shit and you take a lot of verbal and physical abuse, you



really do. If you don't get it off the street from people walking by, off tricks or looky-loo's and you get it from your pimp if you have a pimp or your family's always bugging you.

The kooks that come down that have no intention of taking out a girl. They just want to take out their frustrations on a girl. Diseases. Violence from other girls or pimps. It ages you.

You could get killed or you can catch diseases and you can die from them, there's so many hazards from working the streets.

(Q. Did you get frightened on the street?) Sometimes. (Q. Why, what would frighten you?) Hearing about a friend who's dead or a girl coming up to me and saying watch out for that car and that sort of stuff or knowing that it was a risk to get into a car.

The obvious ones - being beaten up by a trick, being arrested, turning into an alcoholic. I'm serious about that.

Being attacked by somebody, by a knife or gun or whatever sort of weapon. Harassed by the residents of the West End.

(Q. Have you ever been scared on the street?) Sure. (Q. What of?) Every day when you go out to work - I'm scared I'm going to get murdered. I'm scared of other people on the street too because you never know what somebody else is thinking.

The situation is no different for the males:

Getting psychopaths, getting groups of kids, drunk kids, who just feel hey, let's call up a hooker tonight or let's pick up a hooker and fucking do them in. I've had a lot of friends who have been raped, my girlfriend was raped twice; once in Stanley Park and once under the Burrard Street bridge. I got in a car once and had a guy come around from the back seat with a wire to go around the neck and I put my hands up and he caught my hands. He and his buddy stood there and held a knife to me and strip searched me. They had watched me turn a trick and so they knew I had money, they didn't know if I had turned any before that or not but they knew I had turned one so they got me. They took the money



and left me and that was it. I'm not really worried about violence anymore because I can take care of myself. Basically I tend to be a very violent person to begin with. I try to keep it to inanimate objects but occasionally I get in a few bar fights and stuff and I don't usually lose and I don't give a fuck because I'm not scared of dying. But I don't want to die like that, it would be really silly. I'll do everything in my power not to. So when you give off that kind of attitude people don't fuck with you. I've, I don't know how I'm alive, some of the people I've mouthed off to and talked back to, it's just the attitude that I give that they figure no way this would be more trouble than it would be worth.

It should be noted that there are some exceptions to the general tone of these comments, but it should be remembered that the following 18 year old subject, devoted to her pimp for whom she had worked for three weeks since he turned her out, has not yet had a great deal of experience of life on the stroll:

I don't see any hazards to tell you the truth. The only hazards I see is catching a disease and if you use rubbers everytime like you should then you're going to be fine.

37 respondents (of the 44 who answered the question) said that they had a crime committed against them while working as a prostitute (Table S.32); these crimes are classified in Table M.36. Of the 38 respondents that answered this question, 22 had been robbed (58%), 28 had been assaulted (74%) and 21 had been raped (55%) while working (in fact scrutiny of our original data reveals that all but two of the women in our sample have been raped at least once either whilst at work or at some other time).

Table M.37 indicates that very few of these crimes were ever reported to the police. Our data are somewhat misleading at this point. In question 51a (have you ever had a crime committed against you while working?) we simply scored responses as "yes" or "no" (in other words, they under-represent the number of crimes). When we asked what action our subjects took in these cases (i.e., had they ever reported it to the police) we also scored a "yes" in the event that any one of a number of incidents had been reported to someone - our figures thus over-represent the proportion of those incidents reported to some third party. When respondents did report these crimes, few of them felt satisfied with the results. The following anecdotes, together with those presented in the section on bad tricks,

provide a general portrait of prostitute victimization:

A 23 year old woman:

Many crimes, too many to even fucking... I've had pillows over my head, I've been slashed, I've been raped, I've been robbed. One time in Edmonton I was going up to see a trick and this goof came screaming into the elevator after me and started ripping all my clothes off and scratching, I was bleeding. He had his hand around my neck from behind, and he was dragging me to the underground parking lot and he said "You're going to give it to me, you're going to give it to me for nothing." He was dragging me towards the underground parking lot. As we got out of the elevator somehow I either bit him or I either stepped on his foot or kicked him. The night manager came along and I said call the police, this man just tried to fucking kill me and he looked at me with my clothes ripped to shreds, my suit, my underpants, my bra. I'm bleeding and he looks at me and says "Get out of here you dirty whore." and says to the guy, okay you can go now. That's just fucking typical. I told you what happened when my kids were raped, they don't fucking do anything. That's the kind of response I get.

An ex-bar hooker:

Robbery several times. I normally kept a really good stash where I put my money but a couple of times a trick would find it and take it. I was raped once in Las Vegas by a dealer, black jack mother. (Q. Did he know you were working?) Yes, I think that's one of the reasons why he did it. (Q. Did he come on as a potential trick?) Yes, sure did. Took me back to his place and raped me. That's when I was running with that really, really heavy crowd and when they found out about it supposedly they did something about it but I'm not sure what happened, I never asked. A couple of times some customers would try to hit you if they weren't satisfied with what you did, if they were drunk or if you did everything they asked for but they didn't think it was enough and they'd try to get their money back and of course you wouldn't give it to them and they would try to beat it out of you. Nobody actually ever hit me. (Q. Did you report it?) You can't. It was just that one time when the security guard helped

me where I was really freaked out and thank god he was there. But a lot of times in situations like that when there's no one else around you give them their money back and you try to talk them down. They're weirdos. It's like walking on egg shells with them. You have to be really careful.

An eighteen year old woman:

Robbery and assault, yeah. I've been robbed. Like tricks after I've turned them they've taken their money back plus what I had on me and I've been beaten up and forced to turn them, to put out even if I didn't want to. (Q. Did you go to the police? Rape Relief?) No, nothing. What can you do about it. Say it happened in a car, what can your partner do. But if they took me to their place then we could go back and pay them a visit or something. (Q. Has that ever happened?) Yes, I did that. Can't go to the cops, what can they do. (I remember you said before that you felt it might be okay that the cops took your I.D. because then they could help you if something happened.) Yeah, if you got killed they can identify you, that's what I mean.

A 22 year old woman:

Well I still felt robbed because they didn't pay me but at the same time I think I was more mad than scared. That anger sort of pushed away the scaredness and then maybe took a humourous side because I was so mad saying, ha, you didn't even get anything. If you've got to pull guns on girls to have sex then you've really got sexual problems. (Q. It didn't stop you from working, it didn't freak you out completely?) No. I reported it to the police. I should have reported it right away but I was so mad I went and had a drink with my girlfriend and my boyfriend. I was just mad and we just started talking about it for an hour and then we went to the police and they said well you should have told us right away we would have caught them before they left the West End but I think that's a bunch of garbage. I kept bugging the police about it - What are you doing about it? on several occasions. Actually every time I laid eyes on that particular policeman I bugged him about it. (Q. But at that time, what kind of response did you get?) They took the details, I gave them the description of the car, the license

plate. They're going, well it could have been stolen, etc. Well that's true but still. (Q. Did they ever catch them?) No, I don't think so. (Q. Did they have other reports about these men, their license plate or something?) I don't know, they never seem to have a straight story about it. (Q. Did you ever see them again?) No. (Q. Did you contact the Alliance for the Safety of Prostitutes or Rape Relief?) Well I saw them at the next meeting. (Q. Did you get them put on the bad trick sheet?) Yes. I told every girl that I could that night, watch out for these guys just in case.

Two transsexuals:

I've been robbed, and raped once. (Q. Do you want to talk about it?) I was working on Davie and this guy picked me up in a grey Jag. In those kind of cars you don't have much room to move and all he did was, he was a big guy, he just threw his arm across my throat and just held me there, just pinned me there. I couldn't move and drove me out on this side of the bridge underneath the bridge and then he drove me back afterwards, like this was the wrong thing to do. I got out of the car and the girls automatically noticed there was something wrong, got the license plate number and he got caught. I didn't have to go to court, I went to the hospital, the doctor signed a statement and I signed a statement and he was put away for assault. I was raped and they did find the evidence they needed. (Q. How were you treated? Did they know you were working?) In cases like that the police don't really care if you're a queen, sex change or whatever. You have been attacked and they want them off the streets. They want these people off the streets and the police will help you.

Yes, I reported it to the police, the medical staff at the hospital, they take a full report too. Nothing was ever done. They patched me up, said well you're in the profession, that's all, tough shit. Only once they took a guy to jail and that was when he had me down on the waterfront. That was a couple of years ago and then the guy got fined and put on probation for a year, that's it. In the meantime, he could have killed me. He had me in the right spot for it. If he had got me into that box car they would have found me in Calgary or some other place down the line dead



and I know it for a fact. He would have killed me. The man was, I mean I'm pretty tough too, but this man was huge, like steel, he had arms like steel. He got me down like this and I had a wrap skirt on and my boots on. The only thing that saved me was I said why don't you wait until I at least get my panties down. The way you're straddling me right now I can't get my legs open to pull my panties down so you can do whatever you want to do and the man did not know I was transsexual so when he got up I booted him and I boogied. Anyways, I tripped over a stupid log down there that was in my way, I didn't see it in the dark and he got me in the middle of the bloody road. My knees were all skinned and everything else and he grabbed me by the back of my good coat, luckily, and he started dragging me across the road back towards the box car, luckily the cab came along and saved my ass. It's the only thing that saved me and they all witnessed against him until the police told them I was transsexual and they would refuse to appear in court.

While the majority of our subjects suggested that they got little satisfaction when they reported crimes committed against them, this was not always the case. One young woman told us:

(You've been assaulted though.) Yes. (Q. Abducted? Taken away somewhere? Driven somewhere far?) Yes, University Endowment lands (Q. Ever been robbed?) Once or twice. (Q. Did you report it?) I reported it to the police. (Q. Did anything happen?) No. (Q. What about other situations?) I got robbed in Calgary and I took it to court and I won and the guy had to do some weekends, I can't remember how many weekends but he did have to do some weekends. (Q. So the response was good?) It was then, yes, it was really good. I was really pleased. They were totally on my side which was really great.

Given the general tendencies of these responses, it is hardly surprising that many of our subjects (25 out of the 40 that answered the question) carry weapons (Table S.33). Table M.38 shows that knives are the preferred means of self defense. One of our subjects had gone so far as to keep a baseball bat close by:

I don't carry a weapon as such; my fists and whatever will do. A broken mirror if I have one



in my purse and can get to it. If no, then if I have time to run to my truck - I have a baseball bat, an aluminum one this time. It might dent and it might bend but it won't break. I do not carry a knife because then you are asking for trouble and if you ever pull it on a trick you're taking a chance he'll take it off you and use it on you. Do you with your own knife. My best advice if you're being attacked is don't fight it, go with it. You might get bashed up a bit but you will be bashed a lot less if you don't fight against it. Let him do whatever he's going to do. I know it's still rape and I know you're a ho and it doesn't make any difference reporting it to people. But it does make a difference. It's still rape. It still affects you.

#### PROSTITUTION AND DRUG USE

The study of prostitution in Vancouver conducted by Monique Layton in 1974 suggested that there was a high incidence of heroin use among Vancouver prostitutes. Although several of our subjects have used or still use heroin, this is a much smaller percentage than that indicated by Layton. We have already noted in the studies of police and social services that few people perceived substance abuse as a major factor in the genesis of prostitution and drugs were not frequently mentioned as hazards of the trade (see Table M.40). Street people are nevertheless voracious drug and alcohol consumers (although no more so than many other social groups); 35 of our subjects used drugs or alcohol while working, 13 did not (Table S.34). 26 of the respondents that did use drugs or alcohol while working said that they did so to alleviate the stress of the job (Tables S.35 and M.39):

I go out and have a few drinks especially if business is bad. I go out and have a few drinks because a lot of girls can go out there and it's like hey, come here. I can't do this, I've had a few. Yes it makes it easier for me to do. Some girls it's just a natural thing to do, they can go out there and go snap, snap, snap. I can't. They do it with just anybody and I can't.

It's only in the last year that I haven't had to be high to turn a trick. I don't do drugs, I don't like them. It makes me less aware of what's happening. Why did I? It was a way of blocking out what I was doing, I couldn't fucking stand it.

(How much do you drink?) I don't know, a fair amount I suppose. (Q. You don't drink every day.) No, I don't drink everyday but when I go out I drink maybe 6 beers or something. (Q. What drugs have you used when you were on the street?) M.D.A., Speed, Valium and Demerol. I love Demerol. (Q. Ever been to a drug and alcohol clinic?) No.

I used coke occasionally, very rarely, only when it was given to me by my friends and I did it so rarely it didn't even matter. Alcohol all the time. It was my crutch. I could not work without having at least a 1/2 bottle of wine or a couple of drinks of something.

Several of our other subjects used drugs while they were working, but not because they were working:

I always have a couple of tokes or maybe a beer or two before I work, then there's times I go down perfectly straight. I get totally stoned out there, just enough that I can feel a nice buzz.

When I work I don't do it any different out there as I do with my friends out smoking drugs. Not just because I'm working, if I smoke drugs, I smoke drugs.

In contrast to these respondents, several of our subjects did not do drugs specifically because they did work - to be stoned was to be vulnerable:

Not when I'm working. I'd probably be dead by now if I did. I tried to go to work on coke and I can't do it. When I'm high I like to be sitting at home. I don't get high because if something happened my mind is pretty slow when I'm on coke and if I get paranoid or something....while I'm on coke or if I get too relaxed, something might happen; I can't feel safe. I can usually get pretty good vibes when I'm straight. If I'm high I'm never going to know what anybody else is. (I think that's it with a lot of people. You got to be constantly on guard.) Yes.

It appears that there are very few heroin users in the West End stroll, although the East End is by reputation more renowned for its "junkies". Our West End subjects

generally tended to frown on heroin users:

(Q. Do you feel like you need to use drugs while you're working?) Yes. (Q. But you were mentioning before about drugs, that women were down on people using drugs, is that just junkies?) That's the needles drugs. Everyone smokes pot down there. Well, not even everyone. There's some girls who don't drink or smoke pot. But I think a lot of girls think the junkies are sort of pathetic people just standing there nodding. They feel sorry for them, but why do we have to worry about this person going out in a car knowing that she'd be the easiest person to rob or to rape or kill. The chances are a lot easier than for any other girl because they're stoned and when they're nodding out like this it's so easy to just hit them over the head. It's sad. It's not so much that we don't like these junkies because we see them when they're not stoned and we like them and we talk to them, then we see them when they're stoned and we can't talk to them, they can't talk to us and they're just off in their own little world. Some of them we know really well and we do like them but when they come out on the street stoned we just like go home, we try and tell them that they're in a state of mind. They tell you to fuck off or whatever. They don't listen to you and that's their biggest problem. It's not that we don't like them. There're some that we don't like. They're known as rip-off artists. A lot of them clip the trick or set them up. Take them to their place and have guys next door that rob them. That part of it is just the worst, ruins the whole name, ruins everything. I get tricks that say I was down last week, I mean they keep coming back, but they say I was down and this girl tried to rip me off and I caught her or she was in my wallet while I was in the bathroom and stuff like that.

Despite the ambivalent feelings towards the use of drugs and alcohol while working, the majority (if we include alcohol) of our respondents do use mind altering drugs. Our analysis also misses to some extent the different patterns of drug use in the different strolls reported by other observers (eg. Forbes' study of Vancouver street prostitution in 1977 and Kohlmeyers' in 1982). Were our sample to include a larger compliment of East End hookers, we would probably find a higher incidence of heroin users in our sample (which does include several current and ex-users), and a higher frequency of Talwin and

Ritalin users. Talwin is a strong depressant and Ritalin a stimulant; these are taken together intravenously. The general opinion of our various contacts in official agencies in Vancouver (police, social workers, Alcohol and Drug Commission) is that heroin use has declined rapidly during the past ten years in the city. The mixture of Talwin and Ritalin, a highly addictive combination, is often substituted for heroin (when it is not available). Both are prescription drugs, large numbers of which find their way onto the East End streets (Chinatown and Hastings). Each cap is worth about \$10 and literally thousands are prescribed every week. We have little information on this aspect of the street scene which intermingles with the East End prostitution business. The large contingent of native Indian people in this area also makes it unique in ways in which we have not been able to offer much of an insight. Talwin and Ritalin use certainly compounds the financial problems of the few Talwin-Ritalin users that we did interview.

#### MEDICAL HAZARDS

22 of the 44 respondents that answered this question attributed medical problems that they had experienced to their work (Table S.36). The types of medical problem are described in Tables M.40 and M.41. Plain "poor health" was the medical problem mentioned most, a reflection of the feeling that street life is generally deleterious to the health. Only 5 of our respondents mentioned having had any type of venereal disease, although the category "infections" may encompass others - it depends upon one's definition of venereal disease. We do know that most of our subjects make their customers use prophylactics no matter what type of service is performed (including our male respondents) in the belief that this will minimize the chances of contracting a venereal disease. Only five respondents mentioned P.I.D. although we have information from a Vancouver nurse who worked in the Youth Detention Centre that young females known to have been active in the Vancouver street scene are revealing a very high incidence of P.I.D....29 of our subjects hold medical insurance, 11 do not; 8 of them did not provide this information (Table S.38).

The main reason given for not having medical insurance was lack of proper identification - a number of the juveniles in our sample (and it was mainly the juveniles that did not have medical insurance) simply do not have their own I.D. (they frequently use someone else's).

24 of our respondents had their own doctor, the



remainder used various public clinics.

Detailed though they are not, these various findings do suggest that specific types of health hazard are associated with prostitution (a suggestion which will surprise no-one), but they are potentially much more of a hazard to the prostitute than they are to the customer.

#### X. SOCIAL SERVICES (Q.'s 59-60)

The purpose of this section of the interview was to construct a profile of our subjects' past and present use of social services. Because of inconsistencies between the adult and juvenile interview formats, five of our respondents were questioned about their use of social services in such a way that they could not be included in the analysis. The two respondents who completed the interview as a self-administered questionnaire did not complete questions 59 and 60. These omissions together with some further attrition in the interviews left us with a group of 36 respondents who completed the question on use of social services. Table M.43 indicates the main types of social services used by our subjects - our 36 respondents had used an average of 3 different types of social service each. Medical centres were most frequently mentioned followed by financial aid (17 responses), counselling (12 responses), emergency services (12 responses) and group homes (11 responses). Eight respondents also mentioned having been helped by the prostitute organization "Alliance for the Safety of Prostitutes", the only organization designed specifically for that purpose.

It is clear from these answers that prostitutes and sexually procured juveniles make extensive use of social services. One of the most consistent themes that appeared in these responses concerned the difficulty that juveniles experience in their attempts to get help. Typically our respondents would evaluate each service as they were mentioned:

(Rape Relief): If you're raped and you're a whore, Rape Relief won't want to hear from you. They use that hospital centre for a help line, but where are they when you need them? What are they doing there? They're absolutely doing shit. The people that are in the service industry are sitting on their asses doing nothing collecting big fat wages. (Medical Centres): Yes, I use them. (Counselling): almost nil, so little there may as well not be any. (Help Lines): Ditto. (Food & Shelter): Well that comes under Ministry



of Health and Welfare but if you're a juvenile, no way. If you're under 18 no way, Welfare will not help a 16 year old kid. No place to stay, no food, no nothing. Tough isn't it, go to juvenile authorities and they say what about your home, go back home. Then the kid will hit the streets and they'll get some dirty, rotten son of a bitch up there either a black pimp or a girl who's working for a pimp will grab them and start them out in the streets. For the first week or two it will be lovey-dovey home type thing, nice clothes, beautiful big car ride around with this black man and the man gets you in bed one night and does this little number on you and you fall in love. Love? Shit! All he's doing honey is making you feel good so you'll do anything for him, anything. (Financial Aid): If you're a certain age, yes. If you're 16 there isn't. (Emergency services): There's nothing that I know of. There's juvenile authorities and all they want to do is grab you and put you in the clink and then phone your parents. There's no place they can go, for instance, stay here, live here, go back to school or take school at home, this is your duty around the house and this is what you have to do in the garden and once a week you have to do this downtown and come home again; crap! (Q. Have you had any contact with the Alliance for the Safety of Prostitutes?) This is a really good organization. I wish it would get more off the ground than what it is. They should be backed more than they are. (Group homes): There are group homes but it's through M.H.R. again. There is nothing there, like if I had the resources and I had a big huge house or even a hotel. Now there's another thing. Why are they ripping down these bloody hotels? These old hotels, they're ripping them down instead of refurbishing them and opening them as homes for kids. (Educational services): Yes, if you are of a certain age and on welfare, fine but if you're 15 or 16, you're screwed or 13, you're even more screwed up. If you're of the eligible age of 19 and over fine, there's lots of things you can get but if you're under 18, 17, 16, 15, 14, 13, 12 even, forget it. If you get caught by the police, that's it, then your parents are contacted if they can get a hold of them or else Child Welfare comes in and that's it. You're shuffled from foster home to foster home to foster home and you run away and you're back on the streets. It's around and around on the merry-go-round. But you might get into a hell

of a good foster home.

Several respondents pointed out that facilities ostensibly designed to help juveniles and other street people effectively serve to control them instead:

The churches definitely won't help you. They'll phone the police. They'll interview you and find out where you're living and they'll phone the police. Salvation Army, the same thing. I'm not going to point out any particular group or church but they're all the same thing.

One 21 year old hustler discussed at length his history of contact with social service agencies:

I've been to see some of the best psychiatrists in the country. The mind is a big trip for me, I get into it. Every psychiatrist I've seen has not yet been able to figure me out except for the fact that I can't trust myself. They've proven to me time and time again through tests that I can't trust myself. I won't let them hypnotize me fully, I won't let them tie my hands behind my back which is something a lot of them ask me to do. (Q. What kind of therapy is that?) This is really basic therapy for what they're trying to find out in me and what I'm asking them to find out in me. (Q. What are you asking them?) Simple questions which I've found, which I've come to the conclusion that are in everybody's minds so why should I worry about them which is like, okay, I say I love my mother, I know I love my mother. When she gets hit by a car tomorrow, what am I going to feel like? I know what I'm going to feel like. I'm going to maybe cry for a day but that's it. Life will go on. I say I love my girlfriend. If she gets shot tomorrow, she gets raped or killed by a trick tonight what am I going to be thinking about? What's going to happen with the bills and the possessions and everything, how do I keep everything in order, or am I going to be grieving, or what? I've seen about 4 people killed in front of me, that I've actually witnessed and I know I could watch someone get killed right in front of me and it won't do anything to me at all. But I found out that the majority of people are like that. It's nothing unique. I thought I was really unique. I thought I had a real problem that I was really weird because I didn't feel anything. I've contacted poison lines a couple of times because

I used to be pretty heavy into drugs and I'd bang all sorts of things into my arms and then I wouldn't know whether I was going to die or not so I'd phone those guys and I'd tell them what I did and say am I going to die and they'd tell me what to do. They'd tell me go throw up, go to sleep. They were very business like. They analyzed what I had done and what I should do, whether I should go to the hospital, they'd just tell me what I should do. (Food banks): I lived in a communal house where everybody used to go down to Sally Ann and get a \$10 voucher for food. That's about the only time I ever used anything like that. I used to stay in stopovers in Toronto a lot when they were 50 cents for a bed and breakfast. I used that a lot when I was 15/16. I take Welfare. I don't mind. I've worked enough that I think it's almost about even now. We're just about even. I've been in school for 9 months and haven't been receiving Welfare. I've been receiving welfare for 2 months. I just scored a job so I'm only going to take one more cheque off them. I'm not going to defraud them. I don't like Welfare. I hate Welfare cheques because I know what my monthly bills are and I know my cheques are going to not cover it but they're going to cover most of it so I never see any cash out of it anyways and I'm honest with my workers. I tell them, they know I got no money for rent or food or clothes. They know where my money is going. I tell them and they give it to me. I don't bullshit them in the least. I've gone to medical centres for treatment of V.D. and I actually used a regular doctor for 8 months when I first got to town because I wanted to find a doctor I liked and I trusted. I tried to go to clinics and then they kept referring me to different doctors and I'd go see them. Until I was comfortable I used them for everything. For my asthma, for colds, for anything I'd go in and see them and they'd look after me. They'd send me for x-rays and everything. (Q. Drug and alcohol counselling?): I've always handled it myself. I was able to quit cold turkey every drug under the sun which is about basically what I did. I quit everything except drinking. (Q. Were you wired on heroin?) No, I never liked it. I didn't like it. I was a speed freak. (Group homes): 5 or 6. I can remember 1 or 2. I never stayed. I stayed a week and left. That was it. (That seems to be the story on everybody.) There's no faults with the group homes. Oh fuck, I had one, it was out on a

farm. It was great. I'm an idiot for not staying there. There was two gorgeous little farmer's daughters. I didn't mind getting up and working in the morning and really good food and lots of sunshine and everything. But for me I thought there was something better so I just stayed a week, packed up and left. I'd say 80% of the time it's not the fault of the group home, it's just the kid feels something better, there's got to be something better. They automatically assume because of the media and propaganda and everything that this fosterhome, this group home, these people are going to be assholes and I got to move out so as soon as they start laying down rules they figure okay, I'm going and they go. I imagine there are quite a few group homes, in it just for the money. They scam their way through everything. They ask for \$100 for a new swing set and then they buy one for \$20, a rusty old one from next door and spend \$80 on a night out. I've seen that. That happened right next door to me once. I see that shit happening so I know it's possible but the group homes that I was in were always good. It was my choice to leave. I never used Youth Services; I was under an alias all the time so I used all the adult services.

One young hustler who claimed several times that as soon as he could get a job he would quit hustling complained about the lack of job training available:

Gordon House does help you out with job training in a sense. There's not really too much training though. It's a job, they pay you five bucks an hour. Five bucks an hour but it's better than working on the street. A few people use it. But they're not really training you for a job, you're just working for them - cutting lawns, landscaping. That's not really job training. In a sense it is training. But they need more I think. They used to have one in North Van, they called it Canadian Activity for Youth or something like that. They trained you how to go out looking for work, how to make resumes. They cancelled that because of financial cutbacks.

One transsexual in discussing social services generally mentioned the special needs of people like herself:

They need something like in Montreal, they have aid to transsexuals. That's what they need here.



A lot of trannies come into town, they go out, they don't know where to turn, they don't know which way to go and somebody says well she needs a way to make money, c'mon girls. That's how a lot of us start. Who wants to hire a tranny when you don't have the female I.D. You can't get a job. (Q. When you have a sex change, you're not given new I.D.?) No, you have to apply for it. You have to go through the name change and everything. (Q. So you haven't had a legal name change?) The doctor that did me had a few problems with a few other sex changes that he'd done, fouled up on them, I've been very fortunate so he quit altogether and he won't answer any letters, he won't answer any affidavits or nothing. (Q. You have to have proof that you've had the operation?) Yes, you have to have a letter from him, you have to have a letter from a G.P. and a letter from two doctors in V.G.H. after examination. (Q. Does it bother you that you can't do that?) I've talked to them and I've had my brother's girlfriend get in touch with the Department of Vital Statistics. They say go and see these two doctors at V.G.H., have them examine you, go see your G.P and fill out your forms and send them to us; they're going to try and work it out. I hope they can do it. (Q. How long has it been since you had it?) Three years, three years in July.

One of our respondents suggested that her pride had prevented her from using services that were available:

I think they are good but I don't know. When I was in the business I relied only on myself and it was a matter of pride not to go to those places. I think Legal Aid would be a definite benefit. As a matter of fact, I had one regular customer that was a lawyer and in exchange he would do my legal work for me.

Another, a young male, agreed that there was a need for social services, but he was not at all convinced that existing forms of service are particularly helpful:

The thing those people seem to think is that when you're hustling, you're ruining yourself. But they don't understand what you're doing it for. It's for making money. They look at it as a form of ruination, so I don't think they are any good except for maybe medical centres and help lines; goes with the job. Drug treatment centres I think



there should be more - they should take pill poppers off the street and help them. Like I got a friend, he used to have a girlfriend, now he pops pills and he's fucked all over and he can't do nothing all day. (Q. Would you say that most of these places give you adequate help?) No.

Of the people that did offer an evaluation of the social services that they had been clients of, 10 of our respondents said that services offered were inadequate, 10 of them said they were adequate (Table S.40). But even the people that said the service had been adequate were often critical of the attitudes of service personnel or the style of service. One typical complaint involved the mandatory nature of some "services", particularly in the case of juveniles. One juvenile described the situation in the following way:

I was made to go to everyone I went to, made, forced and I think that they can't help you unless you want to be helped. I did not want to be helped at the time and I got through it by myself eventually. They tell me when I'm about 30-35 I'm going to go through all these mental stress problems and I'm going to probably want to commit suicide. I was in the Maples for hooking and doing too many drugs and for sexual abuse; for being raped. When I first went in there I was paying for other people's problems. I was locked up because I was raped too many times and I never did any drugs before I went in there and then I ran away and came down to the West End. (Q. What made you come to the West End?) I don't know. I wanted to be cool to start with, I wanted to be in with it. I hate meeting people and when I first came downtown I felt really bad and I was really by myself and always alone. I did things by myself. I don't know how I met anybody. Right now they are refusing me help. I don't want any help but they're telling me even if I did want it I can't have it. (Q. Do they refer you somewhere else?) Yes, I was in a hospital in Port Coquitlam and they told me I should be in the Maples (a psychiatric unit). (Q. How do you feel about them?) They say I'm young and naive and I need help and I need all these grown ups around me to help me. I guess they're right in thier way, they think they're helping me in their way but it's not the type of help I need.

Something like the Maples is no good; people go there unwillingly. You can't help somebody who

doesn't want to be helped. There should be something where if people want to go they can go and they don't have to be locked up and kept there. Just not the whole head trip that goes on now.

Other juveniles expressed to us the same overriding desire for a sense of autonomy:

(Q. How do you feel about the attitude of Emergency Services?) Bad. (Q. Why, is their attitude really bad?) They said well if you want to eat you got to go in a group home and I said well I just want a food voucher, I'll pay you back, whatever, I just don't want to go to a group home. I even broke a social worker's finger when he tried to take me, his name was R... and I broke his finger and he had two other cops take me down. When you become a street working person, your lifestyle changes a bit and then if you worked as a street worker for a few years, your whole life will be totally changed because you'll look at it as hey, these guys are really doing a lot of garbage shit, that's how you look at it. But a lot of them aren't. Say you were a street worker right now, you'd be dragging me down to E.S. if I was 15. Medical centres, they're pretty good but they're slow. They take a long fucking time, 8 hours if you have to get some penicillin for your throat, 8 hours in there and you get a bottle. Most of them didn't treat me as a hustler so it was a fair attitude. I go to the hospital and the doctor goes so you got strep throat and it kept coming back and I don't know why. He goes well have you been doing oral sex and then I said well I got a girlfriend, I'm not into that sort of shit just to protect myself because I don't want him thinking I suck cocks. I don't want nobody to know that.

In another instance, an 18 year old hustler complained about his continuing skirmishes with welfare:

Welfare, is a total bummer for me. Every time I go down there it's a different excuse. For the last two months I haven't gotten a cheque. I got one cheque and that was it and they haven't given me anything since. It's always come back tomorrow or do this, or we got to talk to so and so, or you got to move offices. I move offices and they tell me I have to go back to the other one again,

or your cheque will be in the mail, they don't even have an address for me yet and stuff like that. Emergency services were o.k. when I was younger but when I turned 16-17 it was like goodbye. They give me \$5 worth of food vouchers and say that's going to last you for the week.

Another 18 year old man:

Welfare refuses me all the time so I don't even bother going. It's basically because I don't have a fixed address. But how the hell are you going to get a fixed address if you have no income. They're not about to give you income unless you have a fixed address. It's a big run around.

This young man estimated that he had been in about 30 group homes or other care facilities since the age of 3. Some of the homes he spoke of quite favourable but they rarely ever worked out - he blames himself for many of the incidents, but generally had hated the group and foster home experience.

What we generally found was a great deal of criticism of social services both in terms of quantity and quality - only 6 of our respondents believed that there were enough services available, 24 did not (Table S.39). Services were felt to be particularly inadequate in the case of juveniles. Table M.44 describes the kind of services that our respondents recommended be introduced to help keep juveniles away from the streets; the most frequently mentioned form of service included safe group homes and safe shelters where juveniles could eat and sleep; several people also recommended crisis centres as supplementary facilities. The needs for counselling and "good social workers" were also mentioned. Some of the major commentary in this section focused on the inadequacy of the group home system as it is currently organized. One of our subjects could not understand why the female juveniles picked up by the police would often reappear in the streets. She realized that one important factor, however, was the general reaction of the juveniles to group homes in which they lived:

She was a very mixed up little girl and the kiddy car would come by and pick her up and take her down and 1/2 - 1 hour later she'd be out and if they're going to pick her up, why let her out? She should be put somewhere right away but then she'd tell me stories about these group homes where she said she just couldn't live there. I think those services are lacking in some areas

especially with kids who need a lot of help. Some kids are easier but she's very difficult and I think when she was in these group homes, they treated her more as if she had a behavioural problem than some severe mental problem that needed ironing out.

In the following passage, two 18 year old hustlers talk about their various experiences in group homes and detention centres:

A - The group homes I've been in have been more help for me. The group in the Horseshoe Bay where I stayed at, it was run by a priest, he worked with the cops, where he goes to the places and says well so and so died in your family, he calms me down and that was a really good place, he treated you just like his own kids. I was in one group home which was pretty decent. He had strict rules but if you obeyed his rules you got treated with a good respect. That was alright. That was about the only one I was really in that I liked. Then I was at M.... House. That really burned me when I was first put in as a ward of the court. They stuck me in there and it was like a prison centre for juveniles. I was treated like I was in there for a crime and meanwhile all I was was a ward of the court. I couldn't go out, I couldn't smoke. (It was like a community prison.) Exactly. (So you might just as well have been a prisoner?) Yeah, I might as well. That's the size of it. It's like what am I doing here, might as well go out and do a crime, you get the same treatment. It ain't my fault that I'm a ward of the court, it's your fault. You made me a ward of the court, not me. They say there's no where available for you so you're in jail. What's that kind of bullshit.

B - (Q. Ever been in Willingdon?) I spent three years there.

A - Put it this way, I think Willingdon is worse than Oakalla.

B - They treat you like shit. You swear, you're locked up for two hours as punishment.

A - You can't get away with too much. There's one guy, Mr. ...., he used to wail on you. (Q. So they beat you?) There's a few that did.



B - Remember we thought, when I first went in there, my last name is the same as his. When I first went in there he goes "Yeah, this is my little brother, my little cousin" or something like that. (Bet that made you popular.) Pissed me off. (One way to get a beating.) I never did though, not ever. I was in there for so long that everybody knew me. (Q. Much fighting between the people in there?) Depends on who the person is. If you're not solid, obviously you're going to get shit.

A - Except you get away with a lot more because they got rapists in there, too. No one talks to them but they don't get severely punished like at Oakalla.

B - You get dead in detention, too. When I was in there some guy got killed. It was only because he opened his mouth, he was drowned in the pool. (Q. What, he finked or something?) Yes, he was just held under water in the pool until he was dead.

A - There was guys in there that were in for murdering people. (Q. Do you think your experience in Detention helped you in any way, shape or form?) No. (Q. Do you think it did the reverse?) I think so, especially Unit... All you do there is you sit, you get up, have breakfast, you get locked up, you're out, you watch T.V., you get locked up again, come out, have lunch, get locked up again, get out, watch T.V. and that's it. That night, if you're lucky, you get to use the pool or the gym.

B - If you're lucky.

A - I went into detention the first time when I was 13. I'm only 13 and the people that are 17 or 16, you figure, they're always talking about crime, you figure that's cool to do that. If you're in there for six months, that's all you hear and you get treated like shit for six months. When you get out, you're not going to be the person they want you to be, you know you're going to do it again.

B - You go, hey that guy had a good idea when he did that. I'll try and add a bit to it and try it again so you go off and rob someone using his style but a bit more of yours, you get busted again, you go back in, you get out and you try



and make it better. It's a big run around. They don't help you out at all. It makes things worse.

A - They don't counsel you or give you help. It's like you're there and you're a piece of meat and you get locked up and you're out and you get fed and you have your cigarette, your six cigarettes a day and that's it.

To make matters worse in the eyes of our respondents, not only are different kinds of services needed, but more of them. The trend in British Columbia, however, is the opposite. One program recently cut involved a social worker on patrol with two police officers in what became known as the "kiddy car", a special unit targeted at juveniles on the street. As one respondent noted this car did have an affect on the juveniles on the street, but again, not much of one:

I think there should be services to help them. When I was a juvenile, kiddy car was actually, in a way, a scary word but most juveniles won't admit it, they'll say well fuck, its a kiddy car, big deal, I can get out in an hour. But it was a scary word because these people were the ones who publicize you. They'd let your parents know, your parents would let your aunts know and if your parents were not strict but older fashioned they would really come down on you. The service that really scares me is E.S. It was one of the most terrifying things I could ever think of going to E.S. again, fuck. (Q. What do they do with you when you go to E.S.?) Oh they just threw me around to a group home or whatever, whatever their trip was for the night. Here's a dollar for bus fare. (Q. Did the kiddy cars go out nights?) Yes. (Q. Do they come around much?) Yes, that's actually the cop who's out to get me, the one who drives the kiddy car. I know his badge and everything, his name so I'm not worried. As soon as he takes me I'll just have my lawyer rung and I'll just tell him badge ... caught me. He's getting me so go do your stuff. First thing next morning, in court and that guy's off the force just like that because he's got no legal right at all to even touch me. If I'm on a street and he asks me my name I can say get lost, I don't want to tell you. If he says I want to know your name, I say I don't really give a damn and then he goes well, here I really want to know your name and I go what are you charging me and he says nothing

and I say well get away from me.

Others agree with our two young hustlers quoted above that custodial intervention is similarly ineffective (apart from the actual period of incarceration) in preventing juveniles from returning to the street:

I worked as a juvenile. I started when I was 14 and there wasn't anything that you could offer me that would get me off the street. They put me in Willingdon and they shipped me home and I know a lot of other girls that I met in Willingdon and when you're a juvenile you don't care what anybody says, you're just going to do what you want. But there's got to be a way. It's not right. I know I sound like a hypocrite to say well I did it and I came out okay but they shouldn't be allowed to. They got to have a way that they can take those kids and ship them the hell out of here. (Q. Were you aware of the Senator Project?) Yes. (Q. What do you think of that?) I haven't heard of anything yet that's any good really.

As we shall see later in the discussion of our respondents' views on legal changes, almost all of our subjects (even those just turned adult) agree that juveniles should not be sexually procured. Most of our respondents believe that the power of the criminal law should be turned to the procurer of juveniles, not the juveniles themselves. Many observers might respond that some coercive power is needed to control the juveniles themselves. And yet such power is itself problematic. For the respondent just quoted, the group home was perceived as a form of coercive power, and this perception became one of the reasons she herself was on the street. As an alternative, many of our respondents suggested that safe houses for juveniles should be established. Several respondents suggested that these should be run by street people, but one transsexual noted some of the obvious pitfalls:

I would say a place, an old hotel that's been refurbished, for the purpose of a house with more of a home atmosphere. That would have been useful in my case, because there are a lot of gay kids out there too and they need a place to go that people will understand them. But the only thing is "Oh, but if you open a place like that and you're transsexual, you will be taking advantage of the young boys and girls that come through sexually." Excuse me, I have my own family and

I've got news for you, I don't even let the girls downtown. I have police that will back me up on that. I boot their asses off, I literally kick them. I say get off. Now when you're old enough to know your own head better then you can maybe come back to work. If I'm not around you get a pimp? Tell him to come and see me, the name is .... and I'm right on the corner of Georgia and Gore, honey, any time, and if I ain't there, I'm in .... or I'm over on Keefer. Any time, you tell him to come and see me. Any time at all and if I can't beat him up, I'll call my old man. (Q. Basically you're saying that the services that should be around for kids are places where they can get off the street?) Places where they would have more of a home type life, like a good home type life, with counselling and not somebody running around in little suits with all these brochures and shit. I mean people who are people who have been on the street and are not on the street anymore, who have been in the business, know what's going on. You can't bullshit them because they've been it and done it and that's it. Like I tell these kids, you can't tell me shit about drugs because I've done it all when I was young, I went through the whole bit including heroin and I'll tell you right now, it's the shits. It all is shit and I've been on the street for most of my life. Oh I've had straight jobs, too, that's cool. I've seen both sides of the fence in many ways. I'm telling you now, it's no good unless you're smart and you put your money to work for you. I was smart but in the last few years I'm getting older and I guess it made me stupider instead of wiser, I don't know. With age does not always come wisdom I'll tell you. Sometimes you do the weirdest things like make a wrong move and all of a sudden, zip, you've got nothing anymore.

The fact that eight of our respondents have been involved in social work of some kind (Table M.58) does attest to the role that street people often see for themselves in helping others avoid the pitfalls of street life. The majority of our respondents, whether involved in social work or not, similarly believe that some help should be provided for juveniles.

The various attitudes towards juvenile sexual procurement revealed in these interviews together with the information from the social service and police studies show that there is almost unanimous agreement among all of the

people that we have talked to that something should be done. Almost as many agree that the force of the criminal law should be used against the adults who procure juveniles for sexual purposes.

#### XI. ATTITUDES TO LEGAL CHANGE (Q.'s 61-63)

As in each of the other interview and questionnaire studies that we have conducted, we presented our respondents with the choice of one of 3 possible scenarios for legal change - criminalization, decriminalization, and legalization - or to suggest some other alternative. 27 of our respondents opted for decriminalization (60%), 18 for legalization (40%) - 3 respondents did not answer the question.

In rejecting criminalization our subjects believed that they should not be subject to the criminal law simply for the act of prostitution. When it came to soliciting law, which would push prostitution underground, most of them were opposed to it because they believed that it would firstly lay them open to more trick abuse and secondly make it easier for pimps to take control of the trade. This does not, however, mean to say that our subjects believe that street prostitutes should be allowed to practice anywhere they please (although some did), but that the street situation made it easier for them to catch tricks, and easier to watch out for each other.

When it came to choosing decriminalization or legalization, many of our respondents felt that legalization simply produced another, albeit different form of pimp control (nearly all the born women in our sample chose decriminalization as did most of the transsexuals). Decriminalization, it was believed, would produce a legal environment in which prostitutes could work alone or in small groups without being organized for somebody else's profit. There is a general belief among our subjects that legalization often produces a more extreme form of exploitation of prostitutes housed in state run or state regulated brothels (as in Nevada) or ghettoized in red-light districts:

I think decriminalization sounds the best. (Q. Why?) Because it sounds to me if they legalize it, it's going to be like working the "chicken ranches" in Nevada. I'm all for free enterprise and leave well enough alone.

Advocates of legalization never mentioned these considerations, seemingly unaware of them. Their main



argument was that since prostitution could never be wiped out, it made much better sense to create a legal environment in which prostitutes could work without fear of criminal sanctions: they like advocates of decriminalization, stressed the safety factor:

(Q. What sort of legal changes would you like to see?) I'd like to see it legalized to protect prostitutes from bad tricks, harassment from the police, and harassment from each other. I think there should be some sort of system protecting prostitutes, making it some sort of more legal business.

(Q. So you'd be in favor more of legalization?) Yes, I would. (Q. Can you tell me why?) I think it would be better if we had houses and that, or places where we could take our tricks, it would be a lot safer for both sides. For them to make it decriminalization, it still would be hazardous to us because then the real loony-tunes can come out.

Table M.45 describes the classification of reasons given for preferred legal change. The codes "women's autonomy" and "government as pimps" reflect the more politicized subjects in our group who opted for decriminalization. The response "make it legitimate" was offered by the majority of respondents selecting legalization.

Sixteen of our respondents did directly advocate the use of criminal sanctions against customers of juveniles, although 8, including many of our youngest respondents, did not (Tables M.46 and M.47). Several respondents urged criminal sanctions against violent tricks, and several others wanted criminal laws against pimps:

I'd like to see some way of getting rid of pimps totally which will never happen of course. (Q. Then perhaps you think the laws should be stronger against pimps?) Sure, of course, definitely. I think they should spend 10 years in jail with probation. I think it should be so heavy that they are totally discouraged. I think there should be more publicity about pimps so that girls don't get caught up, it's like a knight in shining white or black armour comes and gets them and sweeps them off their feet and tells them I'm going to make you a star. I'm going to give you diamonds, I'm going to give you this and that and if they're sort of discouraged



about that happening maybe it won't happen to them. (Q. How about publishing the trick's name in the paper?) No I think that's wrong. I don't think he's an innocent victim but I don't think it should be publicized because you would ruin the man's family life and business life. ( But that would deter him from going with a ho.) Prostitution is a necessary thing. I think prostitution keeps a lot of families together. I don't think there is anything wrong with it. I would love to see the way they have it in Holland where there is medical check ups and everything. But how are you going to do that? Nobody wants a public house like that in their neighbourhood.

There should be laws protecting these girls. There should be laws that enforce these men to live up to their bargain, pay the girls what they owe them. Actually it's money up front but some of them try not to pay. There should be some sort of penalty for robbing, raping or beating up prostitutes. There should be laws protecting the girl against her boyfriend, living off the avails for the boyfriends I think that should be illegal. (And yet you shared your income with your boyfriend.) I did but I think it should have been illegal.

It should be illegal to use these kids; for tricks to pick them up. The penalty for being caught with somebody under 16 should be enforced so much that the kids wouldn't even venture on the street.

Consistently, however, the criminal law was not thought to be the answer to the problem. As one respondent put it, alternatives are what the kids need. But not just one alternative - legal precedent as well:

Give them something to live for other than the street. Give them an alternative, start work programs, start educational things for them and don't have a whole bunch of red tape they have to go through and bureaucracy before they can get it. By that time, they'll be dead. They'll be on dope and hopelessly gone. We're so far behind here, we're so narrow minded and so pissy-assed. We're snipity about "Oh well we can't dirty our corporate hands, our judicial system and we can't do that and we can't say this because it might make precedents." Make the fucking precedents and get it over with, make the precedents and make it

stick and sew up the loop holes so some idiot lawyer doesn't get in there and screw it up again. The lawyers are getting very rich, so are the pimps. Get rid of the pimps, definitely get rid of the pimps or the boyfriends that are pimps, just get rid of them.

Table M.49 describes the various recommendations that our subjects made to help ameliorate the situation of sexually procured juveniles. 20 of the responses relate to either more police power to intervene in the lives of juveniles, or the charging of procurers. "Education and training" (7 responses) and "juveniles need help" reflect the demand for more social services. Only 5 of our respondents said that nothing should be done.

The final question in our section on legal alternatives asked our respondents where they would meet tricks if the definition of street soliciting was changed to include all circumstances in which tricks and prostitutes meet in public places. The majority of them mentioned hotels and bars (27 responses), several said that they would work for escort agencies, and some would still work the street. Several of our subjects noted the hypocrisy involved in banning the street trade, and then proceeding with criminal investigations of bawdy houses or escort services:

They would have to put ads in papers. But the government people can't have their cake and eat it too. Either take one or the other. Stop the street prostitution but don't try and stop the whole thing. Let them advertise in certain types of newspapers, let them advertise, let them get their clients through the papers or whatever or in clubs that will accept them. Don't try and stop it because you won't. The minute you decide it's off the street and you're going to get into some private apartments or houses or hotels or whatever, just leave them alone then and change the judicial system because the biggest pimp right now is the judicial system. Definitely it is. They're the ones that get all the fines. \$350 for a fine and up to \$2000, where is all that money going? It certainly is not going back into the prostitution field to help the kids that are on the streets, that's for goddamn sure. It's going to pay judges, lawyers, policemen, policewomen, the whole judicial system is becoming richer and richer. They're driving the Rolls Royces. The kids are then back on the

street to get the money to pay the bloody fine so who's the biggest pimp?

I'd still work on the street or in the bars. (Q. Even if they arrested you every time you went out on the street, would you think you would keep working on the street?) Yeah because there's no crime against walking on the street. (Q. Okay but say they made it a crime to walk on the street if there's going to be anything like that involved. Like if they caught you soliciting and they could arrest you, would you still do it?) If I needed the money, yeah.

You know what I thought was a really good idea, the Penthouse. The girls were off the streets. They didn't have to worry about meeting customers. Customers were screened when they went into the Penthouse. If there was a weirdo, the bouncers at the Penthouse would protect you. The Penthouse was a good place. It really was. Everyone knew prostitutes were there. There were cops in there all the time but who cares about them. Mainly they were there for customers who were being ripped off and as soon as they found out in the Penthouse that you're ripping someone off, you didn't work there anymore, or if you had a disease, you didn't work there anymore. It was controlled. It was really a good place and I think if they had something like that it would be great. (Q. What about a red light area in Gastown?) Gastown would be perfect.

## XII. BIOGRAPHICAL DIMENSIONS OF THE SUBJECT GROUP (Q.'s 65-79)

In the final section of the interview we asked a series of questions which help to build biographical profiles of our subjects, although for the purpose of this report we present generalized findings.

As we noted earlier, 27 of our subjects began their prostitution careers as juveniles (Table S.42), of whom 18 had turned out before their fifteenth birthday. All but four of the respondents for whom we have this information had turned out by their twenty-first birthday (Table S.43).

Over 90% of our subjects have a least one brother or sister (Table S.46) whose current occupations are summarized in Tables M.51 and M.52. Table M.50 describes

the predominant living arrangements of our subjects during their childhood years. The six subjects that we recorded here as living in group homes or foster homes did so for most of their childhood. Other respondents lived with both parents for a portion of their childhood until the parents' marriage broke up and then lived with one or the other parent. Some of them lived with both parents until they left home, others spent the major part of their childhood with only one parent (Table M.50). Parent occupations are described in Tables M.53 and M.54.

Our subjects' assessments of the financial situations of their respective families are shown in Table S.47; eleven of our subjects (25%) described their families as "well-off" 23 said that their family financial situation was "comfortable", and 6 said that it was "needy".

Our next series of questions attempted to gauge the nature of our subjects' family relationships. At this point we can only provide the most general of descriptive statistics to summarize the findings of this part of the questionnaire - time constraints have not permitted a more detailed analysis of the statistical properties of the information. Tables S.48 - S.51 provide a general descriptive statistical profile of our subjects' relationships with various members of their families. What we find is that most of our respondents viewed relationships with their siblings favourably, but the majority of them viewed their relationships with either one or both parents unfavourably. Relationships with fathers were viewed as the least favourable. Indeed nearly 70% of our respondents reported a background of family violence (Table S.52); the family members involved are described in Table M.55. A series of vignettes serves to indicate the kinds of family violence which the majority of our subjects experienced:

(Q. Did anybody in your family argue?) Oh yeah.  
 (Q. Who was that?) Everybody really. The whole family was just crazy. Aunt M.... would blame my Aunt S.... for sleeping with her husband but Aunt M.... also has a drinking problem. When I was about 7 after my grandma died, I was sent to live with them. Whenever my uncle would say no, I'm not buying you any booze, she'd take it out on me. (Q. Did anybody hit each other physically?) My mom and my Aunt S.... It was pretty crazy. (Q. Did anybody ever hit the children?) My Aunt M....  
 (Q. Who did she hit?) Me. She used to hit me alot for no reason. (Q. How young were you when this happened?) Seven. She used to leave all the housework up to me and everything. Like dishes



and cleaning up, so after school I never got a chance to watch cartoons or anything.

(22 year old woman)

(Q. Did they ever hit you or your brother?) Well my dad had his fits on me a couple of times but that was after my parents broke up. (Q. Have you ever been scared living a home?) Oh, yes. (Q. Who of, your father?) Yes.

(18 year old male)

My dad used to beat up my mom. (Q. Did he ever hit you?) He hit me. One time I was lying for my mom about something and I had my nightgown on and he took his belt and he got it wet and he whipped me with that and then my mom smashed something over his head and then after that when he came to, then we both really got it. I used to go to school with bruises all over my body and this school that I went to was really prejudiced. They used to make me take P.E. and everything and I'd just be in pain and the kids at school were real assholes. They used to tease me because of the bruises and shit like that. My dad would be at work or whatever, he was never at home, he had other girlfriends so I'd just stay home and when I'd hear the van coming into the yard I'd just run and hide in the closet. (Q. How old were you then?) I was pretty young. I was scared of my dad and it was about 7 until about 12, then we moved away, just took off on him.

(15 year old female)

I remember a lot of bouts with my step father. He was a really weird man. He was always really violent. I remember my brother screaming in his room because he was really scared. I don't ever remember being hit, well I got slapped in the face a lot but other than that, that was just for disobedience. Other than that, I don't remember anything. He hit my mother once and that was the first and last time he ever did that. (Q. Did you step in?) Oh I certainly did. I was so close to my mother because I had her to myself for six years and I remember I was about 12 and hear him slap my mother and they had a big fight and I ran downstairs and found he was about to hit her again and I grabbed a wine bottle that I decorated with candles and I just grabbed it and just smacked him over the head. I almost killed him, it was something like 1/2 inch from his



temple and I would have killed him and that's the night they split up. It had been leading up. He had been making sexual advances towards me since I was 10 years old.

(28 year old woman)

I'd go home sometimes every once in awhile, my mother would boil the burners and stick my hands onto them or very close. She fucking whipped me, she'd fucking take sticks and fucking beat me and stuff like that. I got sick, so sick of it. Made it to the point where I almost punched my mother out so many times but I never hit her. (Q. So it was basically your mother against you?) No, me against my mother. (Her perpetrating violence against you.) Only when I did something wrong, very wrong. It was more like I was against my mother, I was doing all the crimes to get back at her. But I'd also do the crime because I liked it. (So you really had a sort of sense of bad is good.) Yes, I guess so. Me and my dad spent a lot of time in jail too so my mom thinks I took after his footsteps. Like he did attempted murder and stuff like that in the B.C. Pen and my mom thinks I kind of went after his footsteps.

(18 year old hustler)

My mom used to beat me alot. (Q. Nobody else in your family got beat up? Just you?) They used to get spankings but my mom used to literally beat me up. Use extension cords on me and everything. (Q. Did your dad ever beat your mom up?) Yeah my dad used to beat my mom up. (Q. And then your mom used to beat you up?) Yeah but never when my dad was around. My dad would be out at work in the bush but he caught her a couple of times. One time she came in with an extension cord and she got me twice across the face and left marks and my dad wasn't supposed to come in until the following week but he came in a week early and so he seen my body like that and he never really knew how bad my mom used to beat me and none of us would tell our dad. My dad he used to get pretty mean but not with us kids, he never abused any of us. Him and my mom used to get in real good fights.

(19 year old woman)

In some cases the family situation did not involve violence, but that did not make the situation any more

tolerable for one of our young male subjects:

My mother hit me once in my whole life and that was during the divorce and she was drunk and now I can fully appreciate why she did because I was being a nag and she was at her wits end and she hit me and two minutes later apologized up and down and that was it. Our family was one of very strong mental contact. When you did something wrong, you got a dirty look and you knew it. That's how I raised my little sister. I raised her from 2 weeks old up to 3 years old. My mother had her talk show and her magazine so she was out till 11-12 at night. I walked her home. An average day for me would be to get up at 7:00, get my step brother up who was living with us, my mom's second husband, his sons, I'd get him up for work and I'd have a lunch for him packed and then I'd get my little brother and my little sister up and I'd feed her and he'd go to school, then I would take her to daycare, and then I would go to school and then I would come home at lunch, do the breakfast dishes, make lunch. My little brother would go back to school, I'd come home, I'd do the lunch dishes, I'd make dinner for the whole family, I'd go walk my mom home from work, pick my little sister up from daycare, I'd feed everybody. I'd finish doing the dishes and everything by 7:00. I usually bribed my little brother by paying him because at 12 years old I was getting an allowance of \$25 a week for all the work I did around the house and taking care of my sister so I'd bribe him and I'd leave by about 7 and I'd come home drunk about 12 and go to bed and repeat the process over and over. And then one day my step father said either he goes or I go, so I figured Mr. Know-it-all, I can handle it and my mom thought I could handle myself. She was on her own since she was 15 and she said "stay in touch" and I do. That was that.

Tables S.53 and S.54 reveal that 14 of our respondents were sexually abused as children by family members, 13 were sexually abused as children by non-family members. Tables M.55 and M.56 describe the various abusive relationships. A total of 23 of our respondents had been sexually abused as children (4 of them by both family and non-family members), 50% of the respondents that answered the question. It is possible that the actual percentage is higher. We do not however know the level of abuse in the general population, so we do not know the significance of this finding. We do

know, however, that when sexual abuse and family violence are added together, at least 75-80% of our respondents come from abusive or assaultive family backgrounds (the figure is probably higher than this - we have not calculated the ratio of our subjects coming from assaultive family situations that were also sexually abused as children.)

In the cases that we know of, sexual abuse sometimes involved several different family members, and sometimes lasted for several years. Table S.55 indicates the respondents age at the time the abuse began, or the time at which a particular single incident occurred. Some of them involve fairly long periods of time, as with one girl abused by her father:

There was a lot of sexual abuse in my family between my mom and dad, between my dad and me, between my mom and me, between my mom and my sister, between my dad and my sister. That's what I mean, it was a really weird head game. (Q. What?) My family is mental. Even I'm a little bit screwed up inside. I admit that. (I don't think so.) I do. I have a bit of a weird thing about sex and all that. My family is just really weird. My mom used to make comments like, there was actually people in my family who'd grab my ass, not in the family but family friends and my mom would say, oh, you can't do that, that's \$100. Really weird head games. (Q. And you said that your dad molested you. What did he do?) He's been after me since the time I was 8. He fucked me and everything when I was only eight years old. I got pregnant at the age of nine and I ran away from home the day I found out I was pregnant. This is a good one, I'm serious. The day I ran away I was 9 years old and that was the day I found out I was pregnant and I ran away from home that night. I got raped and beaten. I was in the Children's Hospital for about 7 weeks. (Q. How many times have you been raped?) Twice raped and once beaten. And those things in my family. There's also a family friend who tried to molest me. I told my dad what this guy was doing to me and my dad said we're going to kill him. Walk over and shoot him. My dad was doing the same thing to me as this guy was doing. He's really weird. (Q. How did your mom react?) My mom knew. I'm sure that they would plan. My mom knew. It's not really as incredible as it sounds because I know a lot of girls who have been molested, a lot of girls. It's just that now it's finally being talked about. But even if I hadn't had any family

problems I would still be out there. I had it pretty good for awhile. I lived with my grandparents and my grandparents are really good people. I had it really, really good. I had whatever I wanted pretty well. My grandma made my bed and all that and she loved me. I had it really good. (Q. Did your grandparents know what was happening at home?) Yes, that's why I lived with them for awhile. I lived with them for about 1/2 a year and I had it really super good and I was such a bitch. I called my grandma a stupid douche bag and all this and my grandma isn't used to hearing stuff like that and I ran away from there too.

Some of the abusive situations involving non-family members were simply single incidents:

I was sexually abused when I was about 7 years old by this dirty old man up in an alley. He gave me 25 cents to suck me off. (Really?) Yeah, when I was seven years old and I told him about 2 minutes into it, I said hey my mom's calling me so can I have my 25 cents, I got to go. (Q. Do you think that that could have been instrumental in you becoming a prostitute?) No because I was living on the street about a year before I ever thought about prostitution but it seemed like a better life than selling drugs.

In another case the abuse continued for a period of about one year and involved several different offenders:

When I was living with my Aunt M... her youngest boy, not her youngest, her second youngest boy; I was sexually abused by him. (Q. How old was he?) He was, I guess, maybe 10. (Q. And how old were you?) Seven. (Q. You had your first ever sexual assault when you were seven?) Right. (Q. Was there a frequency to that, did it happen again?) It happened to me about 4 times through the whole year that I lived there. But it was things like if I dropped a glass and it broke and they weren't home, he would say, like this one time he said to me, well let me do this to you and I'll take the blame for the glass. When I was 10 there was this man who had camera stuff and he lived across from where my grandpa and my aunt lived and me and this young girl would go there and he used to give us money to take nude pictures all the time. That was the second time. (Q. Was there more times than that?) After that, no, not until I



hit the street. (Q. Did you tell anybody about either of these episodes?) Nobody. (Q. Were you bribed?) Sure. (Q. Has anybody lied to you about those situations, like the adults, what did the man across the street say to you, did he say it was okay?) Yes he said it was okay and that he's taken pictures of other girls and stuff like that but when it got really bad like he had this dish thing and he wanted me to stick it inside of me and that's when I ended right there. I said look no more of this.

In another case the abuse again did not reach the point of intercourse:

He sexually abused me by touching me and trying to kiss me but he never had sex with me. (Q. He would have if you had let him?) Oh definitely. I was trying to keep it from my mother. I didn't tell her until he died, what he had done. I kept it to myself all that time. It really hit hard for a young kid to keep that to yourself. I knew it would hurt her if I told her, so I never told her about it.

And in another case the physical abuse did not quite materialize but nevertheless had a significant impact on the victim:

Towards the end when I was leaving I had a feeling like my father, he started doing weird things like coming into my bedroom with just his underpants on and shit like that. I don't know if it would have happened or what but I just left. (But you felt the vibes.) It was just things that he'd never done before kind of thing and he was so hyped up on like my mother and this and that.

Thirteen of our respondents who reported being sexually abused thought that it had a significant impact on their subsequent involvement in prostitution. Ten of them thought that they would have become prostitutes whether they were sexually abused or not.

In any event, one point bears repeating; a very high proportion of our respondents come from what are typically called "abusive family situations".

The final set of questions in this section of the interview provided information on education levels, current living arrangements and offspring. Table S.57 displays the



educational achievements of our subject group. Table S.58 describes the children of our subject group. It is important to note that the code "abortion/miscarriage" should be ignored since we did not systematically ask our respondents for this information. Table M.59 depicts the current living situations of our various subjects.

## ANECDOTES ON INTERVIEWS WITH PROSTITUTES

MAUREEN ST. LOUIS

Initially, until contact was made with the people working the Davie Street area, acquiring interviews was constantly perplexing. I first contacted people I knew had worked in the business in the past and had them pass around the word that I was interested in interviewing anyone involved in "the life". This approach was fairly unsuccessful.

I made contact with a stripper who had "worked" the Georgia/Hornby area. Georgia and Hornby is an area said to be controlled exclusively by pimps - predominantly black pimps from the United States. It is for this reason that this area was particularly difficult to penetrate - anyone agreeing to be interviewed would have to have the permission of "her man". The women in this area appear to be reluctant to use up time they could be spending with "their men", or making money, to be involved in an interview.

My first meeting with the stripper found her co-operative and willing to assist (the fact that we had mutual acquaintances dissolved any initial feelings of distrust). However, the interview itself never materialized because of our respective schedules.

By the time I succeeded in reaching a group of prostitutes time had become a major concern.

My initial contact with the prostitutes of Davie Street was made at a weekly meeting of prostitutes in a local restaurant, with the help of the organizers of the meeting (the representatives of the Alliance for the Safety of Prostitutes - A.S.P.). I was introduced as a researcher doing a study on prostitution. I spoke with most of the prostitutes individually, explaining the purpose of the study and my involvement with it; I referred to myself as someone studying criminology, who had extensive prior knowledge about prostitution. The fact that I had this experience appeared to interest them, and made them more at ease.

It was through this meeting that I became acquainted with a few of the prostitutes, who later became my main source of introduction to life on the street. My identity didn't seem to disturb anyone apart from a few who were extremely inquisitive as to exactly what I was doing (only

one person, a transsexual, refused to participate in an interview. She gave me her number and then, shortly afterward, asked me to cross it out, stating that she had changed her mind. She offered no explanation, and I didn't ask). Although I took down many telephone numbers and gave out my own, many of the promised interviews did not actually materialize.

By establishing a rapport with a small number of prostitutes and frequenting restaurants and bars in the Davie Street area with them, I eventually became comfortable and felt accepted enough to "hang around" on my own. Through this direct observation of prostitutes' social activities, I was able to gain vital insights into a part of the lifestyle that could never be learned through the interview process alone.

Once I was accepted they offered information openly; they seemed to enjoy talking about their lives (perhaps the attention made them feel more important). There were actually a number of situations in which I met a prostitute in a social situation and found them offering the story of their life without any probing on my part.

My initial contacts were with the older, more influential people on the street - the transsexuals. My credibility was established through my association with them. However, I found that the difficulties with this situation were the tendency to feel gratitude for their help, and my awareness of the requirement to remain on good terms with them. I was constantly aware of the fact that a single negative word from them could block access to any further interviews. This became an extremely difficult task because of the animosity between various people, and I found myself constantly trying to avoid being identified with any particular group of people; I tried to carefully and evenly distribute my attention in order to establish productive relationships with members of contending "factions". I also recognized that showing preference for certain subjects would reflect the biases of the cliques in the interviews (I did, however, tend to spend more time with individuals who appeared to be more articulate and better informed).

I was fortunate to come across an old friend of mine who was at the time of this study employed as a male stripper (fortunate in that I subsequently found that a number of prostitutes associate with male strippers for both sexual relationships and friendships - male strippers appear to be considered a step above prostitutes and a few of the male hustlers I met actually aspire to become a stripper as an escape from the street). Through my renewed

association with this stripper I was introduced to a different group of "street people".

Some of the people I became acquainted with expressed their desire to maintain a friendship by inviting me for dinner or out for a drink, with the promise of introducing me to potential interview subjects. Several of these people were extremely direct in their approach to this - they took me to the various strolls, introduced me briefly to someone, and informed them that they were to do an interview. This approach was generally exercised by the "trannies" (transsexuals) who are known for their dominance on the streets (which is at times a source of amusement for other street people). Others used a more subtle approach by pointing people out to me and leaving me to introduce myself. Watching these people exercising their power to get me interviews was not only of interest, but amusing. However, regardless of the assistance I received from the prostitutes themselves I still had difficulties in securing an adequate number of interviews.

A major problem was the (apparently) inordinate number of prostitutes who do not have residential telephones. In many cases, after securing the promise of an interview, I would have to cruise the streets regularly to find the person - in fact, had I been able to actually interview everyone that complied with the request, the number of completed interviews would have tripled. Without a doubt, spontaneity was the most effective means of guaranteeing an interview; however, this was difficult because of the extensive time required for the interview. Often people had to go somewhere, or I personally had other commitments. In other cases, I had problems with people not appearing when a time and place was pre-arranged. In fact, on two occasions I drove across town to find the person conspicuously absent!

The location of the interview posed another problem. I was fortunate in that I spent one week in an apartment in the West End (an indicator of the ease with which friendships with these people are formed - one of our subjects allowed me to stay in her apartment while she was out of town), which was convenient for both pre-arranged and spontaneous interviews. To put people at their ease I usually offered them coffee or a drink prior to the interview. Upon completion of the interview I drove them home and returned to my search for someone else who had agreed to an interview. In fact, I spent so much time wandering around looking for people that I managed to secure credit in a local restaurant where many street people congregate.



Five of the 24 interviews I conducted were done in the West End apartment and another two were conducted in my own home. These interviews were the most satisfactory in terms of control and time, although I felt more pressure to make them comfortable (usually a drink solved the problem). Six interviews were conducted in restaurants - a good location in terms of getting information because it is a much more social setting with lots of "chit-chat" going on, but expensive in terms of time (usually longer than two hours) and money because I always paid the bill. However, the main disadvantage of conducting a taped interview in a restaurant was that of noise and interruptions.

The majority of interviews (11) were conducted in the respondent's home. Apart from the apartment situation, I preferred using their home as the interview setting. The disturbances of 'phone calls and unexpected visitors were compensated for by the opportunity to observe their living environments (a lot can be learned about an individual in this way).

Because of the limited time I tried to include a variety of "types" of prostitutes in the sample (I probably could have interviewed almost every transsexual in the Davie Street area). I chose to spend my time making contacts with various age groups rather than gender groups - since transsexualism, for example, involves a much more complex lifestyle than that of a born male or female a large representation of transsexuals would have biased the results of the study.

Once I had been in the area for some time and my credibility was established people actually came to me asking to be interviewed. In fact, now that the interview period has terminated I have been approached by people that are seemingly offended that they were not interviewed, or even asked to be interviewed!

I had only one problem with regard to my identity. One person I approached had apparently been told that I was a "narc". After hearing this she questioned one of the street people that I was frequently with; apparently any uncertainty about my identity was soon resolved.

It took until approximately the tenth interview before I felt comfortable with the questionnaire. Eventually, I was able to ask questions without having to read them verbatim. I often contributed my own personal anecdotes to put subjects at ease and get them talking - for example when asking whether residents of the area had ever been physically or verbally abusive towards them, I would mention my experience in dodging eggs thrown at me while I



stood in a back ally conversing with a prostitute (most prostitutes in the West End have experienced this and think nothing of it. I personally found it shocking).

I would also talk about my experiences with police in the West End - being mistaken for a prostitute and receiving a jaywalking ticket on Davie Street. I found that telling them stories about myself put me on a level closer to their experiences and made it easier for them to talk to me.

In most social groups people plan their activities. I found that, for most street people on Davie, activities evolve from how much money they made the night before. For many of them, the day is spent sleeping (recovering from the night before) or just "hanging around". Most of them don't seem to stray far from the West End. I met one teenage prostitute who had just returned from a trip to Kitsilano on her bicycle. She was obviously distraught and ready to tell her tale to anyone who would listen - she said she had "blown" a tire on her bike upon reaching Kitsilano and was so unsure of what to do that she sat on the ground and cried. She claimed that she would never leave the West End again because she felt so safe there. I found it amazing that this young girl lives and works in an area known for its high crime rate, and she jumps into cars with unknown men each night, yet she is terrified at her own helplessness when a minor problem occurs in an unfamiliar area. The street is like a home for most of these people and everyone around is "family", offering a sense of security.

My experiences on Davie Street have reinforced my suspicion that there is a major difference between working on the street and working as a prostitute through other means. The turnover on the street is an attractive aspect for those wanting to make money fast, whereas the girls that work hotels, escort agencies or the phone are more concerned with quality - spending time with a trick and satisfying him so that he will come back. On the street quantity is the dominating factor - "get off and get out". This is not to say that street prostitutes are the only ones concerned with "getting it over with" - in any area the unspoken rule is to do as little as possible for as much as possible.

It is interesting to note the differences in language. Most people on Davie street are not familiar with the term "hoe" ( a word used for prostitute in other areas - I believe it originated in the black-American underworld). On Davie Street they merely refer to themselves as "hookers". The term "date" (customer) is rarely used on Davie Street.

Either "trick" or "john" is commonly used for the customer.

Because of the variety of people working the Davie area, the customers are equally diversified. A potential customer can choose from a variety of different types of people to fit his particular fantasy - anything from a 12 year old child to a 47 year old sex change. Consequently, for customers looking for an unusual request, Davie Street is preferable to the other working areas in Vancouver.

The peak time for business is between 9:00p.m. and 3:00 a.m. but some of the prostitutes work during the day as well. I have noticed that the ones that work during the day usually do so when extra money is needed for something in particular. Others see going to work as a social affair and work the afternoons for lack of anything better to do. The prostitutes that work afternoons and evenings on a regular basis (some do work 12 - 14 hours a day) are usually females who live with someone who wants the money, or they have a drug habit. There are a number of drug dealers on Davie street that go out with the female prostitutes. Their income is conveniently supplemented by the prostitutes' earnings. I noticed that a few names of dealers constantly came up in conversations as being "boyfriends" of the prostitutes. These people are obviously making their way through a number of girls. They have the reputation of getting girls "wired" and taking their money as repayment for a constant supply of drugs. The girls are unaware of what the reality is even when warned by others. They believe it is "true love".

The West End is alleged to be a "pimp-free" area. While this is true to the extent that the women are not hassled for being independents (by pimps) there appears to be a large number of drug dealers who benefit from the prostitutes' earnings, yet are not considered to be pimps. In fact, a great majority of the females have "boyfriends" with no visible means of support, but the relationship is never defined as a pimp-prostitute alliance by the women.

Drugs are a major facet of Davie Street life. A suprising number of the "trannies" use hard drugs far less than the male hustlers and teenage females. Many of the transsexuals I met have had a drug problem at some time in the past and are now content with pot and alcohol.

Approximately one-third of the male hustlers are "junkies" (the street definition of a junkie includes those who "fix" anything - M.D.A., cocaine etc. - not necessarily those who use heroin. People using heroin dominate the Granville area, I was told). On Davie, many of these

hustlers brag about "fixing" and are eager to show off their "tracks". They all claim to hustle just for the money and claim that it is only temporary. They see hustling as an alternative to dealing drugs. Regardless of their claims of an intended short career they are proud to boast about the length of time they have been on the street. When a male hustler reaches a certain age he loses a lot of his appeal on the street and the younger, fresher ones become competition. I have met a number of hustlers in their 20's that have left the street to work for an escort agency. They generally carry a pager and stand on the corner when the agency is slow.

I had always assumed that, since the large majority of a hustler's customers are homosexuals, the hustlers themselves must also be homosexual. In fact, most of them claim to be heterosexual with a few alleging bisexuality. There are a few that are homosexual and openly admit to enjoy the work. An obvious homosexual on the street is labelled a "screamer".

Most of the hustlers come from the suburbs - Surrey, Abbotsford etc. - and some still have family ties. They live a double life in that their suburban friends are often not aware of their work activities. One hustler that grew up in North Burnaby returns frequently to see his friends. When his friends inquire about his large cash supply he claims to have made it playing poker or shooting pool. A major concern, among these hustlers, regarding the move east of Burrard is the increased visibility - many fear their friends or family will see them.

With regard to the actual interview, male hustlers posed a very specific problem - they seemed to believe that the interview signified the beginning of a relationship with me (or at least a one night affair). In every instance, I received an offer of dinner, drinks or just "getting together" in the future. This suprised me, until I realized that their sexual preferences do not include other prostitutes. There are a few couples that both work the street, but it appears that many aspire to having a "straight" girlfriend living in the suburbs. I was actually given gifts by two of the hustlers as an indication of their "desire".

Generosity appears to be a common trait among prostitutes - with the exception if those who have a drug habit. I have had a number of gifts given to me, including cards and clothing. It was not uncommon for me to go to a club and have many of my drinks bought for me by both male and female prostitutes. If they have had a good night at work they tend to be extravagant with their money (there is



a sense of "easy come, easy go"). The hustlers actually brag about the money they make and come across as being quite arrogant. They constantly and consistently boast that they generally have to do nothing for the money. The following are two examples of services performed as told to me by two juvenile hustlers:

"I had been standing on Drake for about five minutes about 2:00 p.m. A car drove by slowly, went around the block, then stopped and asked me if I was available. He offered me \$100.00 to come back to his hotel in Richmond (I also received \$15.00 return cab fare). I told him I would spend one hour with him. He wanted to blow me until I came on his face and then I would blow him. An hour passed and I still hadn't come so I told him his time was up and I left."

The above scenario involved an Australian businessman.

"...he just wanted me to jerk-off and each time I came he would give me \$50.00. I made \$300.00 off him".

Most of the stories I heard involved the trick performing oral sex on the hustler. In fact, many claim that they won't reciprocate (although I find this dubious).

As mentioned previously, a hustler's career on the street is much shorter than his female counterpart. There are a number of ex-hustlers that come down to the West End and boast about the days when they worked the street and how much better things were then. This seems to be a common complaint among the older prostitutes who "reminisce" about the time when the younger prostitutes respected the older ones much more than they do now. Nonetheless, the street scene as I observed it appears to function no differently from any other "job" where seniority is an advantage. Additionally, a younger prostitute who knows someone with seniority (ie. power) can achieve status much more rapidly.

Prostitutes seem to be proud to announce that they have "been out here for years". There are a number of people who claim to have worked the streets for a length of time that seems quite impossible considering their (reported) ages. There are a few that have been around "forever". One such person is a 46-year-old sex change who could "control the streets" if she desired. She has many regulars but still works the street. She also cruises up and down Davie Street

and through the various other working areas in her car, picking up tricks through eye contact (apparently this is a method used frequently in Las Vegas - because girls can be charged under Vag C they work in their cars to avoid being spotted; according to her, the method works well here too).

During the latter few weeks of conducting interviews my familiarity with the people working "tranny ally" reached the point where they would jump in my car and ask to be taken for a ride. They usually requested me to drive across Davie Street to the area where the hustlers work, in order to see if there were any newcomers in the area. They frequently commented on the hustlers' attractiveness and would often have me pull over so they could talk to them.

The area the hustlers work was the only area in which I experienced problems with motorists. People on this side of Davie didn't seem to be as tolerant of street activity as they were farther south. Except for the incident with "flying" eggs in tranny ally, my presence on the south side of Davie seemed to cause no problem. In the Pendrell and Broughton areas motorists would pull up behind me and refuse to move around me. Traffic in tranny ally was by far the most dense, yet people were extremely patient.

Friday and Saturday nights posed the most problems for traffic due to the arrival of carloads of youths who were looking for prostitutes to harrass. I have heard stories about these "breeders" jumping out of cars and beating up the hustlers.

There was only one evening that I was on foot for a sufficient time to observe the situation from both the point of view of residents and prostitutes. It was announced at a weekly meeting with a lawyer that there would be a march down Davie Street in protest of the nuisance injunctions laid against a number of the Davie prostitutes. it began at 9:00 p.m. in the mini-park at Denman and Davie Streets. The majority of protest marchers appeared to be from feminist groups, with only a small number of prostitutes participating; many of the prostitutes were reluctant to get involved even though the protest was for their benefit - it was the first public protest they had ever had the chance to be involved with, but many of them balked at the idea. Through horn-blowing and chanting the attention of everyone in the vicinity was attracted, and although many of the prostitutes appeared willing to cheer the rally on, but reluctant to join in. Throughout the entire march there were no visible negative reactions from residents - in fact residents were leaning out their windows and cheering.



After the rally it was rumored that C.R.O.W.E. was going to have a Shame the Johns march at midnight. Some of the prostitutes spread the word that they would march "with" them. Signs were distributed and groups of prostitutes "joined up" with groups of the resident C.R.O.W.E. marchers. The Shame the Johns groups were obviously unsure of how to react to this situation and chose to ignore it - in fact both groups refrained from interacting with each other with the exception of a few sarcastic comments.

At one point a man drove up to inform Shame the Johns that a group of hookers were on the next street - when he realized that he was actually talking to a group of prostitutes he retreated in confusion.

I overheard one conversation between a transsexual and a homosexual member of Shame the Johns. The hate in the resident's voice could not be disguised and I am sure that if the prostitute had not been dressed as a female there would have been physical violence.

Shame the Johns were effective in deterring tricks from the area and keeping prostitutes from working. If a popular restaurant on Davie was full of prostitutes during "working" hours, it meant that Shame the Johns were out. Apparently there is no point in trying to work when they are present on the streets. However, one unforeseen consequence of the resident group's actions was an extension of the hours the prostitutes worked on the street, to make up for lost time.

One aspect of the lifestyle is almost universal among prostitutes - an extreme disregard for the value of money. Because it is acquired so quickly and easily (in terms of the amount of time spent actually performing the act for which they are paid) it tends to be spent in the same manner. Most of them earn between \$50.00 and \$300.00 per day, yet they are continually out of cash. Only rare exceptions save money for the future. Most of them collect welfare and actually depend on this to pay their rent. It is for this reason that some of them do not even have a bank account - they are afraid their welfare checks will be cut off if a bank account is discovered.

Based on my daily question "How did you do last night?" it would appear that most of them make enough to have a moderately comfortable life. However, the following example highlights the fact that what money is made is rapidly spent. One of the transsexuals in our sample works seven nights a week and has no difficulty with paying \$53.00 per

day to live in an apartment hotel - yet she is unable to move into a regular (and more economical) apartment because she can never save the \$600.00 to \$700.00 required to make a damage deposit and pay the first month's rent.

The recent move east of Burrard has caused a lot of difficulty for the West End prostitutes. Business is said to be bad, Granville Street pimps and prostitutes are causing problems, as are the police, and there is a major concern about their visibility in this new area. The initial territorial squabbles have been sorted out and each type of prostitute (ie. boys, trannies, women etc.) now has a set area to work in. There is, however, talk about leaving Vancouver.



CHAPTER VII  
VIEWS FROM THE CUSTOMERS:  
A QUESTIONNAIRE THAT NEVER WORKED



## CHAPTER VII

### VIEWS FROM THE BUYERS OF SEXUAL SERVICES: THE CUSTOMER QUESTIONNAIRE

There were few illusions at the beginning of this research as to the practicality of gaining access to information from some of the groups targeted in our research proposal. Our study has been a dismal failure in two respects - we were unable to interview any "pimps" although we did manage to obtain some information from the prostitute interviews. Similarly, despite a fairly concerted effort, our main source of information about the customers of prostitutes has come from the prostitutes and hustlers themselves; of over 30 questionnaires distributed to customers, only 4 were returned to our post office box. We are not quite sure why the response rate was so poor, but it seems that something about the questionnaire or the letter that accompanied it deterred otherwise apparently willing respondents. While it is not worth analyzing the results of such a meagre response, it is worth describing the methodology and including a copy of the questionnaire so that others may benefit from our complete failure.

The questionnaire was designed in such a way that it could either be self-administered or conducted as an interview. Clusters of questions sought to compile information about a customer's first encounter with a prostitute; past and present frequency of use of prostitute services; prices; manner of contact; preference in terms of age, sex, clothing styles, etc.; attitudes to legal change; attitudes towards prostitutes, and the usual array of questions on family and social status.

We tried a number of different methods of distributing self-administered mailback questionnaires and for finding subjects for interviews. We never did manage to arrange an interview, although it should be noted that most of our effort was devoted to distribution of questionnaires to be returned by mail. We tried three methods of distributing questionnaires - approximately ten were given to people in the various personal social networks of members of the research team; ten were handed to regular customers of a cocktail lounge by one of the cocktail waitresses who also worked as a research assistant on the prostitution project (she only distributed questionnaires to customers in the bar who privately admitted that they patronized prostitutes); and 12 were distributed by three prostitutes to a number of their regular customers.

It is difficult to say why so few of those who agreed to fill out the questionnaire actually did so. Once again

the limited time allotted to complete this research did not allow for a careful pretesting of the questionnaire and it may well be that some of the questions were thought to be offensive or illconsidered. Or it may be that because so many of the subjects were known to members of the research team that they thought the anonymity of the information they gave could not be realistically guaranteed. It could be that potential subjects simply regarded the whole matter as unimportant. Alternatively, the tone of the introductory letter, or the general purpose of the research may not have been to the liking of our potential respondents. In the case of the cocktail waitress, the offer to complete the questionnaire may have simply been another opening to talk to a woman. Whatever the case, the effort was unproductive.

We also considered placing a newspaper advertisement requesting the cooperation of customers of prostitutes in our research endeavour. But after the experience of the research team conducting the Atlantic Provinces Prostitution Field Survey with a similar newspaper advertisement that produced little useful information, we decided not to proceed. A second consideration influenced this decision as it also did our decision to avoid the strategy used in the Quebec Prostitution Field Study of appealing for research subjects on radio talk shows; from the outset we have carefully sought to avoid any publicity of the Vancouver Prostitution Field Study in the local media for fear that it could jeopardize various components of the research, particularly the prostitute and police interviews, for reasons which apply specifically to Vancouver and were discussed earlier in the report.

Although we never expected to produce a sample of customers sufficiently large to reach methodologically rigorous criteria of representativeness, we had hope to at least gain enough information to make some generalizations about one group in the prostitution business about whom a great deal has been said, but not much is really known in anything but anecdotal fashion. Unfortunately the return of 4 of our customer questionnaires will not alter this situation one bit.



CHAPTER VIII  
VIEWS OF THE STREET:  
COUNTS OF STREET PROSTITUTES



## CHAPTER VIII

### VIEWS ON THE STREET: COUNTS OF STREET PROSTITUTES

It is not so much prostitution itself that has generated public debate and political concern in Vancouver as it is the street trade. But it is not the mere existence of the street trade that so many journalists, local politicians and residents' group spokespersons find problematic; it is the particular location of the trade that is considered to be problematic.

In reconstructing the history of prostitution in Vancouver since 1970 it is obvious that street prostitution has existed throughout this period, although it is extremely difficult to tell if it is the level of occurrence that has changed, the conspicuous locations or a combination of both. As the discussion elsewhere has indicated, although street prostitutes clearly worked in the West End in 1972, most of the local representations of prostitution by politicians, journalists and residents' group spokespersons have either attributed the spread of prostitution into this area to the closure of the Penthouse Cabaret in January 1976 or to the Hutt decision in 1978. Both accounts are clearly only partially correct. Indeed there is actually not much concrete evidence that the Hutt decision significantly increased levels of street prostitution in Vancouver at all, although it does appear that the Penthouse closure did increase the level of street prostitution in the West End, and is largely responsible for the development of the West Georgia stroll. Whatever the case street prostitution has been practiced in the Chinatown area and the section of Hastings Street located close by, and on Granville Street without exciting much public protest.

More recently, in May and June 1984, the activities of a West End residents' group in picketing prostitutes and customers (the "Shame the Johns" group) and the serving of injunctions against a number of alleged West End "prostitutes" and "persons unknown" as public nuisances has been argued as being responsible for the development of prostitution along East Broadway between Main and Commercial. Several residents and local businesspersons were quoted in the Province newspaper as suggesting that the appearance of prostitutes in the area was in direct response to the West End nuisance injunctions and the activities of "Shame the Johns" (Province, June 13th, 1984). This may be true of some of the people working the area; indeed we have interviewed several prostitutes who work Broadway, two of whom did so because of various bail or probation orders prohibiting them from being in the West

End. One of the orders was made early in 1984; we do not know the date of the other, but it was prior to 1984. The other people we interviewed who worked in the area have also done so for some time, and newspaper articles appear in 1981 and 1982 which referred to the activities of street prostitutes on Broadway. Information from the Vancouver Police similarly confirms that street prostitutes have worked the Broadway area since at least 1982.

Although prostitution has occurred on E. Broadway since 1981 or 1982 (depending on which source one consults), it has not been particularly visible, or at least not in comparison to certain streets in the West End or on West Georgia. And yet the appearance of a newspaper article which effectively serves to advertise the area as a "stroll" may well produce the very situation it purports to describe (or at least help to; one should not ignore the efficiency of street people in disseminating information).

Whatever the case may be it has often been demonstrated that the location and incidence of street prostitution is intimately related to the effort to control it. While a hydraulic model of the relationship between incidence of prostitution and control is too simplistic, a number of studies have clearly demonstrated that movement is one of the prostitute's most effective strategies in circumventing control (Reckless, 1933; James, 1976, Shumsky and Springer, 1981) and that the configuration of prostitution is always sensitive to and partly dependent upon the characteristics of control practices and the niceties of legal interpretations. And this has clearly been the case in Vancouver, particularly as a result of the Penthouse Cabaret, perhaps as a consequence of the Hutt decision (see Appendix A) and once again as a result of the recent Vancouver street nuisance injunctions, as our graphics subsequently show.

It should be noted at this point that one of the most problematic aspects of attempting to account for and interpret street prostitution pattern changes through the 1970's is that we do not have accurate information about incidence, only media accounts, and the anecdotal information provided by prostitutes. This has certainly been enough to show that popular political and media explanations of pattern changes must be regarded with caution. For this reason we developed a system of counts of street prostitutes in order to assess the impact of a variety of variables on levels of incidence and general patterns of street prostitution. In the event of any legal change (municipal, provincial and federal) or change of enforcement practice, we would have a quantitative assessment of its direct impact on geographic locations and

levels of street prostitution.

The counts began in March 1984 and this report includes those finished by the middle of July, 1984 - although they will be continued on a weekly basis indefinitely. The agenda of counts was planned in such a way that we would have at least two counts conducted per week during the 16 week period (although we did not always meet this goal), but that on a number of days interspersed throughout the period we would do several counts in order to develop a descriptive profile of the incidence of street prostitution in several different areas at different times of day. Counts would begin at 9:00 a.m. one morning, and continue through the day and night until 2:00 or 3:00 a.m. the following morning. It became obvious from the first of these daily counts that there were several peak activity periods, an observation which generally agreed with information provided by interviews with prostitutes. We thus concentrated our subsequent single counts in one of the main periods of street activity - 9:00 p.m. to 12 midnight.

As well as providing information about the impact of law enforcement practices, resident's group activity and legal changes, the counts enable the construction of a series of profiles of prostitute activity which indicate changes in numbers seasonally, on different days of the week, and at different times of the day. They also facilitate comparison of activity patterns in different areas and, in the case of the West End, a micro-geography of different types of prostitutes (as distinguished by age and gender); an ecology of the street sex trade.

#### COUNTING PROSTITUTES

A number of different prostitution strolls have been identified in Vancouver at various times since 1970. Between 1970 and 1975, the Granville Street area for 4 or 5 blocks north of the Granville Bridge, the Chinatown area, and Hastings Street for several blocks west of Main Street represented the principle prostitution strolls, although it should be noted that the street and bar trades intermingled in those areas (see Appendix A, p. 21). Davie Street was also used at this time. A certain amount of bar prostitution along Hornby Street adjacent to West Georgia may have also included a small ancilliary street trade. Bar prostitution appears to have been widespread in many sections of the Vancouver downtown area throughout this time period, including many of the major hotels. While this trade still persists, the intensity of the street trade appears to have increased since 1976 following the closure



of the Penthouse Cabaret after the owners and several employees were charged with living off the avails of prostitution, and the subsequent closure of a second cabaret which the police were investigating.

Since 1976, the West End stroll became more frequently used as prostitution spread from Davie to the alleys and streets adjacent to it (the diffusion of the stroll into the side streets appears to have begun in 1977). At the same time West Georgia developed as one of the principal Vancouver strolls. An area of high civic esteem, this was reported by Corporal G. A. Forbes in 1977 as being the location of the highest paid street prostitutes, an area exclusively run by stereotypical pimps. This information is confirmed by our own field notes and by Kohlmeyer (1982). Forbes suggested that the West End followed Georgia in the price hierarchy, with the Chinatown area, Hastings and Granville as the lowest tier. At this time no mention was made of street prostitution in the Broadway area. The areas are also differentiated by the extent to which pimps control prostitution - the West End was reported by Kohlmeyer as a relatively pimp free area, a finding which is supported by our own field notes. As we discuss elsewhere, however, the definition of a "pimp" is no easy matter in and of itself - a variety of different types of people live wholly or partly off the avails of prostitution who do not fit the classic pimp stereotype.

It was according to the various sources of information described that we selected five areas for detailed recording of street prostitution activity:

1. The West End
2. West Georgia Street
3. Chinatown (Gore, Keefer, Union, East Georgia)
4. Granville
5. Broadway

For the most part our counts contain detailed information about the first three areas; we saw very little evidence of street prostitution in the other two areas. It appears that much of the Granville trade has either moved to other areas or back into the local bars. Hitch-hiking is the main modus operandi on Broadway, although it appears that the more typical type of street trade where the prostitute simply occupies a street corner is also practiced in the area. We kept monitoring the level of street prostitution in these various strolls in the event that resident group activities or law enforcement efforts in the West End, the focus of the main political debate and concern over the visibility of street prostitution in Vancouver, displaced street prostitutes to other areas.

The actual procedure of counting prostitutes is not without its problems, not the least of which are the rules one uses to decide who actually is a prostitute or a hustler, how old they are and, in some cases, their gender. Nevertheless we have tried to distinguish the following categories of people:

- Juvenile females
- Juvenile males
- Adult females
- Adult males
- Drag queens (transsexuals, transvestites)

We also noted any obvious customer pick ups.

Obviously there is an unknown margin of error in the counts; our main criterion for counting a person as a prostitute, hustler, or sexually procured juvenile was simply to include anybody standing or sitting on the street in the areas we knew to be strolls (with the exception of people walking in groups carrying "Shame the Johns" placards). While this procedure is arbitrary to some extent, it did not take long for the counters to recognize most of the regular street people offering sexual services, especially after we had interviewed many of them (6 different researchers conducted the counts in order that we not become conspicuous). Despite this precaution, counters were stopped on two occasions by police officers as a result of prostitutes reporting the car license plate numbers of what they thought were "suspicious persons". Much more difficult was the age dichotomy where a purely arbitrary figure (eighteenth birthday) distinguishes adults and juveniles. We suspect that there is a margin of error here, although we were informed in interviews that certain locations in the West End were specifically worked by juveniles. Our interviews with juveniles confirmed this impression and made the judgement of age easier in the West End area but by no means error free. Similarly we knew from our interviews with transsexual prostitutes that they too work a specific area in the West End - an alley just south of Davie Street. Since some women work this area too there may be some margin of error, but then again the various researchers soon became familiar with most of the regular transsexual prostitutes. Base maps of the various strolls were prepared for the counts with the researcher recording the exact location of the subjects, their age and gender, whether they stood alone or in groups, and whether they were in the process of making a date with a customer. We also recorded weather conditions to see if they effect the intensity of the street trade (especially in light of the frequent assertion that prostitutes migrate into Vancouver



to take advantage of the favourable summer climate and tourist season).

In addition to the counts we conducted between March and June 1984, we obtained permission from the Vancouver Police to copy a series of street prostitute counts conducted by vice-squad officers between November 1982 and March 1983. While the counts are not completely comparable to the ones conducted by our research team, most of the police counts distinguish the number and gender of prostitutes and hustlers in the various strolls. The exact time of day is not recorded, although we were informed that nearly all the counts were conducted between 6:00 pm. and midnight. Police officers also noted the weather on occasion, particularly when conditions were unfavourable and there appeared to be relatively few prostitutes on the street. The police conducted approximately 100 counts in the period for which we have records.

With the inclusion of the police counts we have a fairly reasonable picture of levels of street prostitute and juvenile hustling for the period November 1982 - June, 1984. This is a particularly interesting period for it includes 1. the latter part of the period during which the Vancouver Municipal by-law was in effect (enforcement of the by-law began in April 1982 and ended in February, 1983 when it was scrapped), 2. the onset of "Shame the Johns" picketing in April, 1984 and 3. the new legal strategy involving injunctions against alleged prostitutes and "persons unknown" as behaving in a way that produces a public nuisance. From newspaper accounts we know that somewhere between 500 and 700 charges were laid under the municipal by-law in 1982 and 1983, and that 50 injunctions were delivered in the recent campaign in June 1984. The street counts allow an assessment of the impact of these various strategies on levels of street prostitution in Vancouver.

#### PATTERNS AND ANALYSIS: TRENDS IN STREET-HOOKING.

##### A Guide to the Maps and Figures:

The results of our counting activities are displayed in a series of maps and figures (included immediately after the text of this chapter). Our discussion focuses on the general trends and patterns that the data display.

The first collection of maps (1-28) depict the distribution of prostitutes and sexually procured juveniles in the three areas for which we have the most systematic data - the West End, Georgia Street and the East End. Maps

72-77 also depict head counts in these three strolls, but after the recent judgement (July 1984) that a nuisance by-law would be enforced against prostitutes engaging in street soliciting anywhere west of Granville Street. This series of maps documents the movement of the Georgia and West End prostitutes in accordance with the by-law. In the case of the West End, the movement of the stroll involved two distinct phases, the first in response to the informal statement by the Provincial Attorney General that nuisance injunctions would only be laid against people working in the area west of Burrard Street (maps 8-15), the second in response to the court decision that the injunction would be enforced against anyone soliciting in public west of Granville Street. Maps 1-7 thus show the traditional West End stroll, maps 8-15 show the new location of the stroll after the first West End nuisance injunctions were delivered and the Burrard "boundary" drawn. Maps 32-33 show the location of the stroll after the redrawing of the injunction boundary at Granville. It should be noted that the first series of counts in the West End included the Granville area. These should have been counted as two different strolls. Figure 15 shows the separate statistics for the Burrard-Granville area during the 4 months that the counts were conducted.

Maps 16-20 and 34-35 show the movement of the Georgia stroll from its traditional location between Burrard and Granville to the area east of Granville (maps 34-35) after the creation of the Granville injunction boundary in July.

Maps 21-25 and 36-37 show the East End stroll, unaffected by the injunction plan.

Maps 29-31 depict the counts of customers in the three traditional locations.

The sets of figures display various activity profiles over time - either through a day in each of the strolls, or through each of the months for which the counts were conducted.

The tabular data from which the maps and figures were constructed are included in APPENDIX F.

#### ACTIVITY PATTERNS: LONG TERM TRENDS

Figures 13 and 14 display the overall counts of street prostitutes conducted by both the police (fig. 13) and ourselves (fig. 14) between November 1982 and June 1984. The graphs show a considerable amount of correspondence between the two groups counting, although our own counts

reveal a much greater variability in the number of people working the strolls on any given night. Both count sources suggest that the West End was by far the most populous stroll, followed by Georgia Street, with the East End being the least populous stroll. The separate statistics for Granville Street (Figure 15) show that until the nuisance injunction was brought to bare, the Granville stroll was similar to the East End stroll in terms of the number of people working it. After Burrard became the informal boundary, the Granville Stroll (the one closest to the West End) increased in both area and prostitute density, an effect which was nullified by the recent redrawing of the injunction boundary at Granville Street. This has resulted in a totally new stroll location developing; the area between Granville and Homer (maps 32 and 33).

Figure 13 depicts the average number of prostitutes (including juveniles) observed by the police during the last 3 months that the Vancouver street prostitution by-law was in effect, plus the 12-month period immediately following its withdrawal. The graph indicates that levels of prostitution activity increased a little after the by-law was rescinded, but it should be noted that an increase of street prostitute activity in the summer months is normally to be expected. This is certainly the case in the West End in both 1983 and 1984 where an increase appears to occur in May. In 1984 the pattern is disturbed in May and June by the appearance of "Shame the Johns" and the impact of the street nuisance injunctions. Although we do not have a time series of sufficient length to establish whether this seasonal variation is statistically significant, these observations together with other evidence presented in Chapter X (a review of the number of charges laid during the period in which the by-law remained in effect) do suggest that the by-law had little impact on the location or level of street prostitution. In contrast, the injunctions have been successful in terms of their *raison d'être* - the stroll has moved.

The reason for the differential impact of the two measures is quite simple - the by-law was applied uniformly in all the strolls so it did not make much difference where a person worked. And from the evidence available, by-law or not, work they did. The nuisance injunction, however, is area specific - street prostitution is tolerated anywhere in Vancouver except for the downtown area west of Granville Street. In that event, the prostitutes moved en masse to the area where they were not susceptible to the nuisance injunction. What this finding suggests is that prostitutes will adapt their activity to a law which allows them somewhere to work (remembering that they still cannot work in private places because of the possibility of being



charged with running or being an inmate of a common bawdy house). In lieu of other legal options, as was the case with the Vancouver by-law, prostitutes simply continued working in the locations they perceived as being the most favourable given the other hazards involved with the trade - hazards against which the threat of the criminal (or civil) law pales in comparison. The solution seems overwhelmingly obvious - the problem of street prostitution can easily be solved by creating a legal structure which gives prostitutes a place to work. As the law stands, prostitution is legal, but it is effectively impossible to work anywhere but the street. Given the reasons for the attractions of the street, public soliciting is likely to continue no matter what law is designed to prevent it as long as no legal alternative is provided.

#### ACTIVITY PATTERNS: SHORT TERM TRENDS

Figures 1-8 display hourly activity patterns in the three strolls for the three days on which we conducted series of counts. Figures 1-3 compare the three daily profiles for each stroll, with Figure 4 depicting the total and average activity patterns for each area (ie. the hourly averages of the three daily counts). Figures 5-7 compare activity levels in the three strolls for each of the days where full counts were conducted. Figure 8 depicts the total and average activity patterns for each day during which several counts were made.

As noted earlier, these various diagrams show the relative population of the three strolls, and how the proportions fluctuated through the day. In all of the strolls the greatest activity occurred after 8:00 p.m., and began to decline after midnight, although activity continued until well after 2:00 a.m.. In contrast to the West End and East End, however, there was almost no prostitute activity on Georgia until after 8:00 p.m.; in the other two areas prostitutes and juveniles began to appear on the street at about 10:00 a.m., and there was a noticeable activity peak between 12:00 noon and 3:00 p.m. - the lunchtime trade. Activity abated to some extent until about 8:00 p.m. when the major activity period began.

In the West End a certain amount of spatial variation in the location of prostitutes and sexually procured juveniles appears to have occurred systematically at different times of day. Maps 26-28 depict the location of prostitutes in the West End during the afternoon and evening on each of the three days that a full set of counts was completed. The maps indicate that during the afternoon the streets north of Comox tended to be used more regularly



than during the evening. The maps also consistently show that the Granville area and Davie Street west of Burrard were used at night, but hardly at all during the day. Both Granville and Georgia Street trades were most extensive during the evening period. During the day these commercial streets were filled with other people going about their business; perhaps the general level of street activity made it more difficult for customers to recognise prostitutes, and to avoid being seen soliciting. We have reason to believe, in fact, that the Granville trade was conducted in the local bars during the day. The East End proved to be an exception to this pattern as prostitutes sometimes worked on the Chinatown shopping streets during the day. Several other streets used during the day, however, contain virtually no commercial activity (that is also true of parts of the Granville stroll area).

The various map groups display the spatial distribution of prostitutes and juveniles in the three strolls. Generally the maps speak for themselves - the Georgia stroll is a small, highly concentrated area, the East End stroll is somewhat larger and less frequently utilized with a large variety of locations, only some of which are used on any given day. The Georgia and East End strolls are peopled almost exclusively by female prostitutes (as was the Granville stroll prior to the displacement of the West End hookers) and fewer juveniles appear on the street relative to the West End stroll. Since the West End stroll presented an entirely different picture in terms of the mix of prostitutes a more detailed analysis follows.

The monthly average populations of the strolls are summarized in Figure 10. Figure 11 shows the proportion of various gender types and age groups populating the strolls, and Figure 12 displays the average number of the various gender types and age groups in counts conducted during the peak periods of the day (8:00 p.m. - 2:00 a.m.) in the three strolls.

#### ACTIVITY PATTERNS: THE HUMAN ECOLOGY OF THE WEST END STROLL

The West End stroll was conspicuous among areas of street prostitution for its mixture of ages and gender types. Figure 11 shows that although adult women far outweighed any other group (even allowing for the margin of error that undoubtedly exists in our classification of adults and juveniles), many males could be found working the strolls (because we feel that our classification of adult and juvenile males is the most suspect, the figure for the average number of males is included here). A

significant number of transsexuals (males changing to females) also worked the area.

The various maps of the traditional West End stroll (Maps 1-7) indicate the territories of the different prostitute and juvenile groups. Generally speaking, the alley on the south side of Davie Street was populated by transsexuals, although some women did work the south side too (the laneway is often referred to as "tranny alley"). North of Davie, the males tended to congregate towards the western end of the stroll, particularly along Cardero, Nicola and Broughton where they intersect with Pendrell. Some juvenile females also worked in the area, and women often worked slightly to the north along Comox. The main female concentration was the the east, however, particularly on Jervis and Bute where they intersect with Comox, Pendrell and the alleyway in between. Davie Street itself was also a popular location for women. The juvenile females tended to work in the western side of the female section of the stroll closer to the young men and boys.

The West End hookers that we interviewed (Chapter VI) clearly indicated that the informal rules of the street maintain this ecological structure, and that within each gender territory (as loosely defined) certain streets and corners were considered to be more prestigious and/or lucrative than others. It was also clear that certain individuals played an important part in maintaining the general gender distinctions in the area and in preserving certain corner territory as their own.

These same distinctions quickly re-materialized in the successive phases of the displacement of the West End stroll from the Davie Street area first to the Burrard-Granville area (Maps 8-15) and subsequently east to the Granville-Homer area (Maps 32 and 33).

In the days following the presentation of the first injunction notices the prostitutes, after a series of meetings organized by the Alliance for the Safety of Prostitutes in consultation with various lawyers, decided to move to the area between Burrard and Granville Street, away from the West End residential area, but close enough that the tricks would be able to find them. Since most of our interviewed subjects who worked in the West End also lived there, they also wished to minimize their journey to work. It seems, then, that an informal arrangement had been struck between the Attorney General and the prostitutes, aided by legal counsel, to move the stroll from the residential district. In the first few days of the new stroll (Map 8) we already saw the new gender territories taking shape, although our research observer on

the street at the time noted that a certain amount of confusion characterized street proceedings on one particular night. The ecology of the stroll did not develop without dissatisfaction. The boys in particular seemed to end up at the lowest end of the pecking order, and found it difficult to find corners in the new, much smaller, area.

Many of the prostitutes and juveniles complained persistently about problems in the new area. Several boys reported that they thought the location was too visible, and that friends or family would see them. The transsexual and female prostitutes experienced a series of problems with women - most of whom were thought to be heroin addicts - who already worked the area, and their pimps (one person had a knife pulled on them in a conflict over territory). The incumbent hookers and their pimps clearly wanted the new arrivals to return to the West End. And so, according to several of our informants, did some of the police who work this area. The new stroll area falls partly under a different patrol area than the West End. A number of the people working in the new area complained of persistent police harassment; being interrupted for I.D. checks frequently, especially when they were talking to customers. One young hustler reported that when asked by a policeman where he came from he replied "Pendrell and Cardero" (a male corner in the original West End stroll), only to be told to get back where he came from or to go and work at the I.G.A. grocery store. Another policeman told four transsexuals in front of one of our research assistants "I wish I could kill all of you. Why don't you go back to the West End, we don't want your type here". The same policeman charged three hookers with jaywalking. When requested to give his badge number he refused to do so. After an incident where a pimp had been hassling two of the West End prostitutes, when someone approached two police officers to request intervention should the incident be repeated, a research assistant overheard one police officer reply "Oh, well, we'll just come and pick up the bodies". They drove off. The attitude of several police officers to the prostitute street scene was thus fairly typical of one of the most consistent types of response to prostitution - 'anywhere but here'.

Despite what to all intents and purposes was a generally hostile reception to their arrival in the area east of Burrard, the prostitutes remained for two weeks. Successive maps show the development of the same territorial divisions that had characterized the West End stroll. The transsexual prostitutes congregated at one side of the stroll, this time the north side along Helmcken between Burrard and Granville. The women occupied the centre territory along Davie at the intersection of Howe



and Hornby and in the adjacent alleys and the young men and boys moved to the south side of the stroll along Burnaby, Drake and the southern parts of Howe and Hornby. This general pattern was often interrupted as the large number of boys working in the southern part of the stroll appeared to force some of the women further north into the transsexual area (see Map 13) although it should be recognized that transsexual prostitutes often work partnerships with other women as well as other transsexuals.

On July 3rd a court decision changed the effective public nuisance boundary from Burrard to Granville Street, thus effectively outlawing street solicitation in the new stroll area. Instead of deciding to fight the nuisance injunctions (and the general consensus among the prostitutes' advisors at that time was that the fight would be successful) the prostitutes again decided to move east once again, this time to the adjacent area on the other side of Granville Street. Once again the territorial gender division materialized, although the two people conducting these counts were not experienced enough to recognize the transsexuals (the latter counts were conducted by research assistants who had previously been working on other parts of the study).

The definition of the Granville boundary also affected the Georgia Street women, although they did not move as quickly. Map 34 shows that the Georgia women were still working their normal locations shortly after the announcement that the nuisance injunction would be enforced west of Granville. By the 13th of July they too had moved in due accordance with the law, largely at the behest of the police.

These findings are particularly interesting because they do show that the West End prostitutes are organized enough to take collective action, and that their main objective is simply to find the most hassle-free location in which to work. Should the prostitutes continue to receive harassment, and should the local press continue to describe the movement of the stroll as a victory for the West Enders rather than a negotiated agreement, the more likely it is that the prostitutes will move back into the traditional stroll and challenge the nuisance injunctions. This same outcome might result from the introduction of a law which did not define soliciting as "pressing and persistent" behaviour.



## TRICKS:

The remaining 3 maps included in our graphic package display the number of trick "pickups" we witnessed during the course of completing approximately 80 counts (Maps 29-31). The maps depict only 7 pickups of East End prostitutes, 24 of Georgia Street prostitutes and 38 of West End people (these figures only include the period up to the displacement of the West End stroll in June). It is difficult to know exactly what to make of these figures - during approximately 150 hours of observation we observed only 68 trick pickups. Our method of observation, however, may give a distorted impression of the frequency at which prostitutes "turn" tricks. Depending on one's interpretation of the data, this finding does lend credence to the evidence reported in Chapter X suggesting that prostitutes turn an average of only one or two tricks each day that they work. If 50 to 100 prostitutes worked the West End stroll on any given day, there would only be 100-200 pickups per day; it is unlikely that one would witness more than a very small number of these in the 3/4 hour period it took to complete one count of the West End stroll.



Map 1. WEST END - MARCH 12th, 10.38pm: Distribution of Prostitutes and Sexually Procured Juveniles Closest to the Average Distribution between 8pm and 2am, March to June, 1984.

● Adult Females    □ Juvenile Females    — Traffic Diverter  
 ■ Adult Males    ○ Juvenile Males    S School  
 ▲ Transvestites/Trans-Sexuals    Mini Park

#### March to June Average:

Adult Females	15
Juvenile Females	5
Adult Males	5
Juvenile Males	4
Transvestites/	4
Trans-Sexuals	
Total	33

#### March 12th Distribution.

Adult Females	15
Juvenile Females	5
Adult Males	5
Juvenile Males	5
Transvestites/	6
Trans-Sexuals	
Total	36

Weather: Light Rain/Warm.



Map 2. WEST END -- MARCH 22nd, 1.45am: Distribution of Prostitutes and Sexually Procured Juveniles Closest to the Average Distribution between 8pm and 2am, March 1984.

- Adult Females    ○ Juvenile Females    — Traffic Diverter
- Adult Males    □ Juvenile Males    S School
- ▲ Transvestites/Trans-Sexuals    ~ Mini Park

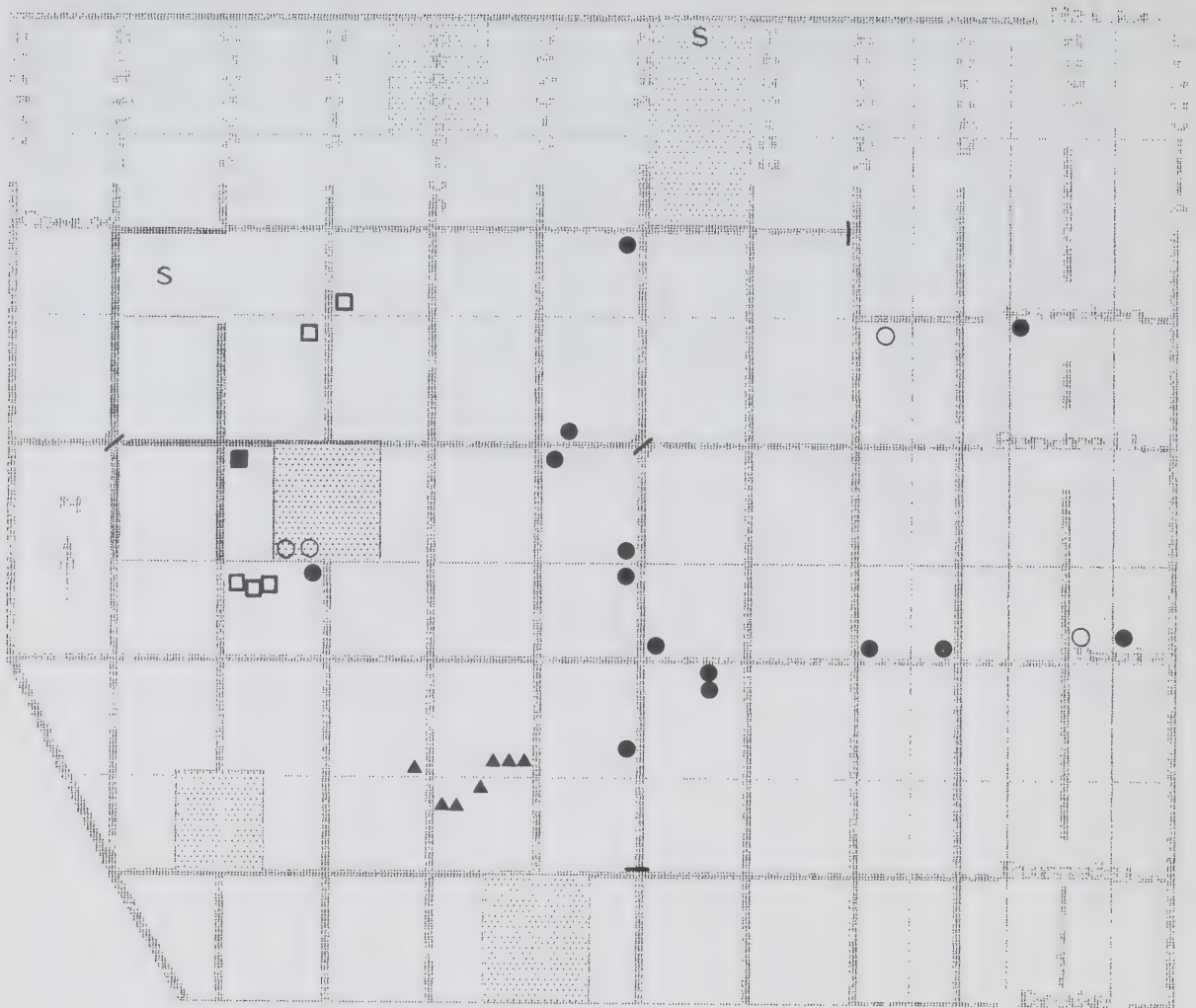
March Average:

Adult Females	15
Juvenile Females	5
Adult Males	6
Juvenile Males	3
Transvestites/	3
Trans-Sexuals	
Total	32

March 22nd Distribution.

Adult Females	19
Juvenile Females	3
Adult Males	5
Juvenile Males	2
Transvestites/	1
Trans-Sexuals	
Total	30

Weather: Light Rain/Warm.



Map 3. WEST END - APRIL 18th, 9.45pm: Distribution of Prostitutes and Sexually Procured Juveniles Closest to the Average Distribution between 8pm and 2am, April 1984.

● Adult Females    ○ Juvenile Females    — Traffic Diverter  
 ■ Adult Males    □ Juvenile Males    S School  
 ▲ Transvestites/Trans-Sexuals    [shaded] Mini Park

April Average:

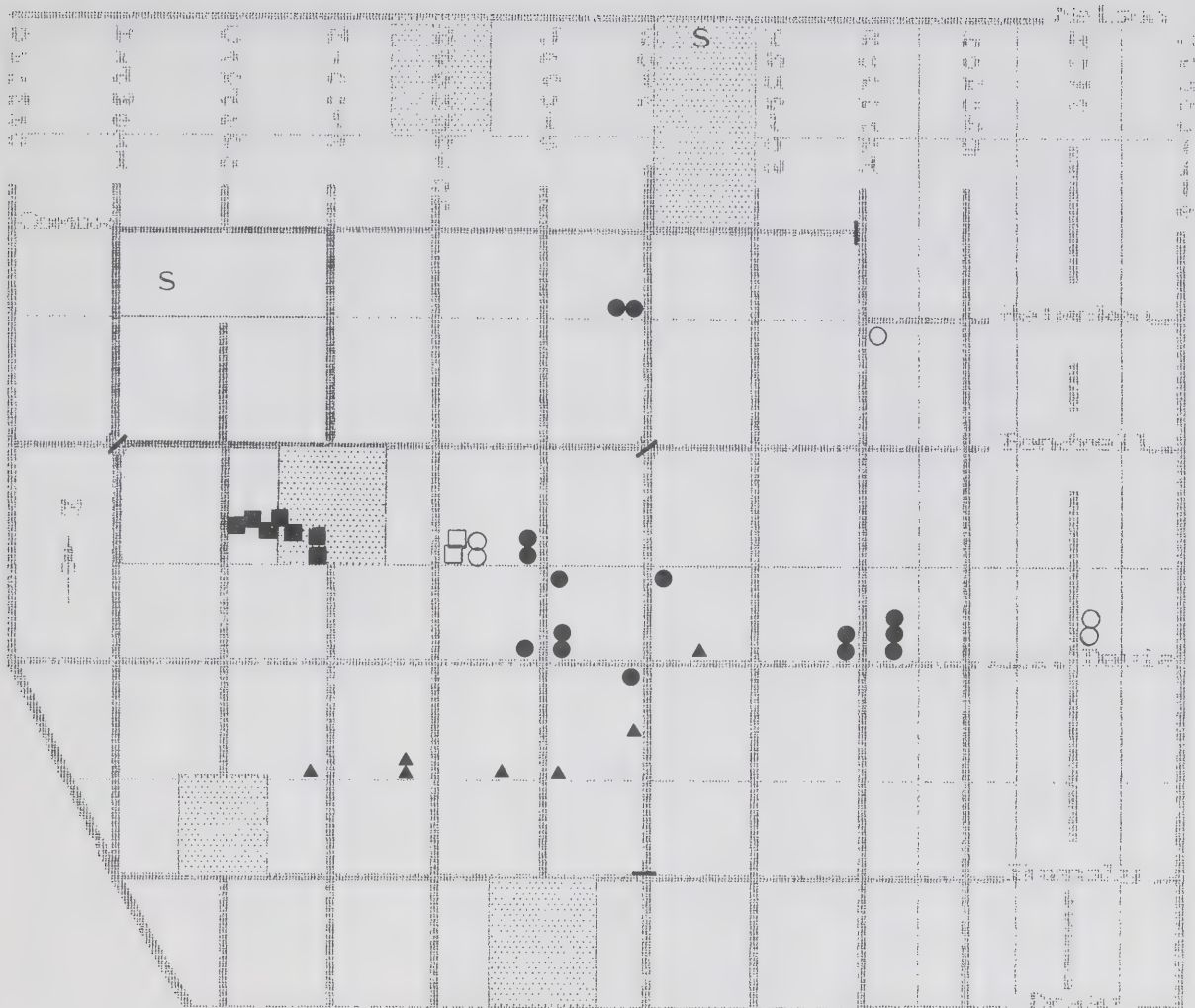
Adult Females	12
Juvenile Females	7
Adult Males	4
Juvenile Males	3
Transvestites/ Trans-Sexuals	4
Total	30

April 18th Distribution.

Adult Females	14
Juvenile Females	4
Adult Males	1
Juvenile Males	5
Transvestites/ Trans-Sexuals	7
Total	31

Weather: Clear/Partial Cloud/Cool.





Map 4. WEST END - MAY 12th, 1.40am: Distribution of Prostitutes and Sexually Procured Juveniles Closest to the Average Distribution between 8pm and 2am, May 1984.

● Adult Females    ○ Juvenile Females    — Traffic Diverter  
 ■ Adult Males    □ Juvenile Males    S School  
 ▲ Transvestites/Trans-Sexuals    Mini Park

May Average:

Adult Females	17
Juvenile Females	6
Adult Males	4
Juvenile Males	6
Transvestites/	5
Trans-Sexuals	
Total	38

May 12th Distribution:

Adult Females	15
Juvenile Females	5
Adult Males	7
Juvenile Males	2
Transvestites/	7
Trans-Sexuals	
Total	36

Weather: Clear/Partial Cloud/Mild.



Map 5. WEST END - JUNE 8th, 11.30pm: Distribution of Prostitutes and Sexually Procured Juveniles Closest to the Average Distribution between 8pm and 2am, June 1984.

● Adult Females    ○ Juvenile Females    — Traffic Diverter  
 ■ Adult Males    □ Juvenile Males    S School  
 ▲ Transvestites/Trans-Sexuals    Mini Park

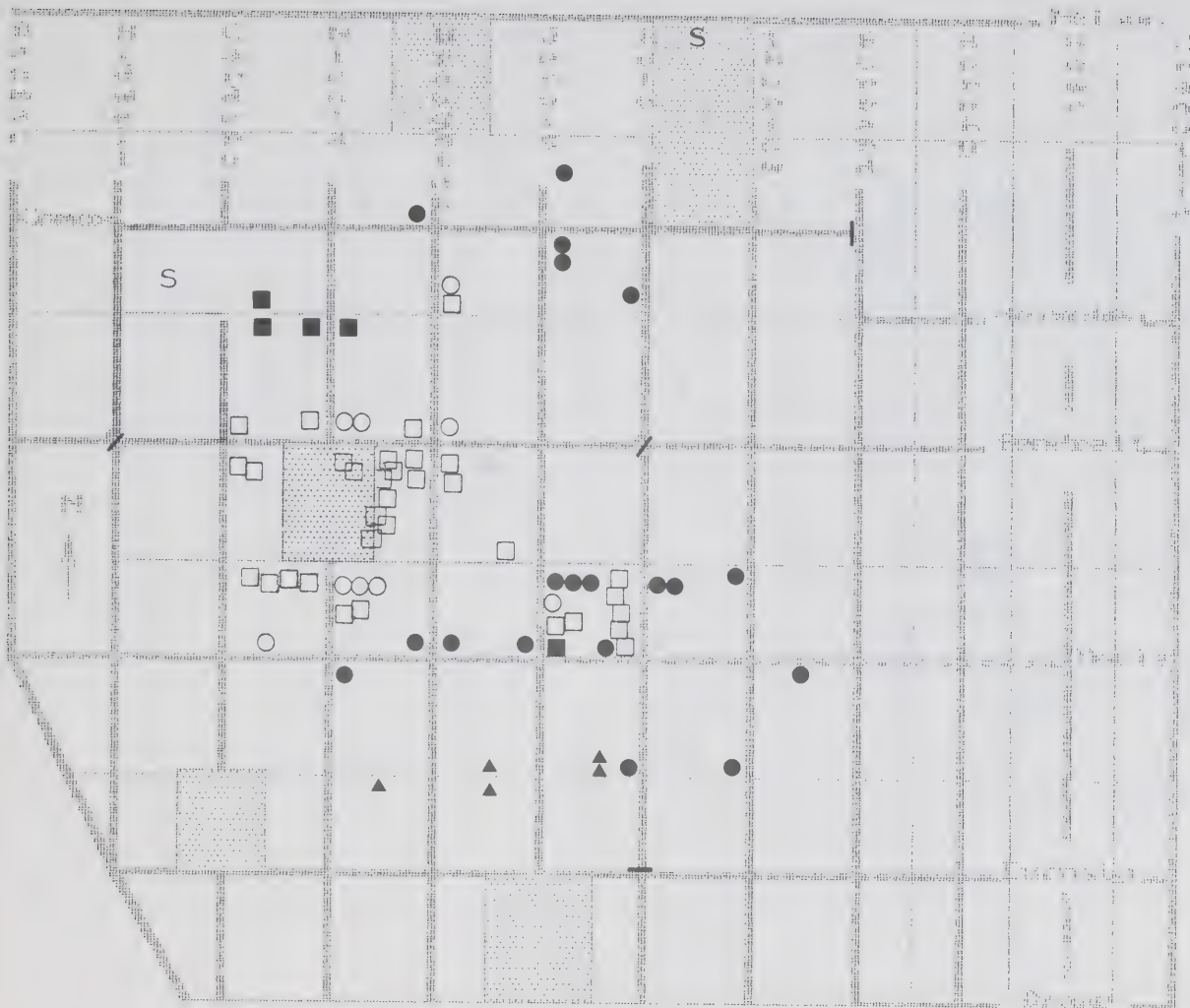
June Average:

Adult Females	14
Juvenile Females	4
Adult Males	3
Juvenile Males	4
Transvestites/	5
Trans-Sexuals	
Total	30

June 8th Distribution.

Adult Females	17
Juvenile Females	5
Adult Males	3
Juvenile Males	1
Transvestites/	4
Trans-Sexuals	
Total	30

Weather: Overcast/Mild.



Map 6. WEST END - MAY 2nd, 10.00pm: Highest Count of Prostitutes and Sexually Procured Juveniles between 8pm and 2am.

- |                               |                  |                    |
|-------------------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| ● Adult Females               | Juvenile Females | — Traffic Diverter |
| ■ Adult Males                 | Juvenile Males   | S School           |
| ▲ Transvestites/Trans-Sexuals |                  | Mini Park          |

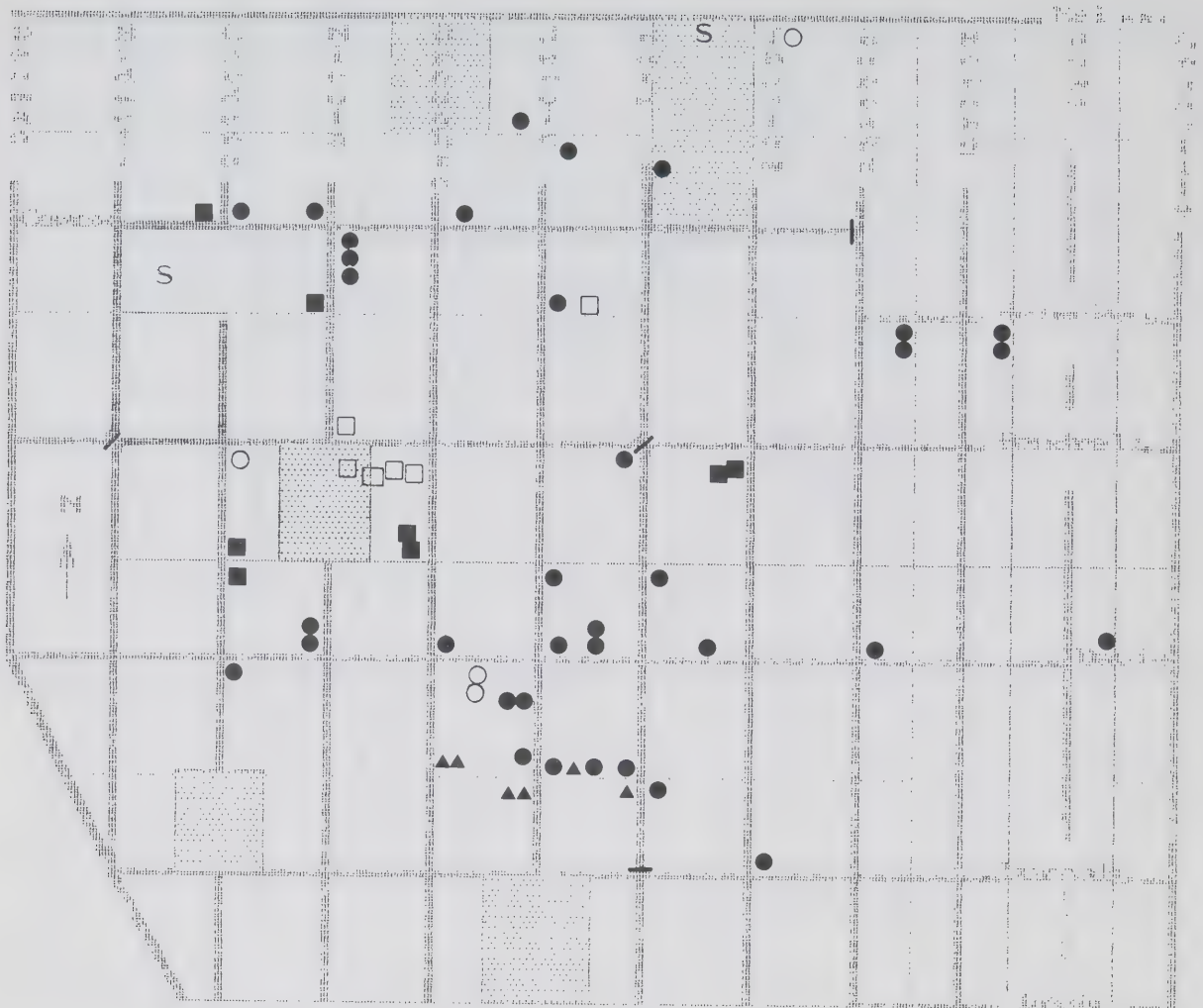
Overall Average:

May 2nd Distribution.

Adult Females	15
Juvenile Females	5
Adult Males	5
Juvenile Males	4
Transvestites/	4
Trans-Sexuals	
Total	33

Adult Females	19
Juvenile Females	9
Adult Males	5
Juvenile Males	33
Transvestites/	5
Trans-Sexuals	
Total	71

Weather: Rain/Cool.



Map 7. WEST END - MAY 26th, 9.30pm: Second Highest Count of Prostitutes and Sexually Procured Juveniles between 8pm and 2am.

- Adult Females    ○ Juvenile Females    — Traffic Diverter
- Adult Males    □ Juvenile Males    S School
- ▲ Transvestites/Trans-Sexuals    Mini Park

Overall Average:

Adult Females	15
Juvenile Females	5
Adult Males	5
Juvenile Males	4
Transvestites/ Trans-Sexuals	4
Total	33

May 26th Distribution.

Adult Females	35
Juvenile Females	4
Adult Males	8
Juvenile Males	5
Transvestites/ Trans-Sexuals	6
Total	58

Weather: Clear/Cool.





Map 8. WEST END - JUNE 20th 1984: Distribution of Prostitutes and Sexually Procured Juveniles at 10.20pm.

- Adult Females    ○ Juvenile Females    — Traffic Diverter
- Adult Males    □ Juvenile Males    S School
- ▲ Transvestites/Trans-Sexuals    [shaded] Mini Park

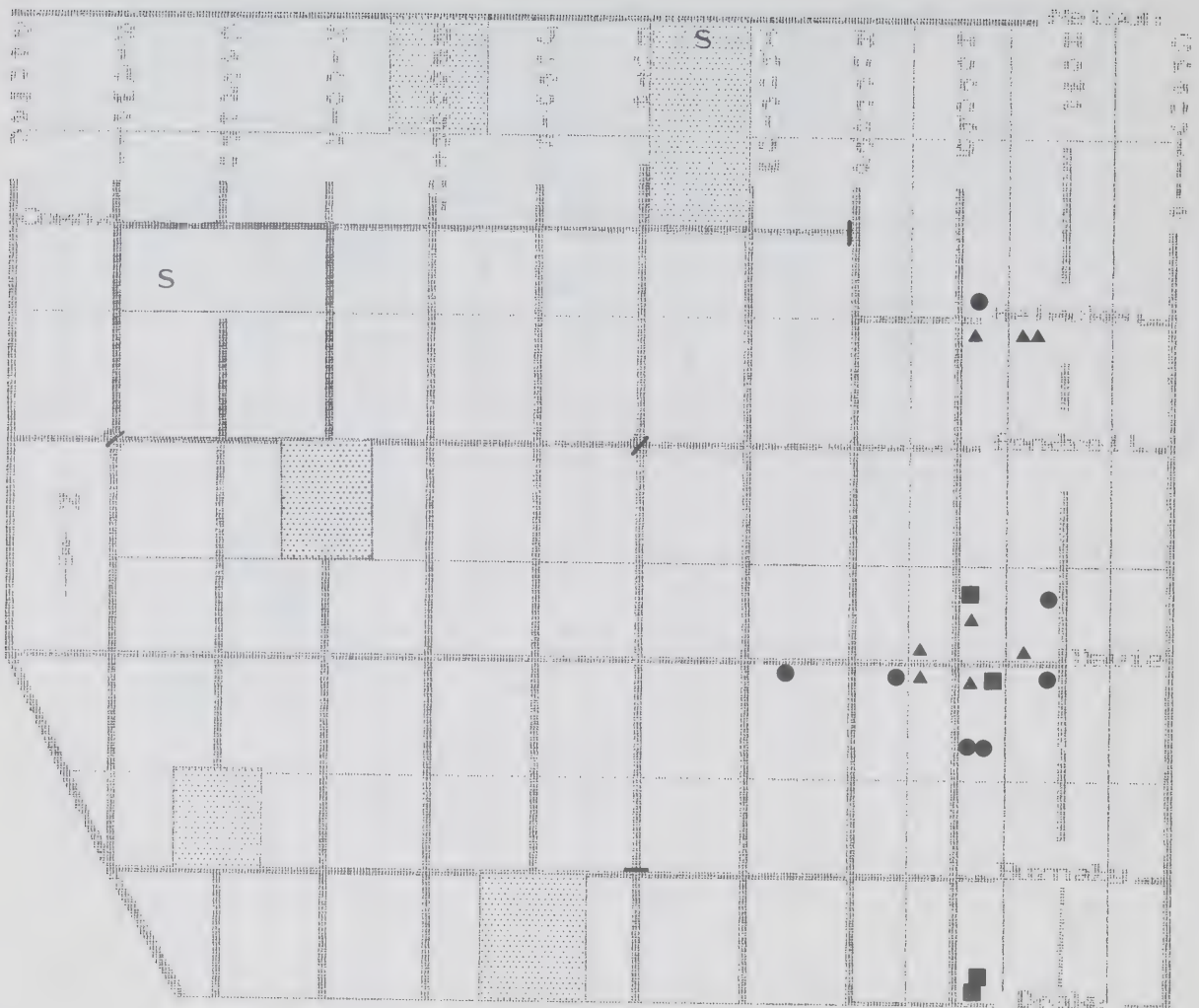
Overall Average:

Adult Females	15
Juvenile Females	5
Adult Males	5
Juvenile Males	4
Transvestites/ Trans-Sexuals	4
Total	33

10.20pm Distribution.

Adult Females	11
Juvenile Females	0
Adult Males	5
Juvenile Males	2
Transvestites/ Trans-Sexuals	4
Total	22

Weather: Dry/Warm.



Map 9. WEST END - JUNE 20th 1984: Distribution of Prostitutes and Sexually Procured Juveniles at 2.30am.

● Adult Females    ○ Juvenile Females    — Traffic Diverter  
 ■ Adult Males    □ Juvenile Males    S School  
 ▲ Transvestites/Trans-Sexuals    Mini Park

Overall Average:

2.30am Distribution.

Adult Females	15
Juvenile Females	5
Adult Males	5
Juvenile Males	4
Transvestites/	4
Trans-Sexuals	
Total	33

Adult Females	7
Juvenile Females	0
Adult Males	4
Juvenile Males	0
Transvestites/	8
Trans-Sexuals	
Total	19

Weather: Dry/Warm.



Map 10. WEST END - JUNE 22nd 1984: Distribution of Prostitutes and Sexually Procured Juveniles at 10.00pm.

● Adult Females    ○ Juvenile Females    — Traffic Diverter  
 ■ Adult Males    □ Juvenile Males    S School  
 ▲ Transvestites/Trans-Sexuals    Mini Park

Overall Average:

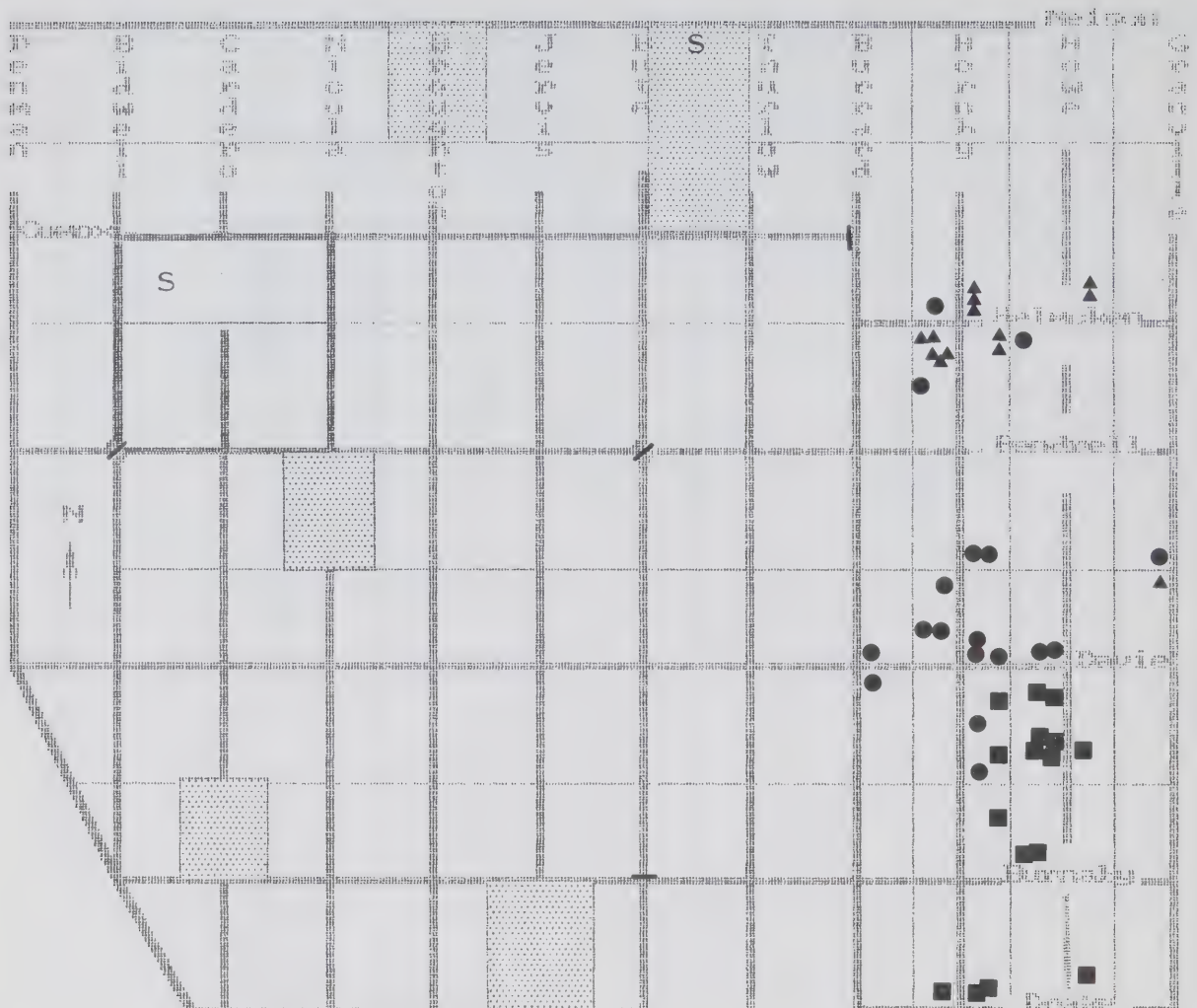
Adult Females	15
Juvenile Females	5
Adult Males	5
Juvenile Males	4
Transvestites/ Trans-Sexuals	4
Total	33

10.00pm Distribution.

Adult Females	16
Juvenile Females	0
Adult Males	4
Juvenile Males	0
Transvestites/ Trans-Sexuals	6
Total	26

Weather: Dry/Warm.





Map 11. WEST END - JUNE 22nd 1984: Distribution of Prostitutes and Sexually Procured Juveniles at 12.00 midnight.

● Adult Females	○ Juvenile Females	— Traffic Diverter
■ Adult Males	□ Juvenile Males	S School
▲ Transvestites/Trans-Sexuals		Mini Park

Overall Average:

Adult Females	15
Juvenile Females	5
Adult Males	5
Juvenile Males	4
Transvestites/ Trans-Sexuals	4
Total	33

Midnight Distribution

Adult Females	18
Juvenile Females	0
Adult Males	16
Juvenile Males	0
Transvestites/ Trans-Sexuals	13
Total	47

Weather: Dry/Warm.





Map 12. WEST END - JUNE 22nd 1984: Distribution of Prostitutes and Sexually Procured Juveniles at 2.15am.

- Adult Females    ○ Juvenile Females    — Traffic Diverter
- Adult Males    □ Juvenile Males    S School
- ▲ Transvestites/Trans-Sexuals    [shaded square] Mini Park

Overall Average:

2.15am Distribution.

Adult Females	15
Juvenile Females	5
Adult Males	5
Juvenile Males	4
Transvestites/	4
Trans-Sexuals	
Total	33

Adult Females	14
Juvenile Females	0
Adult Males	9
Juvenile Males	0
Transvestites/	7
Trans-Sexuals	
Total	30

Weather: Dry/Warm.



Map 13. WEST END - JUNE 23rd 1984: Distribution of Prostitutes and Sexually Procured Juveniles at 2.15am.

● Adult Females	○ Juvenile Females	— Traffic Diverter
■ Adult Males	□ Juvenile Males	S School
▲ Transvestites/Trans-Sexuals		Mini Park

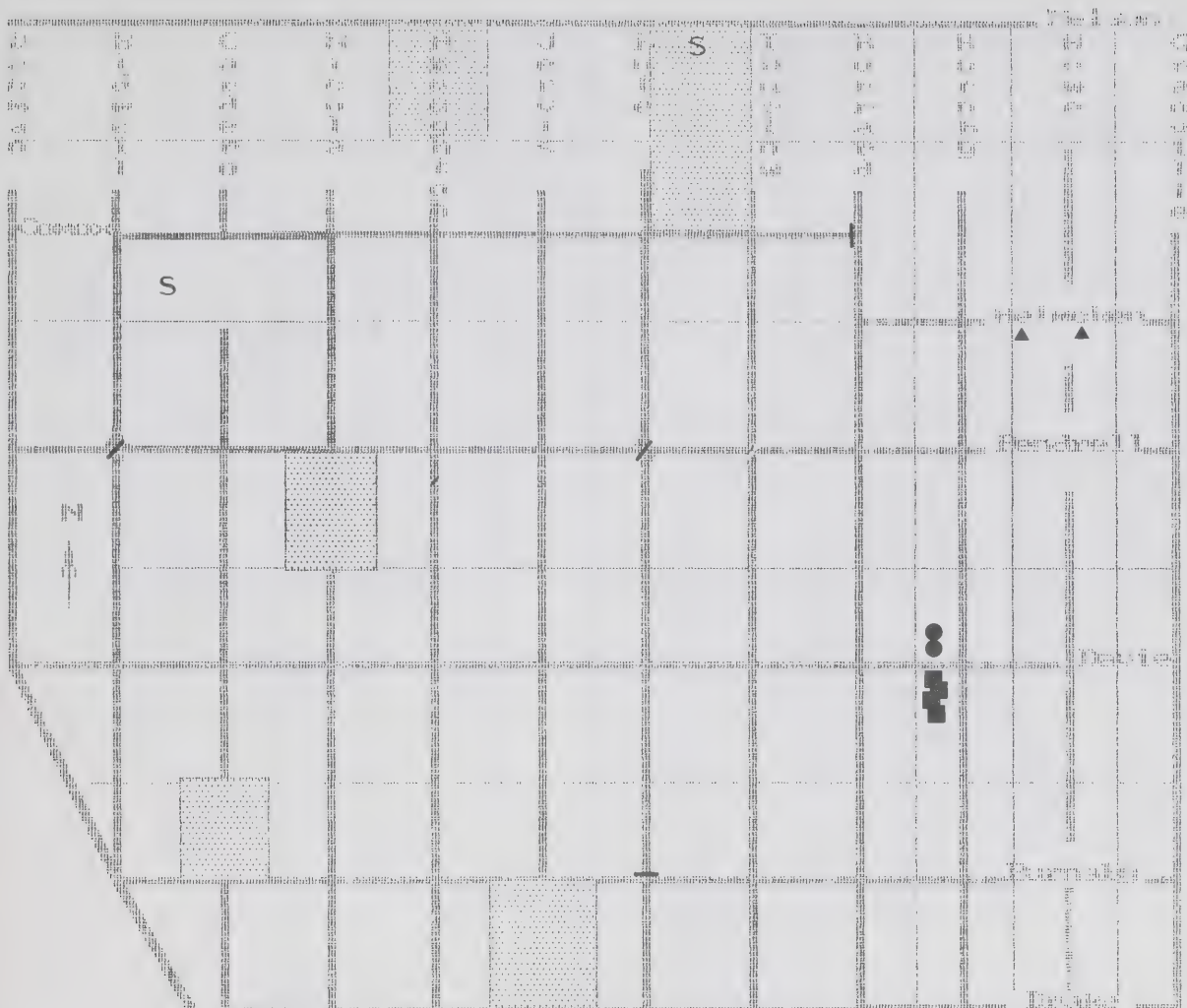
Overall Average:

2.15am Distribution.

Adult Females	15
Juvenile Females	5
Adult Males	5
Juvenile Males	4
Transvestites/	4
Trans-Sexuals	
Total	33

Adult Females	6
Juvenile Females	0
Adult Males	16
Juvenile Males	1
Transvestites/	7
Trans-Sexuals	
Total	30

Weather: Rain/Warm.



Map 14. WEST END - JUNE 24th 1984: Distribution of Prostitutes and Sexually Procured Juveniles at 8.45pm.

- Adult Females    ○ Juvenile Females    — Traffic Diverter
- Adult Males    □ Juvenile Males    S School
- ▲ Transvestites/Trans-Sexuals    [dotted box] Mini Park

Overall Average:

Adult Females	15
Juvenile Females	5
Adult Males	5
Juvenile Males	4
Transvestites/	4
Trans-Sexuals	
Total	33

8.45pm Distribution.

Adult Females	2
Juvenile Females	0
Adult Males	4
Juvenile Males	0
Transvestites/	2
Trans-Sexuals	
Total	8

Weather: Dry/Warm.





Map 15. WEST END - JUNE 24th 1984: Distribution of Prostitutes and Sexually Procured Juveniles at 12.15am.

● Adult Females    ○ Juvenile Females    — Traffic Diverter  
 ■ Adult Males    □ Juvenile Males    S School  
 ▲ Transvestites/Trans-Sexuals    [ ] Mini Park

Overall Average:

12.15am Distribution.

Adult Females	15
Juvenile Females	5
Adult Males	5
Juvenile Males	4
Transvestites/	4
Trans-Sexuals	
Total	33

Adult Females	10
Juvenile Females	0
Adult Males	13
Juvenile Males	0
Transvestites/	3
Trans-Sexuals	
Total	26

Weather: Dry/Warm.





- Adult Females    ○ Juvenile Females    — Traffic Diverter
- Adult Males    □ Juvenile Males    S School
- ▲ Transvestites/Trans-Sexuals    [ ] Mini Park

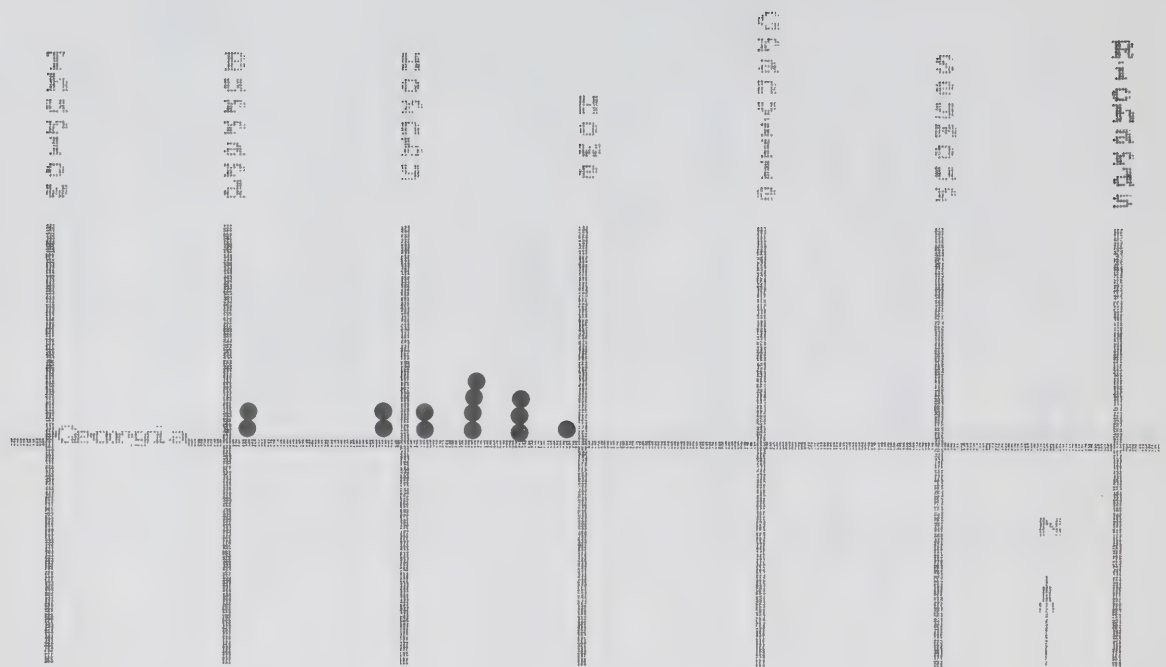
March to June Average:

April 24th Distribution.

Adult Females	14
Juvenile Females	0
Adult Males	0
Juvenile Males	0
Transvestites/	0
Trans-Sexuals	
Total	14

Adult Females	14
Juvenile Females	0
Adult Males	0
Juvenile Males	0
Transvestites/	0
Trans-Sexuals	
Total	14

Weather: Clear.



Map 17. GEORGIA STREET - MARCH 29th, 12.30am: Distribution of Prostitutes and Sexually Procured Juveniles Closest to the Average Distribution between 8pm and 2am, March 1984.

● Adult Females    ○ Juvenile Females    — Traffic Diverter  
 ■ Adult Males    □ Juvenile Males    S School  
 ▲ Transvestites/Trans-Sexuals    [shaded box] Mini Park

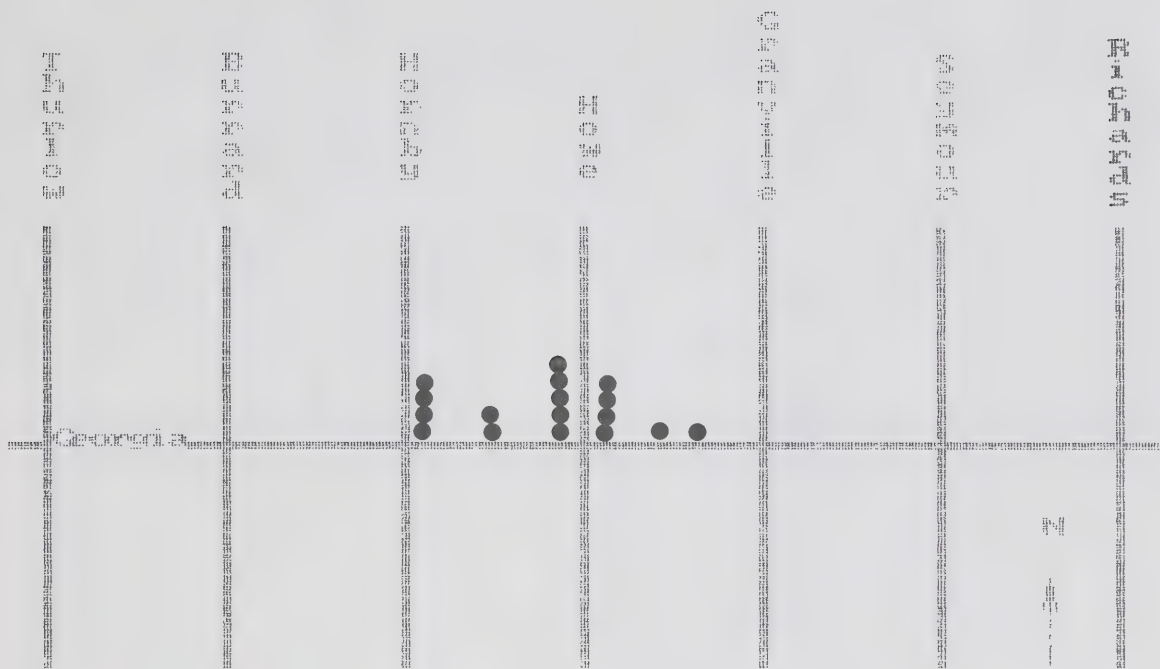
March Average:

Adult Females	14
Juvenile Females	0
Adult Males	0
Juvenile Males	0
Transvestites/	0
Trans-Sexuals	
Total	14

March 29th Distribution.

Adult Females	14
Juvenile Females	0
Adult Males	0
Juvenile Males	0
Transvestites/	0
Trans-Sexuals	
Total	14

Weather: Light Rain/Warm.



Map 18. GEORGIA STREET - APRIL 18th, 1.45am: Distribution of Prostitutes and Sexually Procured Juveniles Closest to the Average Distribution between 8pm and 2am, April 1984.

● Adult Females    ○ Juvenile Females    — Traffic Diverter  
 ■ Adult Males    □ Juvenile Males    S School  
 ▲ Transvestites/Trans-Sexuals    [dotted] Mini Park

April Average:

Adult Females	18
Juvenile Females	0
Adult Males	0
Juvenile Males	0
Transvestites/	0
Trans-Sexuals	
Total	18

April 18th Distribution.

Adult Females	17
Juvenile Females	0
Adult Males	0
Juvenile Males	0
Transvestites/	0
Trans-Sexuals	
Total	17

Weather: Clear/Cool.



Map 19. GEORGIA STREET - MAY 18th, 10.00pm: Distribution of Prostitutes and Sexually Procured Juveniles Closest to the Average Distribution between 8pm and 2am, May 1984.

● Adult Females    ○ Juvenile Females    — Traffic Diverter  
 ■ Adult Males    □ Juvenile Males    S School  
 ▲ Transvestites/Trans-Sexuals    Mini Park

May Average:

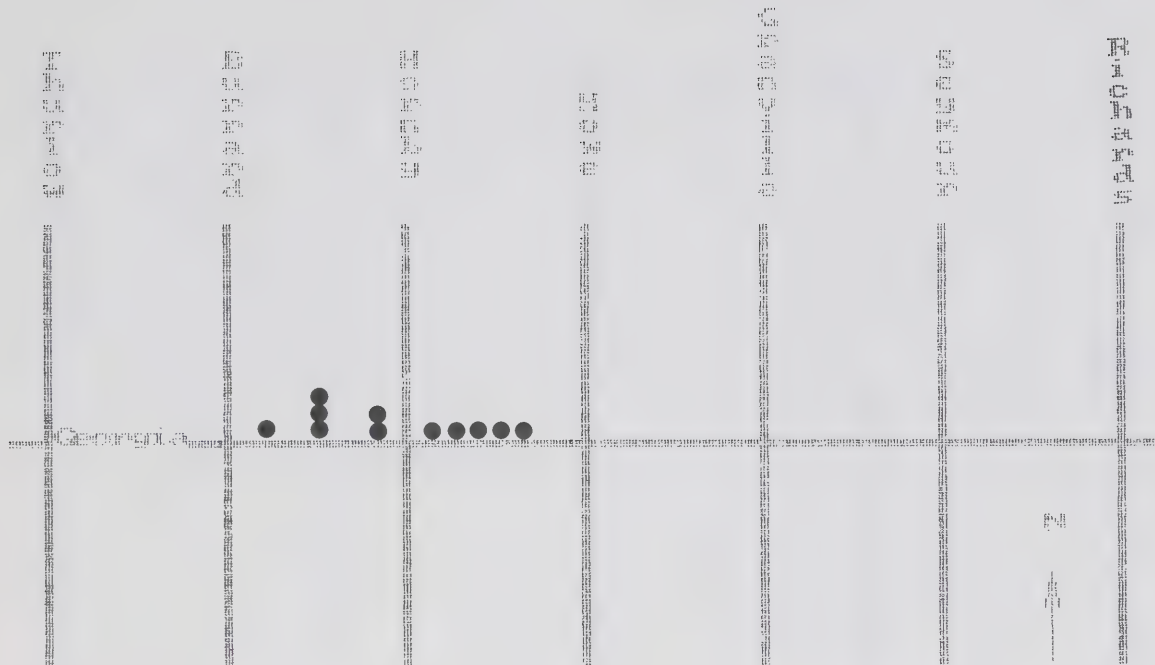
Adult Females	14
Juvenile Females	0
Adult Males	0
Juvenile Males	0
Transvestites/	0
Trans-Sexuals	
Total	14

May 18th Distribution:

Adult Females	15
Juvenile Females	0
Adult Males	0
Juvenile Males	0
Transvestites/	0
Trans-Sexuals	
Total	15

Weather: Clear/Partial Cloud/Mild.





Map 20. GEORGIA STREET - JUNE 15th, 9.00pm: Distribution of Prostitutes and Sexually Procured Juveniles Closest to the Average Distribution between 8pm and 2am, June 1984.

● Adult Females    ○ Juvenile Females    — Traffic Diverter  
 ■ Adult Males    □ Juvenile Males    S School  
 ▲ Transvestites/Trans-Sexuals    [ ] Mini Park

June Average:

Adult Females	12
Juvenile Females	0
Adult Males	0
Juvenile Males	0
Transvestites/	0
Trans-Sexuals	
Total	12

June 15th Distribution.

Adult Females	11
Juvenile Females	0
Adult Males	0
Juvenile Males	0
Transvestites/	0
Trans-Sexuals	
Total	11

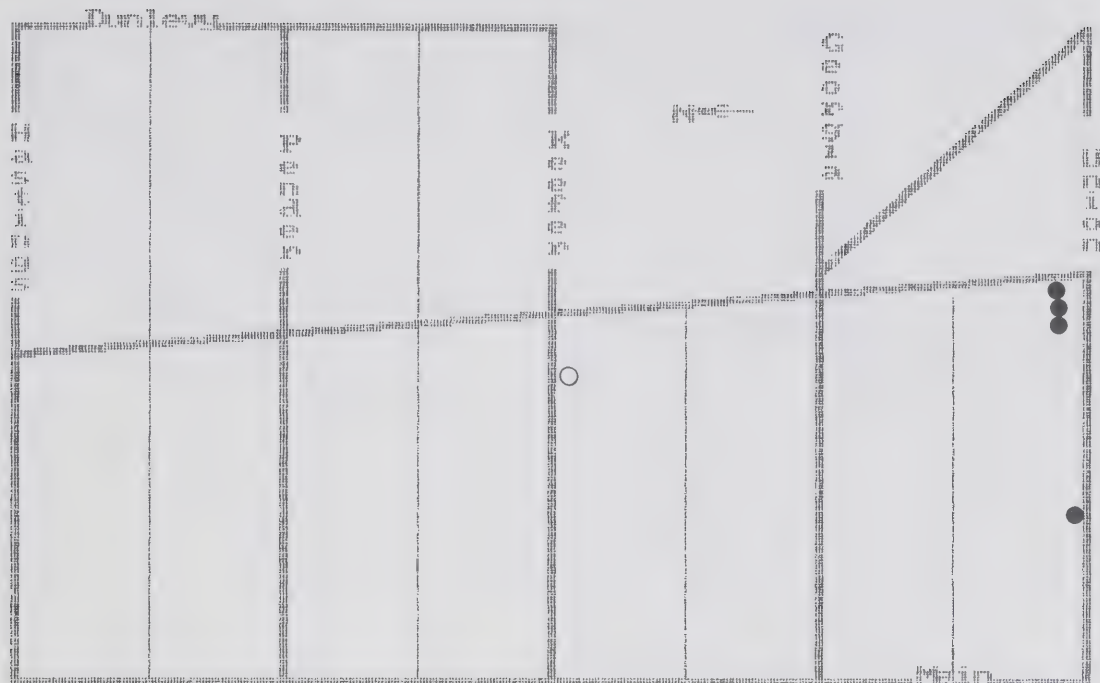
Weather: Overcast/Cool.

● Adult Females    ○ Juvenile Females    — Traffic Diverter  
■ Adult Males    □ Juvenile Males    S School  
▲ Transvestites/Trans-Sexuals    [ ] Mini Park

May 18th Distribution.

Adult Females	5
Juvenile Females	2
Adult Males	0
Juvenile Males	0
Transvestites/	0
Trans-Sexuals	
Total	7

Weather: Clear/Partial Cloud/Mild.



Map 22. EAST END - MARCH 30, 12.00pm: Distribution of Prostitutes and Sexually Procured Juveniles Closest to the Average Distribution between 8pm and 2am, March 1984.

● Adult Females    ○ Juvenile Females    — Traffic Diverter  
 ■ Adult Males    □ Juvenile Males    S School  
 ▲ Transvestites/Trans-Sexuals    [Hatched] Mini Park

March Average:

Adult Females	5
Juvenile Females	0
Adult Males	0
Juvenile Males	0
Transvestites/	0
Trans-Sexuals	
Total	5

March 30th Distribution.

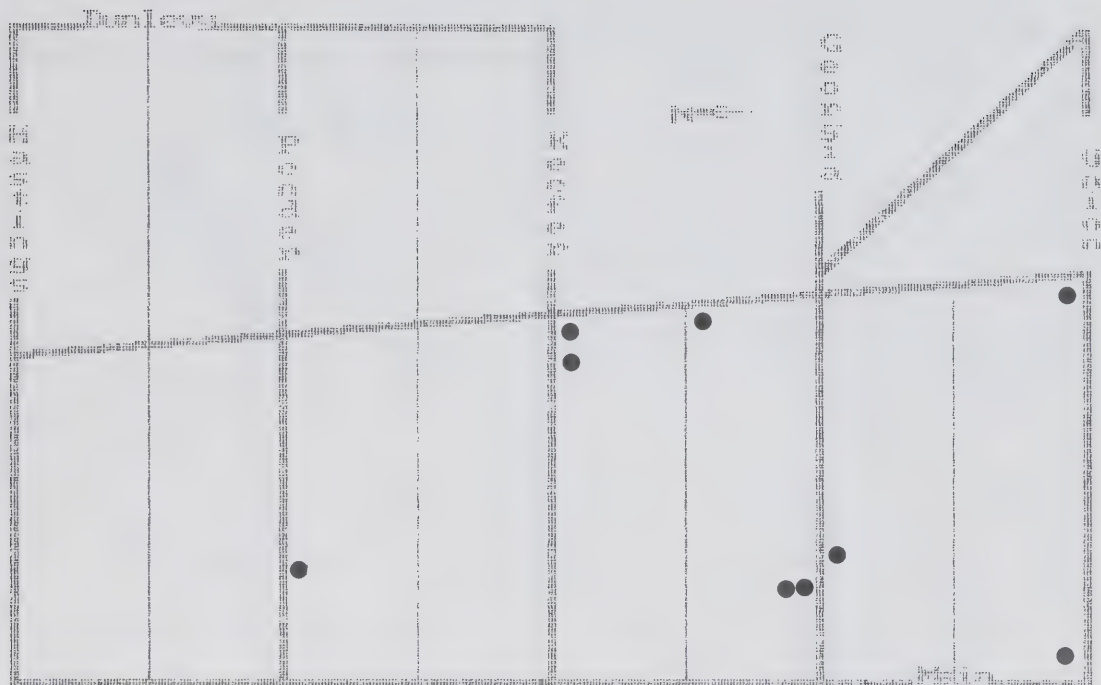
Adult Females	4
Juvenile Females	1
Adult Males	0
Juvenile Males	0
Transvestites/	0
Trans-Sexuals	
Total	5

Weather: Dry/Cold.

● Adult Females    ○ Juvenile Females    — Traffic Diverter  
Adult Males       □ Juvenile Males       S School  
Transvestites/Trans-Sexuals    ■ Mini Park

Weather: Clear/Cool.





Map 24. EAST END - MAY 2nd, 10.00pm: Distribution of Prostitutes and Sexually Procured Juveniles Closest to the Average Distribution between 8pm and 2am, May 1984.

● Adult Females    ○ Juvenile Females    — Traffic Diverter  
 ■ Adult Males    □ Juvenile Males    S School  
 ▲ Transvestites/Trans-Sexuals    Mini Park

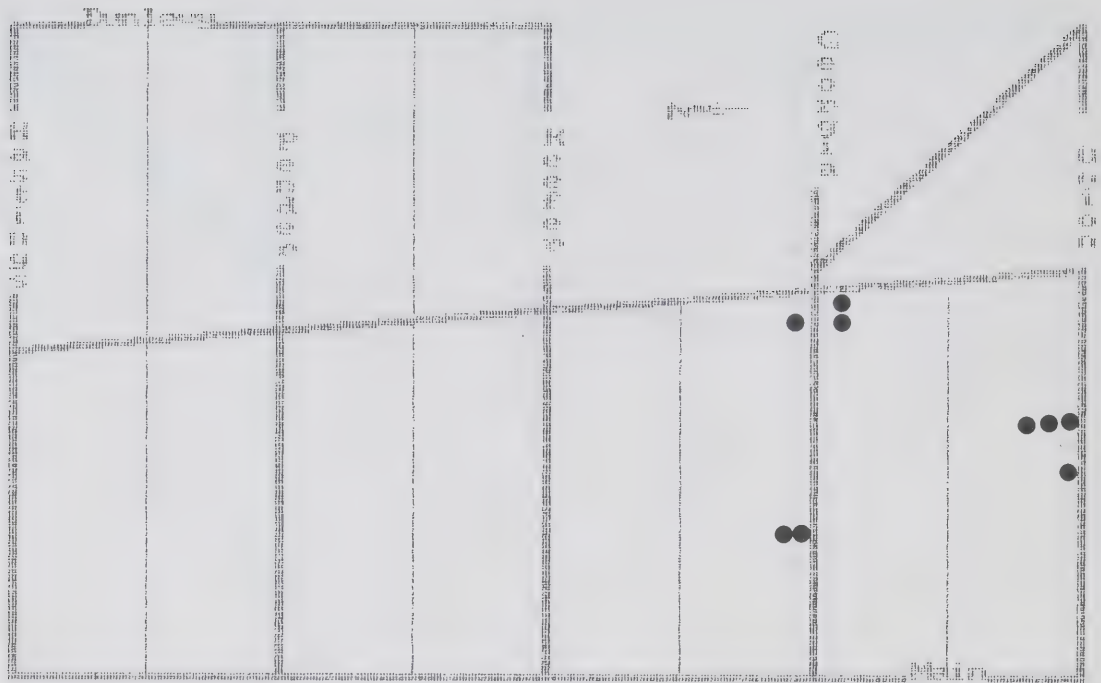
May Average:

Adult Females	10
Juvenile Females	0
Adult Males	0
Juvenile Males	0
Transvestites/	0
Trans-Sexuals	
Total	10

May 2nd Distribution.

Adult Females	9
Juvenile Females	0
Adult Males	0
Juvenile Males	0
Transvestites/	0
Trans-Sexuals	
Total	9

Weather: Clear/Partial Cloud/Mild.



Map 25. EAST END - JUNE 15th, 9.00pm: Distribution of Prostitutes and Sexually Procured Juveniles Closest to the Average Distribution between 8pm and 2am, June 1984.

● Adult Females    ○ Juvenile Females    — Traffic Diverter  
 ■ Adult Males    □ Juvenile Males    S School  
 ▲ Transvestites/Trans-Sexuals    [ ] Mini Park

June Average:

Adult Females	8
Juvenile Females	0
Adult Males	0
Juvenile Males	0
Transvestites/	0
Trans-Sexuals	
Total	8

June 15th Distribution.

Adult Females	9
Juvenile Females	0
Adult Males	0
Juvenile Males	0
Transvestites/	0
Trans-Sexuals	
Total	9

Weather: Overcast/Cool.

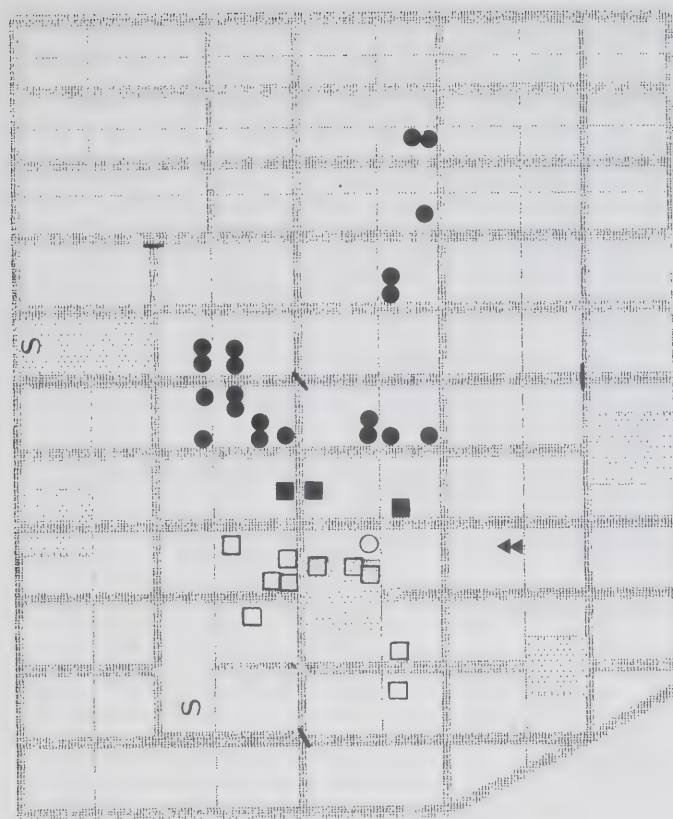


Figure 1

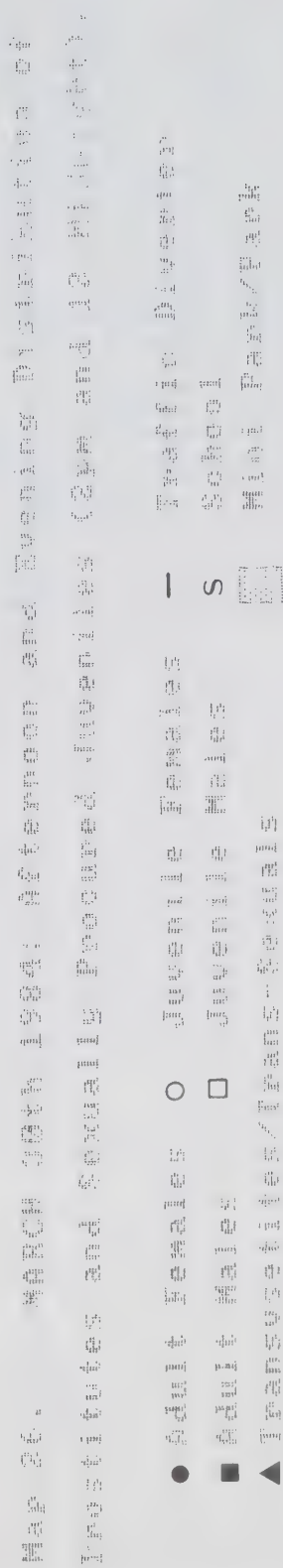
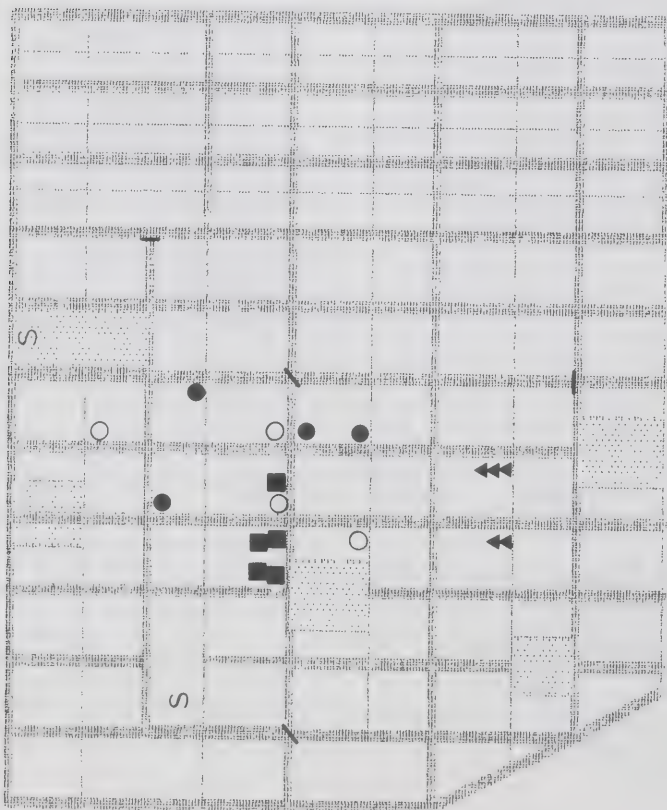
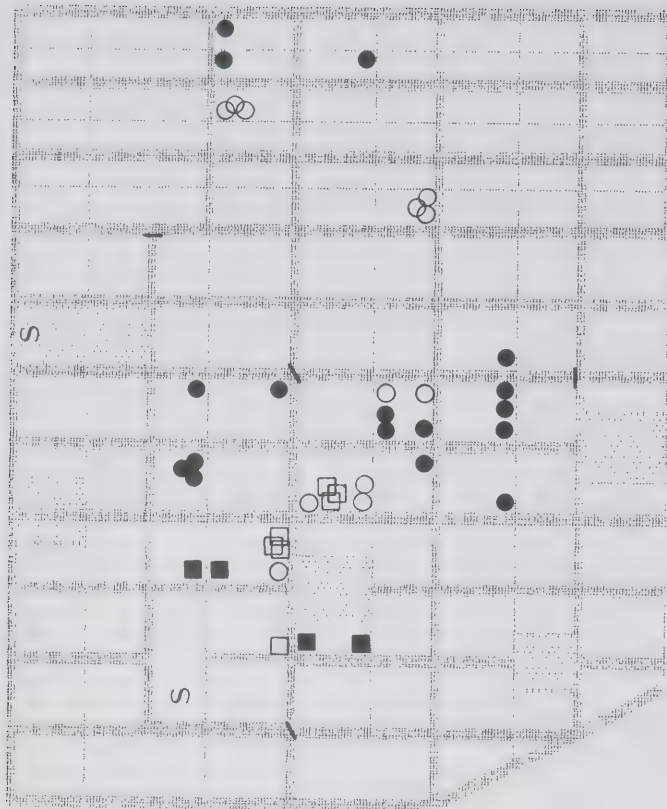


Figure 2





1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000



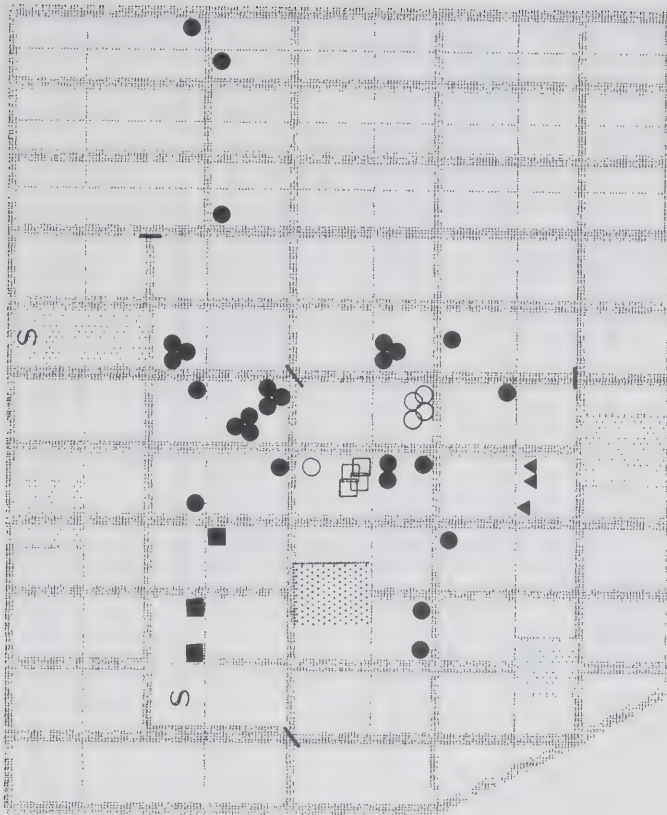


Figure 1. Distribution of black dots and symbols in the top-left quadrant of the grid.

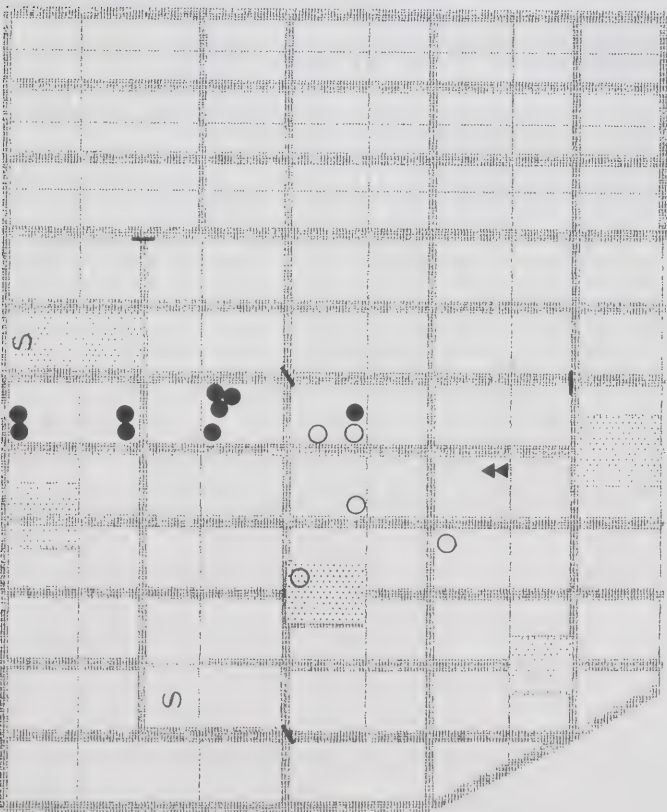
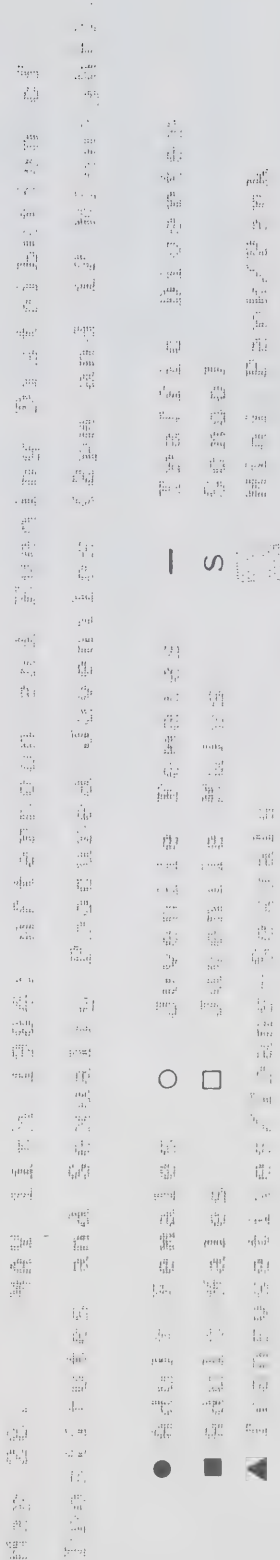


Figure 2. Distribution of black dots and symbols in the top-right quadrant of the grid.





Map 29. WEST END: Distribution of Customers, March to June 1984.

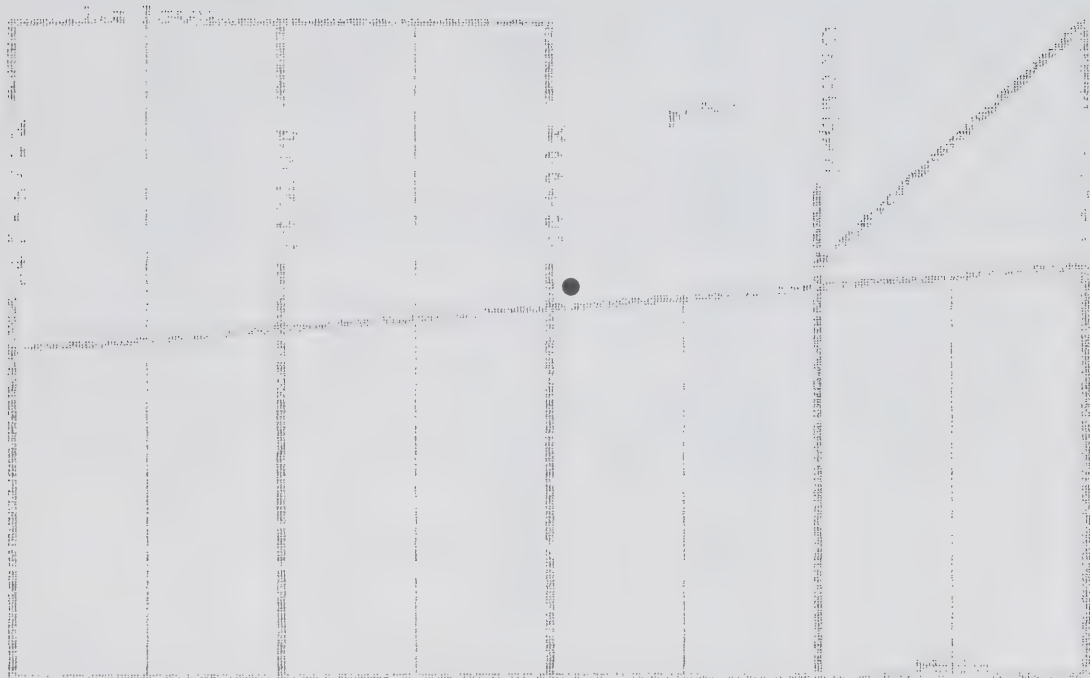


Map 30. GEORGIA STREET: Distribution of Customers, March to June 1984.



Map 31. EAST END: Distribution of Customers, March to June 1984.





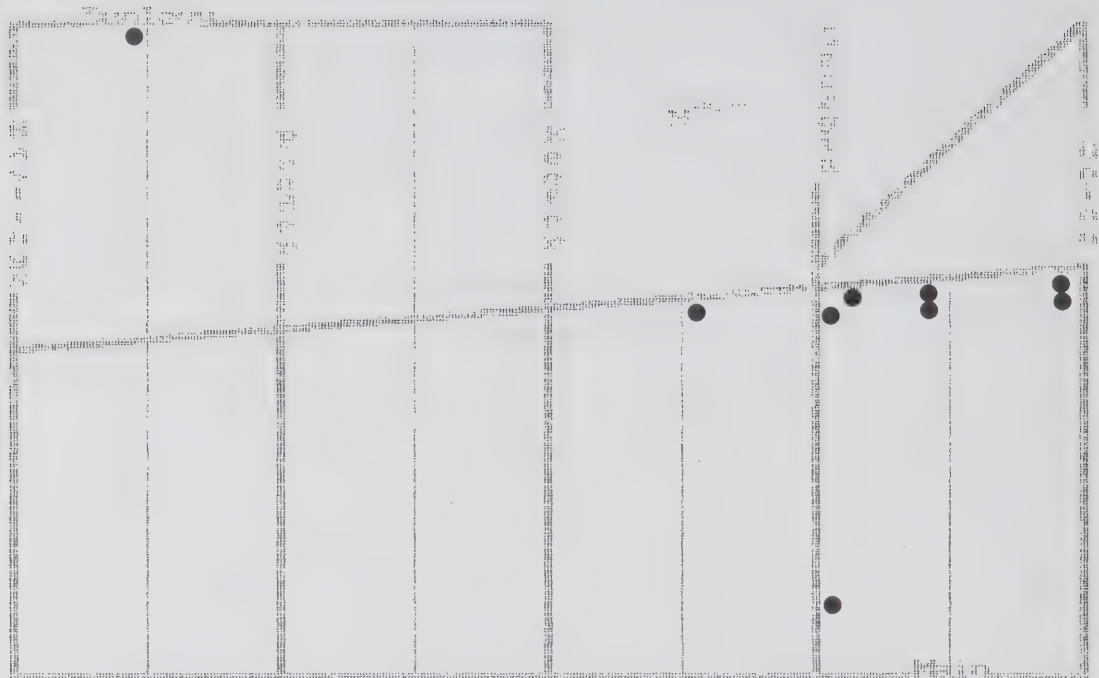
Map 36. EAST END - JULY 4th 1984: Distribution of Prostitutes and Sexually Procured Juveniles at 10.30pm.

● Adult Females	○ Juvenile Females	— Traffic Diverter
■ Adult Males	□ Juvenile Males	S School
▲ Transvestites/Trans-Sexuals		Mini Park

10.30pm Distribution.

Adult Females	1
Juvenile Females	0
Adult Males	0
Juvenile Males	0
Transvestites/	0
Trans-Sexuals	
Total	1

Weather: Light Rain/Warm.



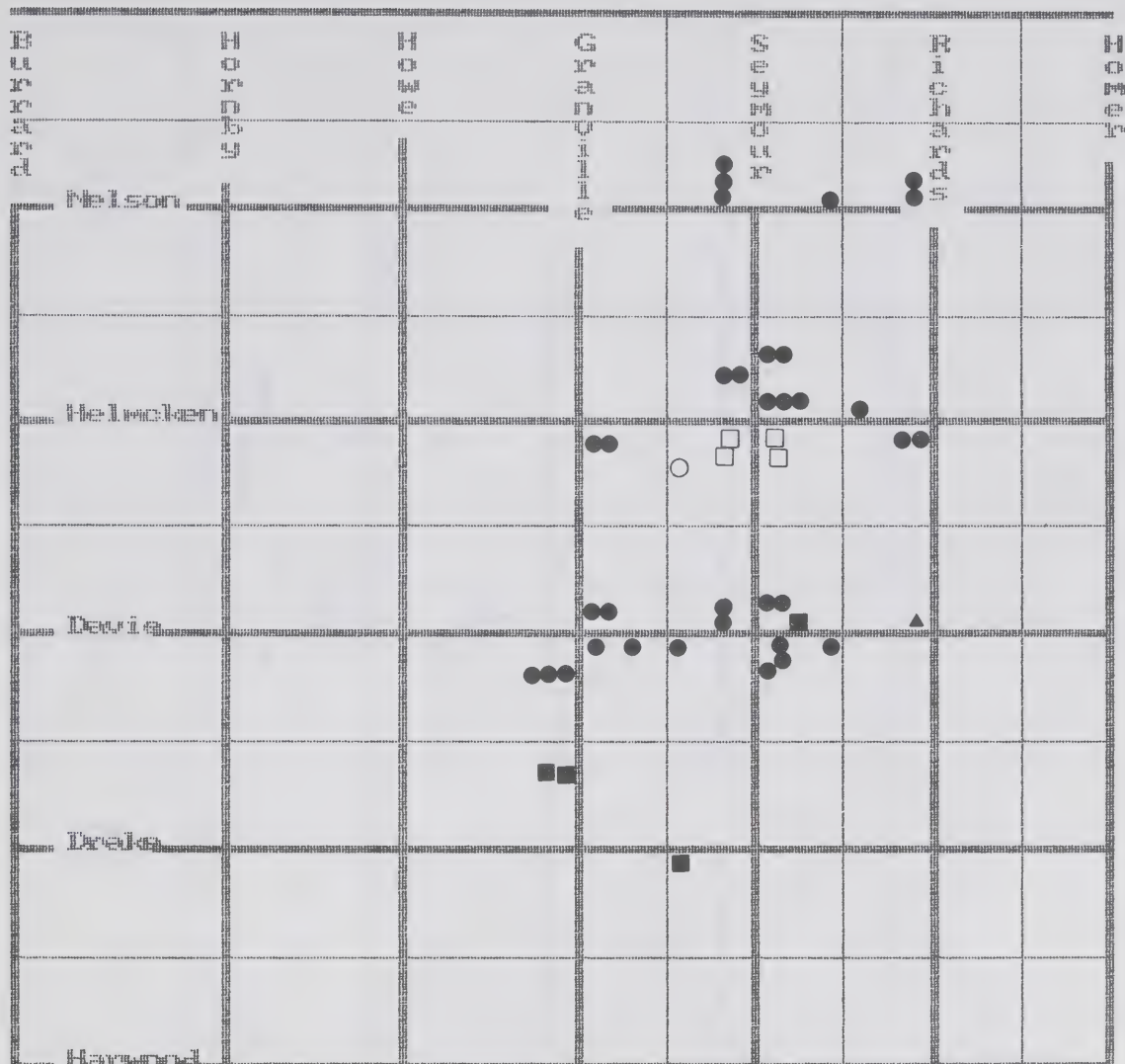
Map 37. EAST END - JULY 13th 1984: Distribution of Prostitutes and Sexually Procured Juveniles at 10.30pm.

● Adult Females	○ Juvenile Females	— Traffic Diverter
■ Adult Males	□ Juvenile Males	S School
▲ Transvestites/Trans-Sexuals		Mini Park

10.30pm Distribution.

Adult Females	9
Juvenile Females	0
Adult Males	0
Juvenile Males	0
Transvestites/	0
Trans-Sexuals	
Total	9

Weather: Dry/Warm.



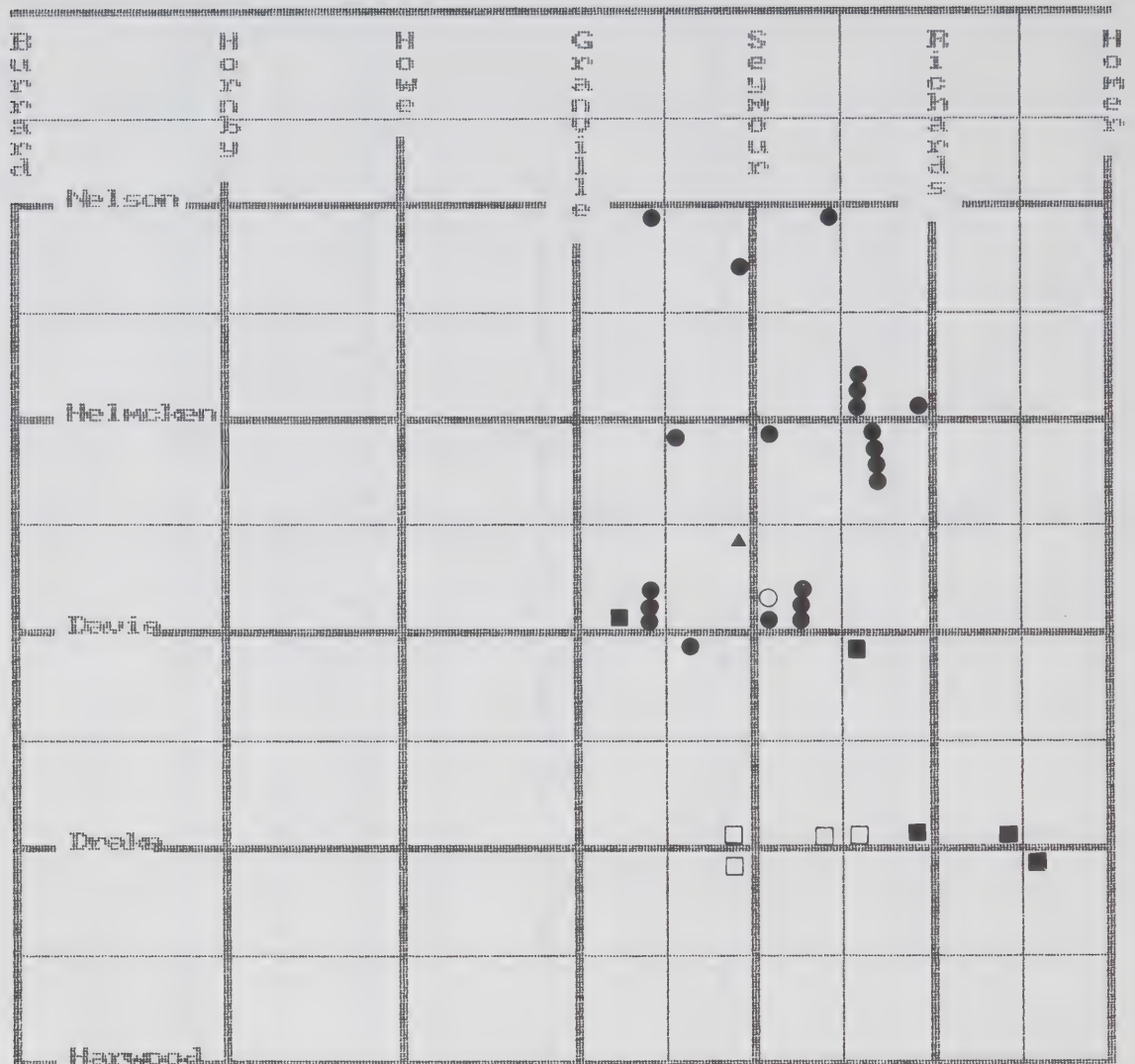
Map 32. WEST END - JULY 4th 1984: Distribution of Prostitutes and Sexually Procured Juveniles at 10.30pm.

● Adult Females	○ Juvenile Females	— Traffic Diverter
■ Adult Males	□ Juvenile Males	S School
▲ Transvestites/Trans-Sexuals		Mini Park

#### 10.30pm Distribution.

Adult Females	33
Juvenile Females	3
Adult Males	4
Juvenile Males	4
Transvestites/	1
Trans-Sexuals	
Total	45

Weather: Light Rain/Warm.



Map 33. WEST END - JULY 13th 1984: Distribution of Prostitutes and Sexually Procured Juveniles at 10.30pm.

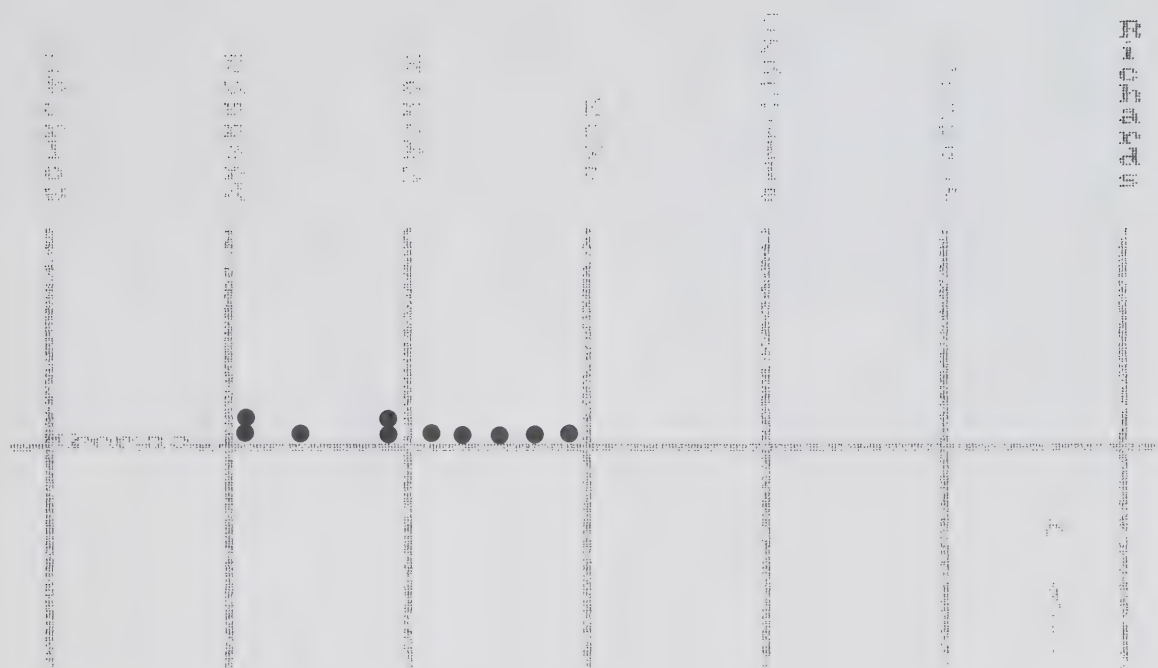
● Adult Females	○ Juvenile Females	— Traffic Diverter
■ Adult Males	□ Juvenile Males	S School
▲ Transvestites/Trans-Sexuals		Mini Park

10.30pm Distribution.

Adult Females	21
Juvenile Females	1
Adult Males	5
Juvenile Males	4
Transvestites/	1
Trans-Sexuals	
Total	30

Weather: Dry/Warm.





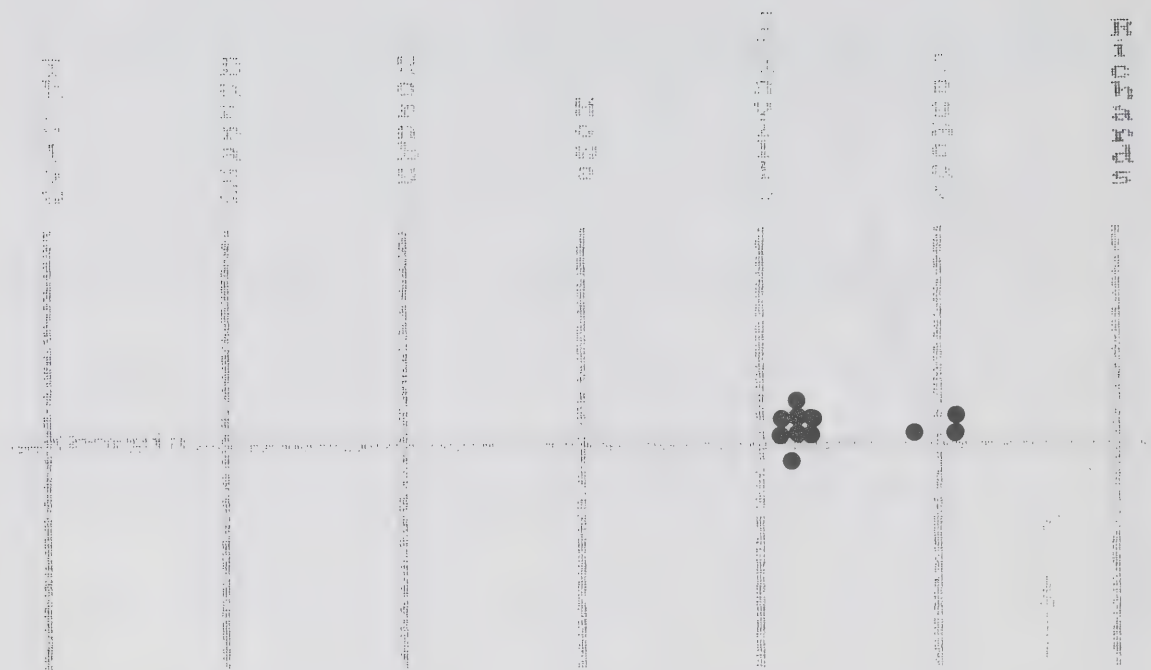
Map 34. GEORGIA STREET - JULY 4th 1984: Distribution of Prostitutes and Sexually Procured Juveniles at 10.30pm.

● Adult Females	○ Juvenile Females	— Traffic Diverter
■ Adult Males	□ Juvenile Males	S School
▲ Transvestites/Trans-Sexuals		Mini Park

10.30pm Distribution.

Adult Females	10
Juvenile Females	0
Adult Males	0
Juvenile Males	0
Transvestites/	0
Trans-Sexuals	
Total	10

Weather: Light Rain/Warm.



Map 35. GEORGIA STREET - JULY 13th 1984: Distribution of Prostitutes and Sexually Procured Juveniles at 10.30pm.

● Adult Females    □ Juvenile Females    — Traffic Diverter  
 ■ Adult Males    ○ Juvenile Males    S School  
 ▲ Transvestites/Trans-Sexuals    [Grid] Mini Park

10.30pm Distribution.

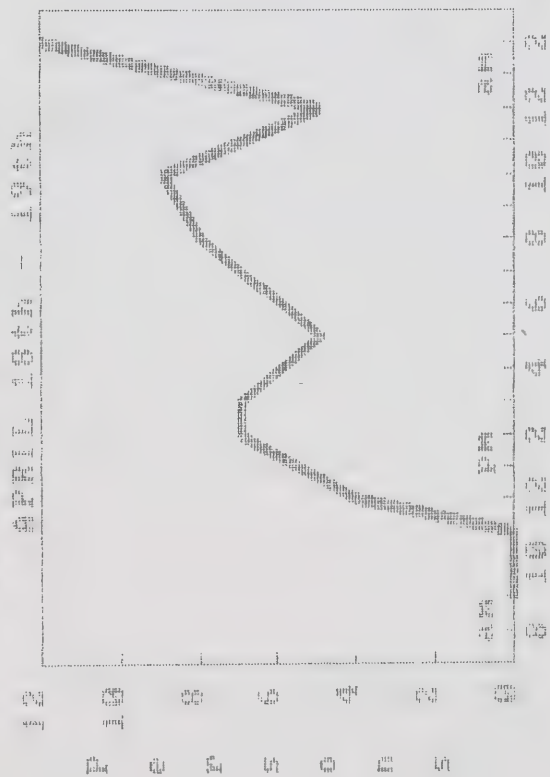
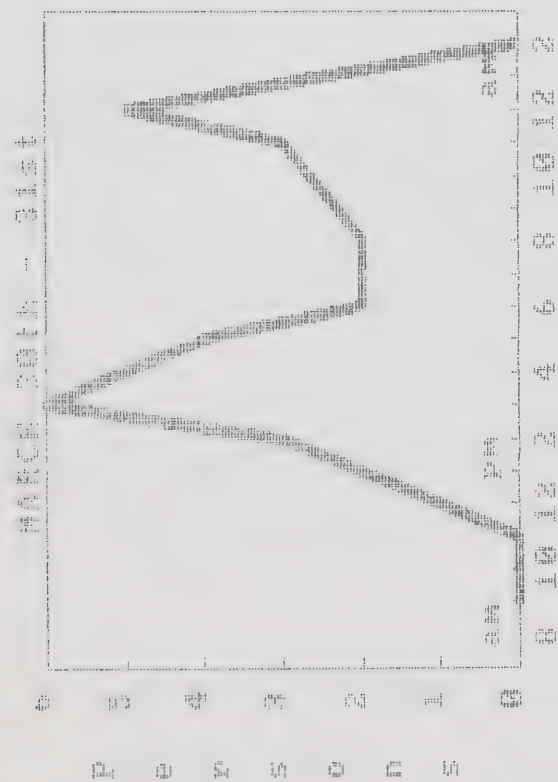
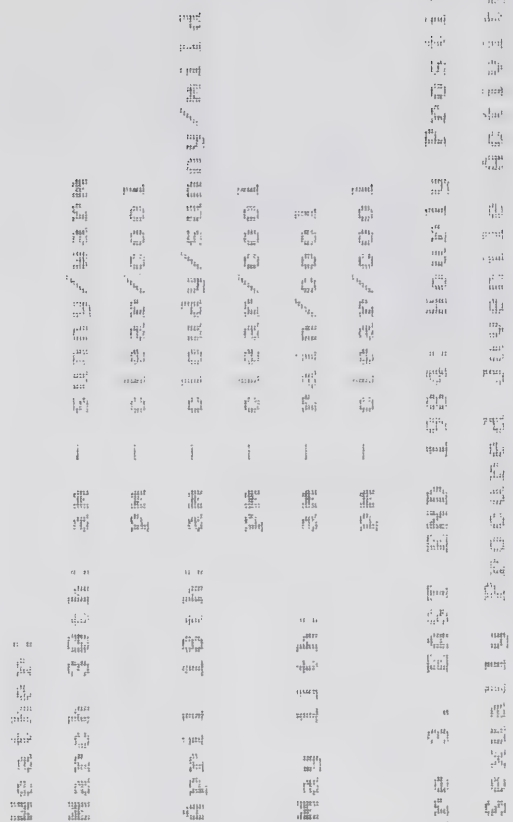
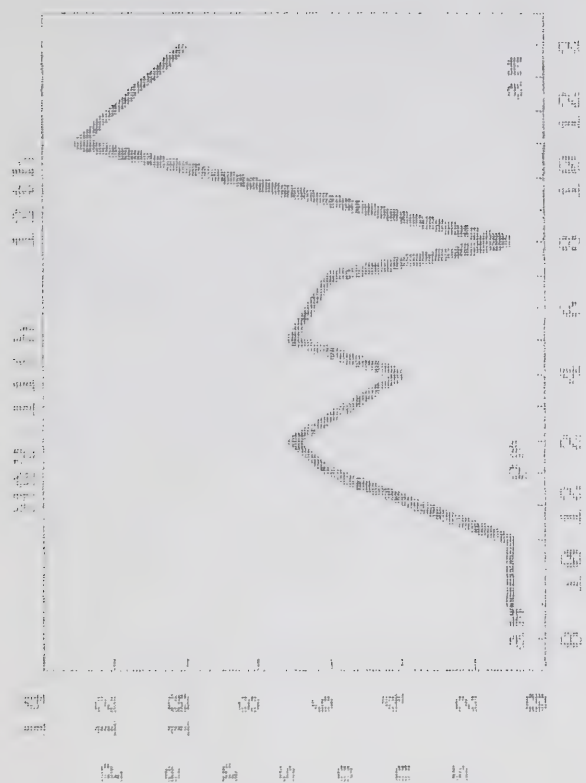
Adult Females	11
Juvenile Females	0
Adult Males	0
Juvenile Males	0
Transvestites/	0
Trans-Sexuals	
Total	11

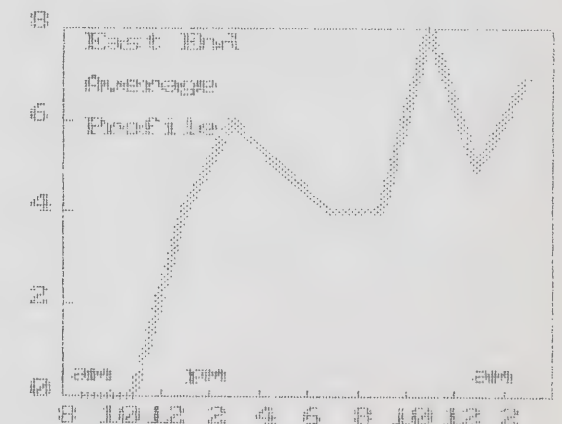
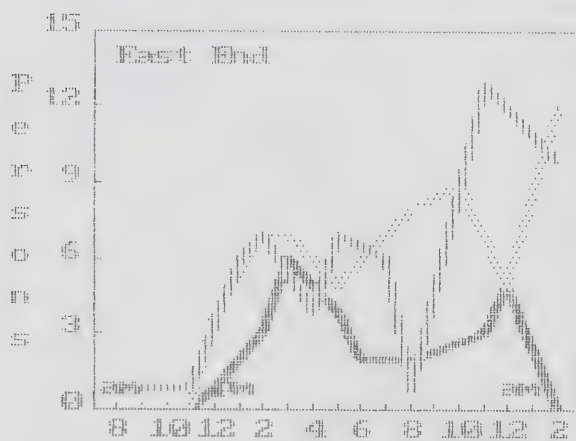
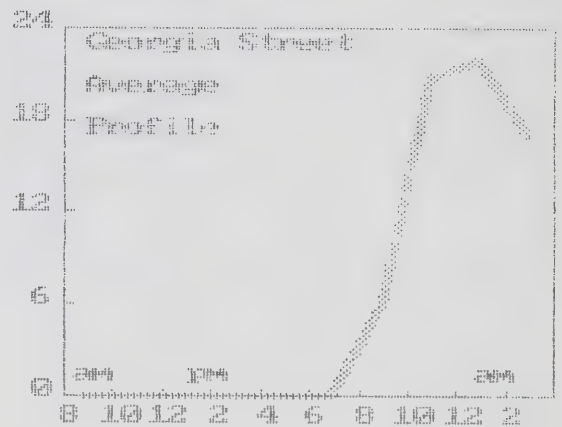
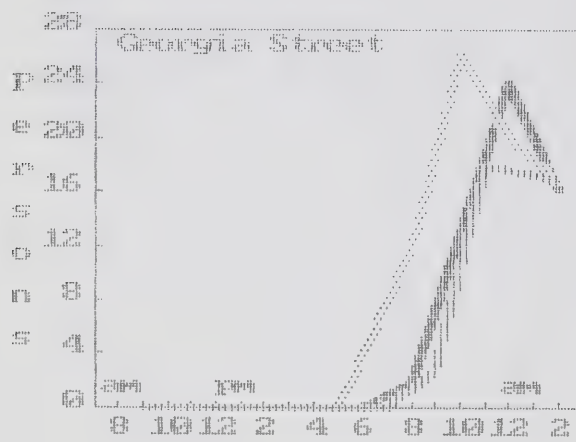
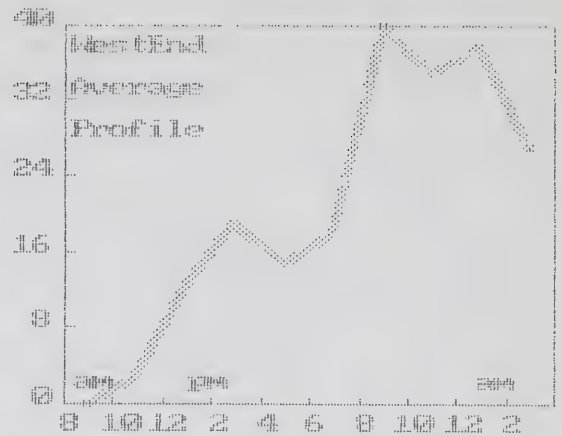
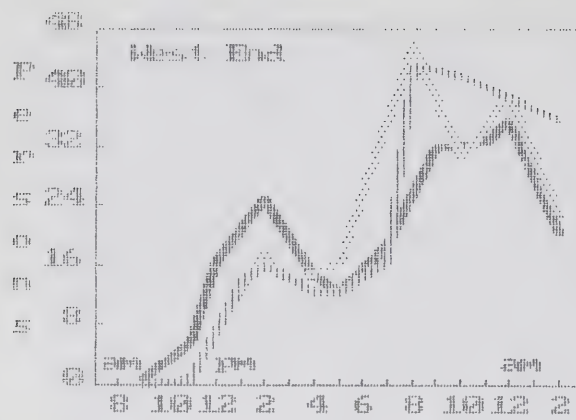
Weather: Dry/Warm.





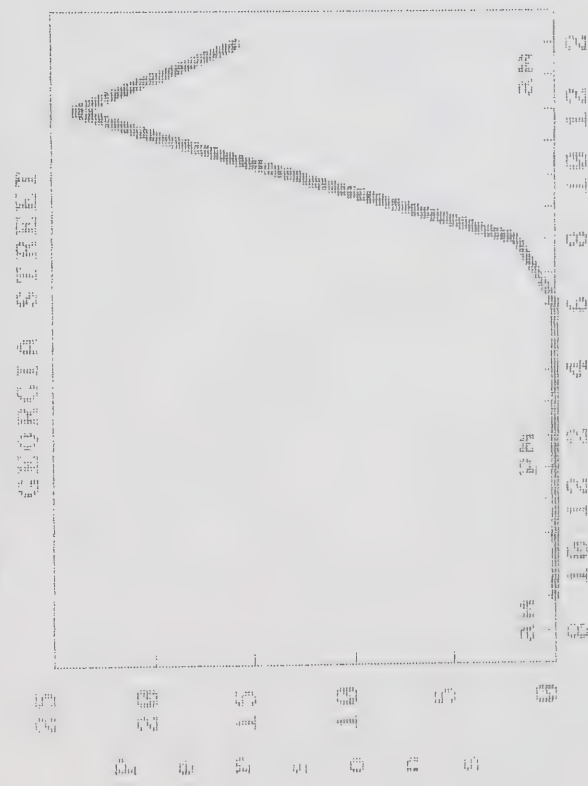
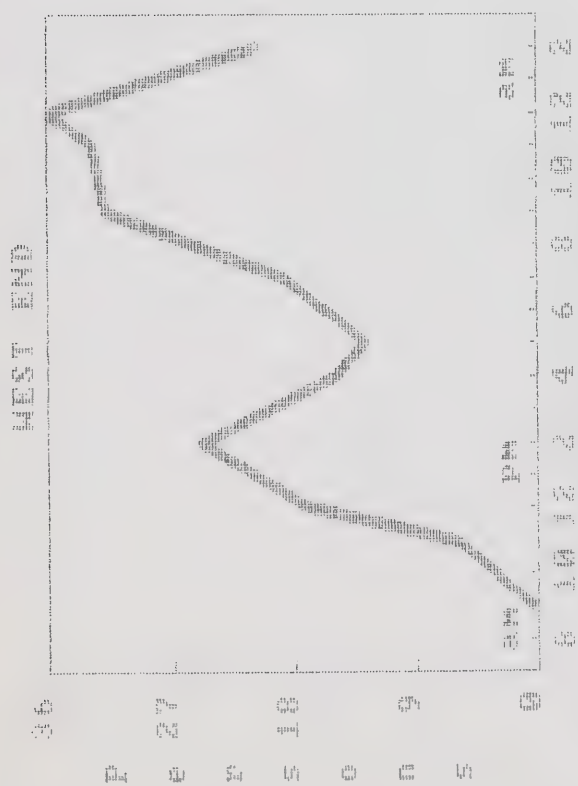
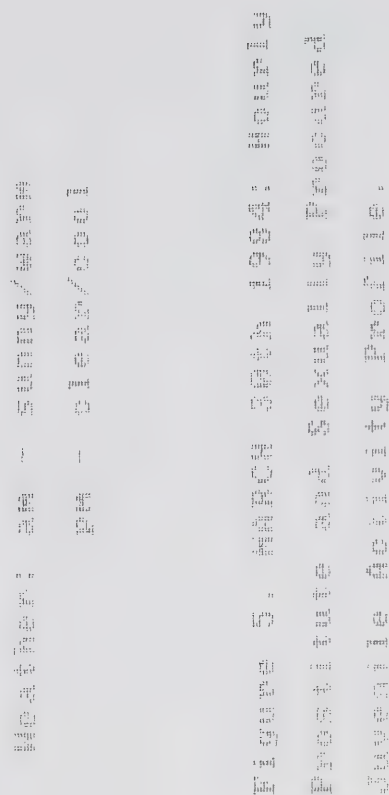
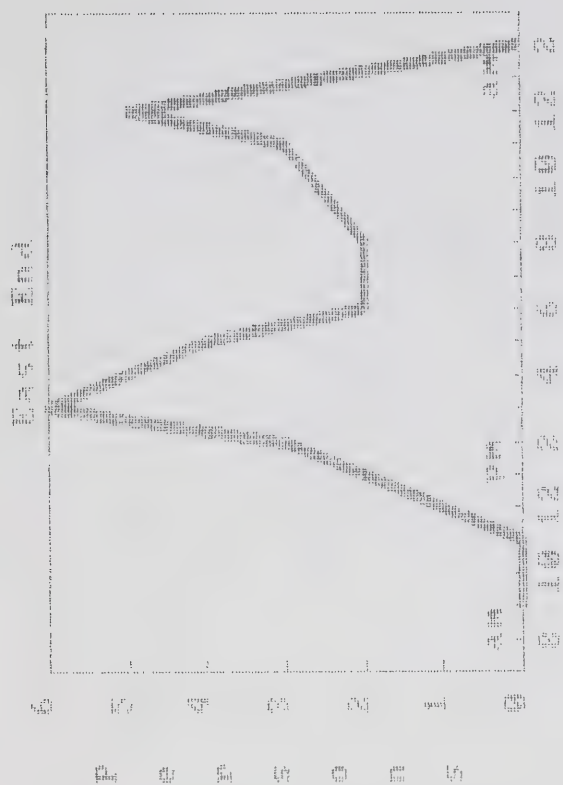


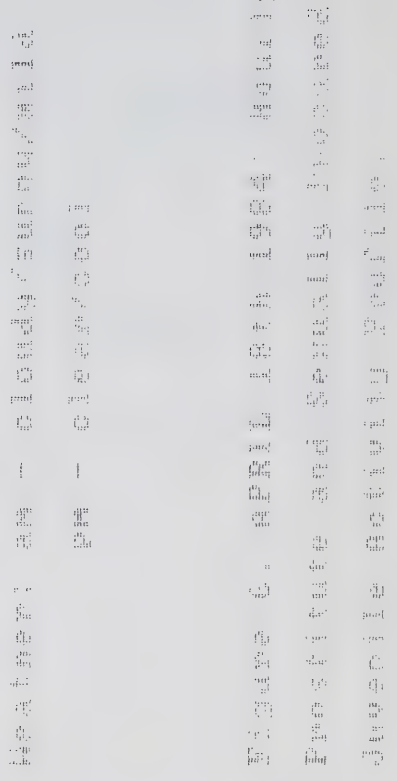
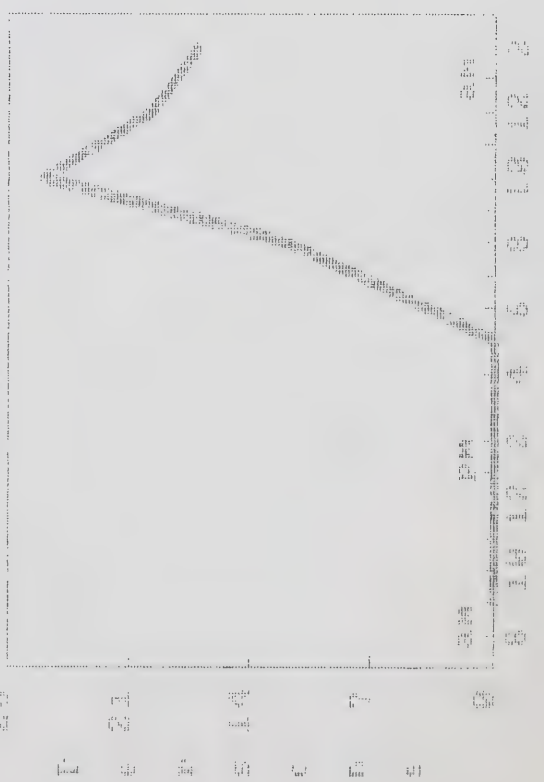
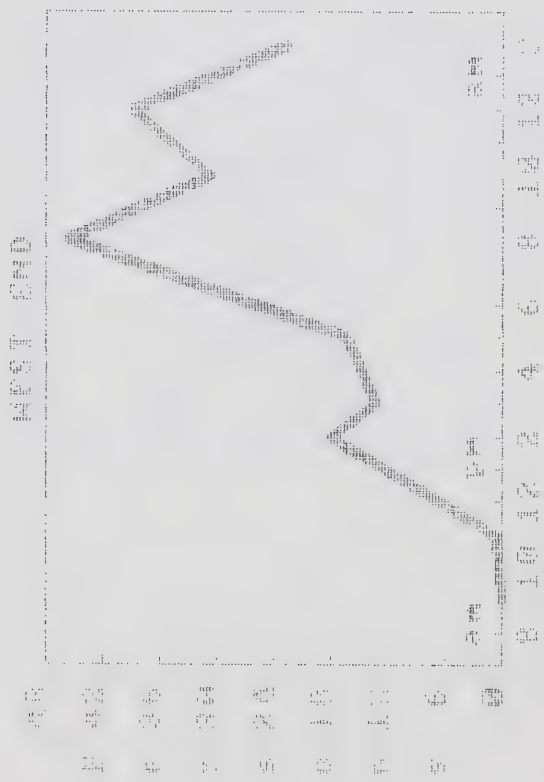
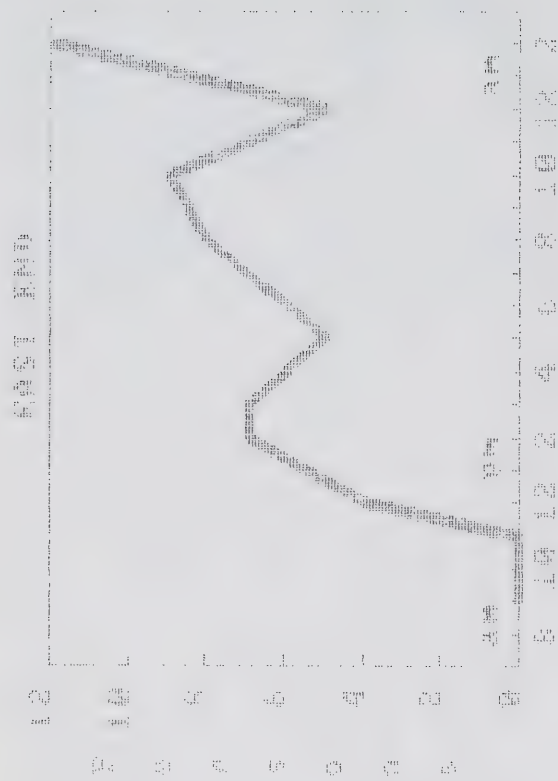




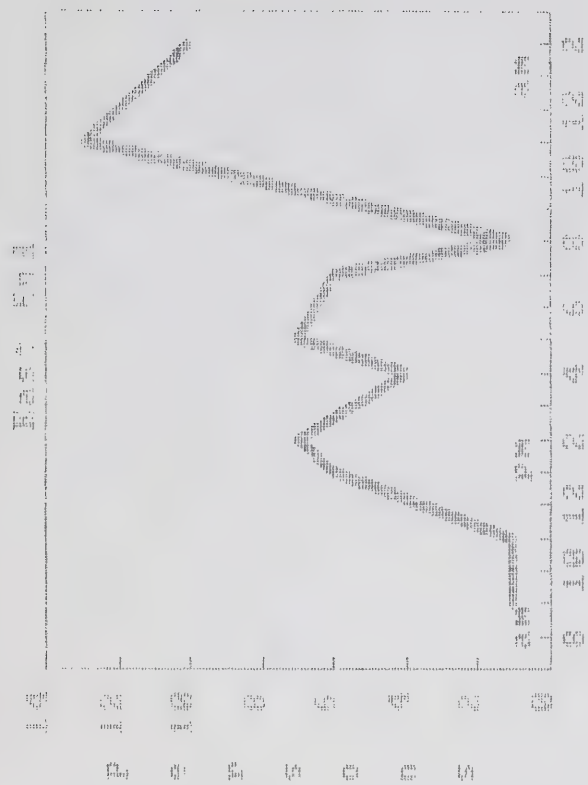
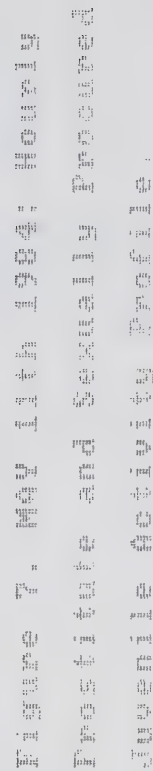
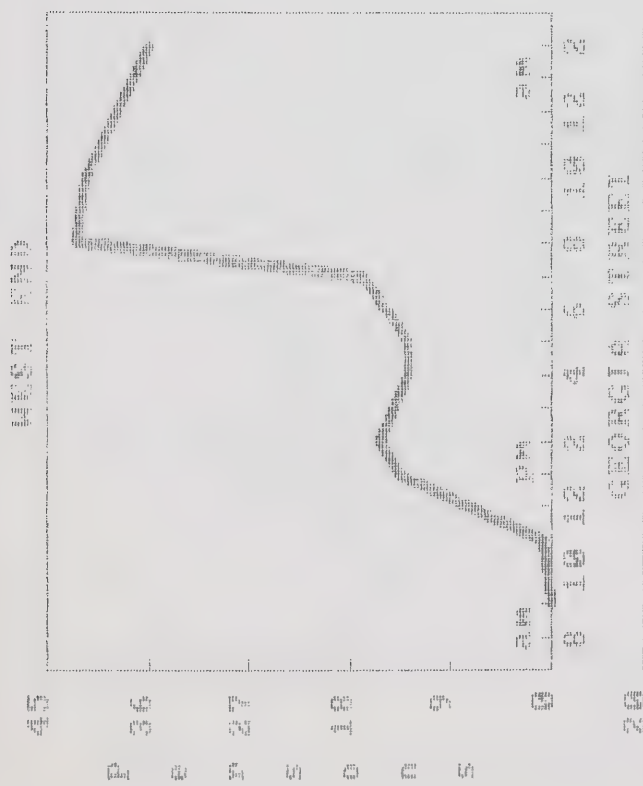
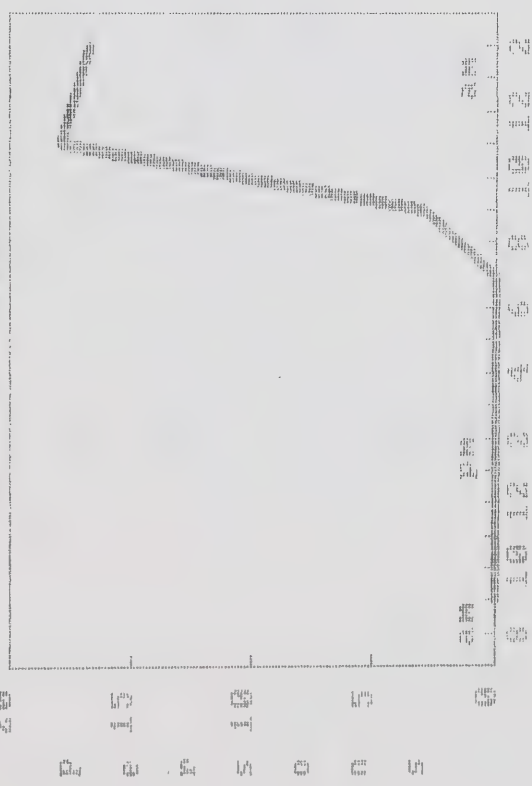
 March 30th
  April 18th
  May 11th
  Average Profile

Figure 4. Total and Average Activity Profiles by Area.







[illegible][illegible][illegible]

2000

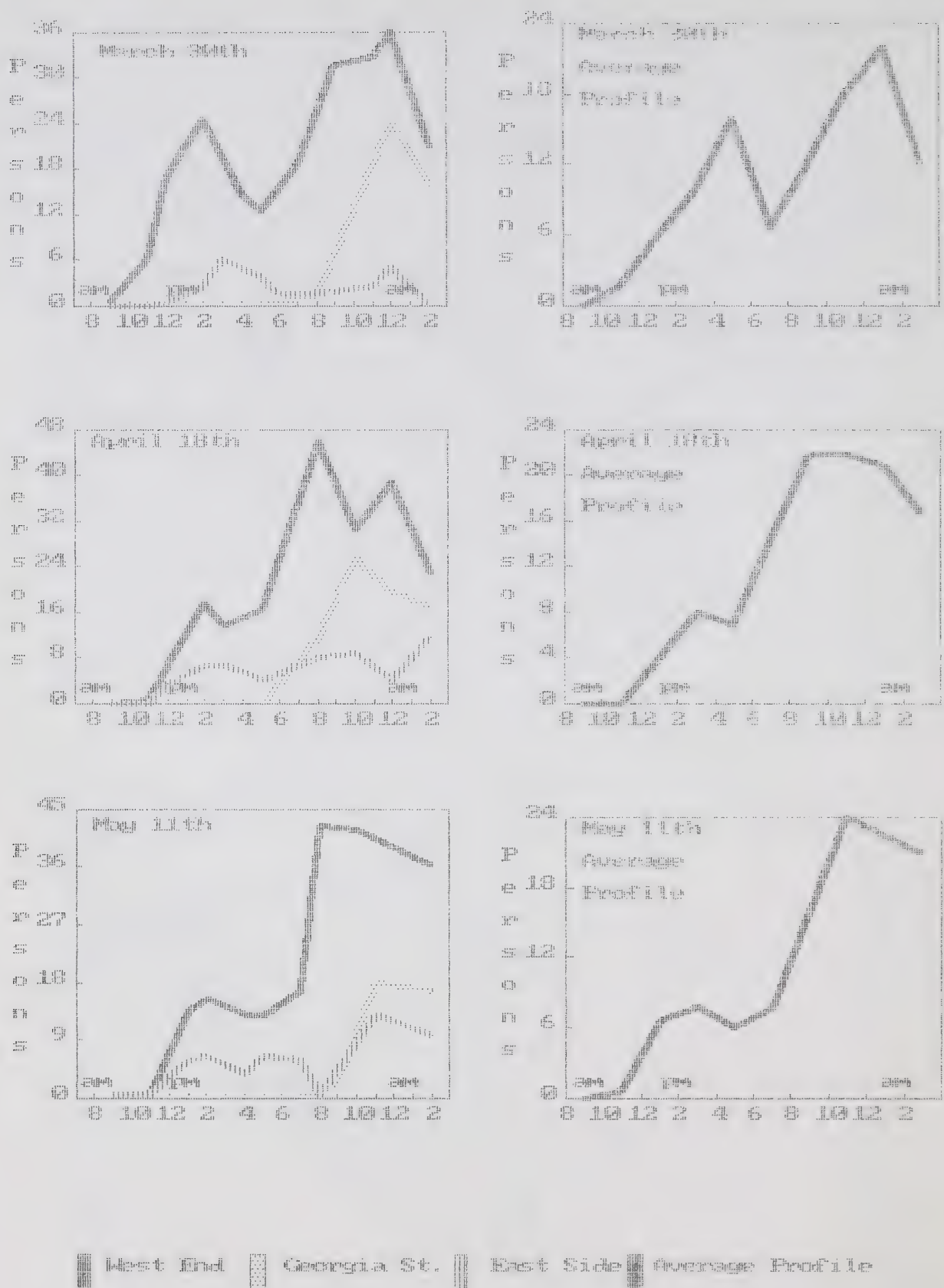
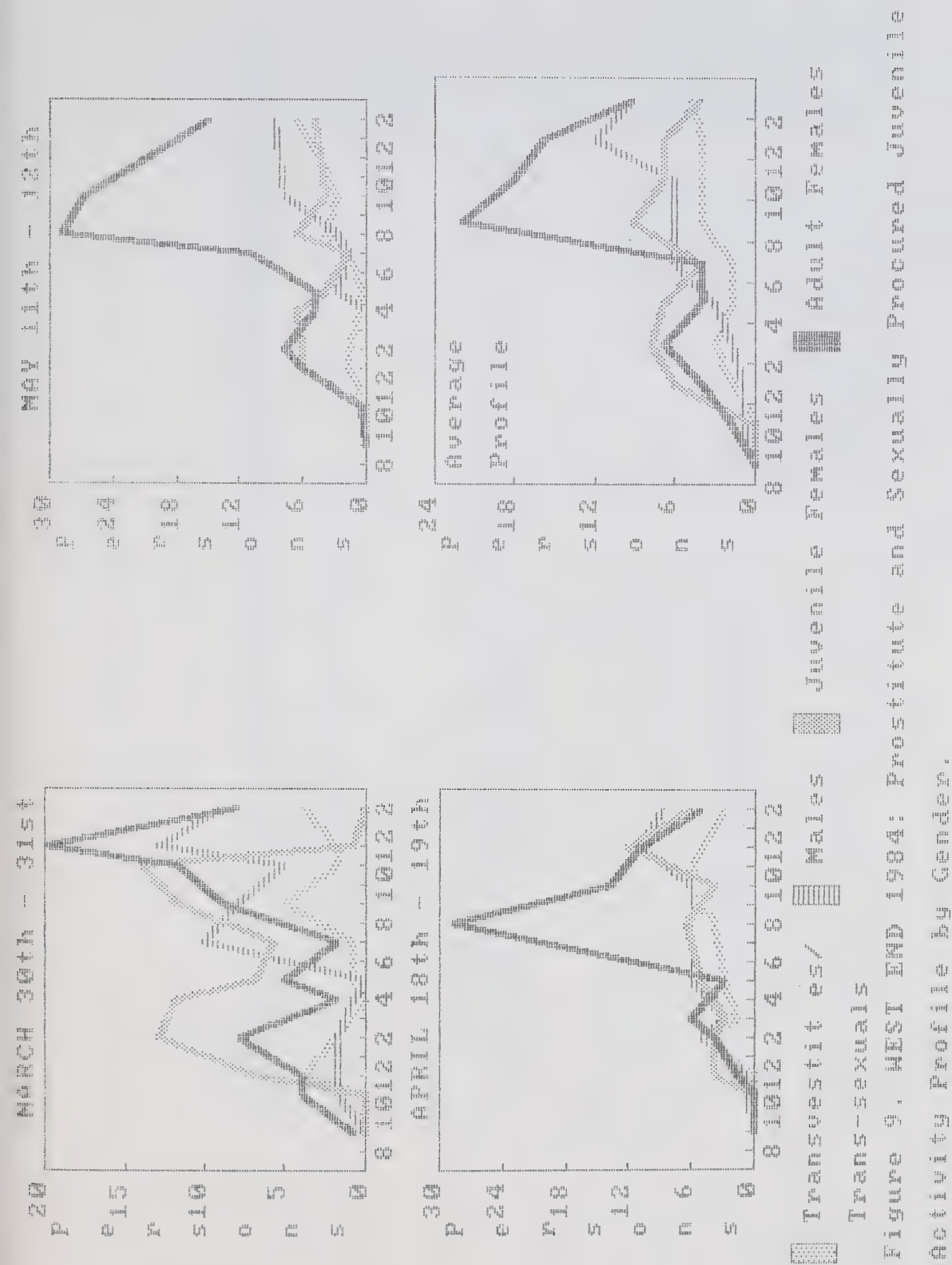


Figure 8. Total and Average Activity Profiles by Date



Transsexuals

Figure 9. WEST EPP 1984: Prostitute and Sexually Procured Juvenile Activity Profile by Gender.

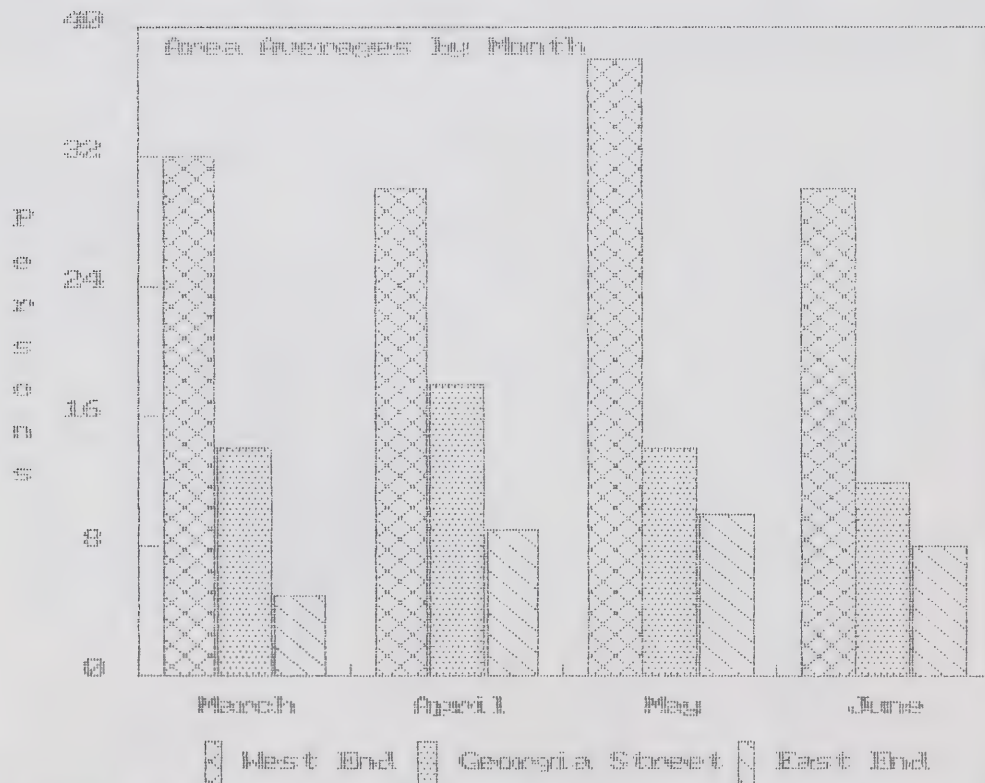
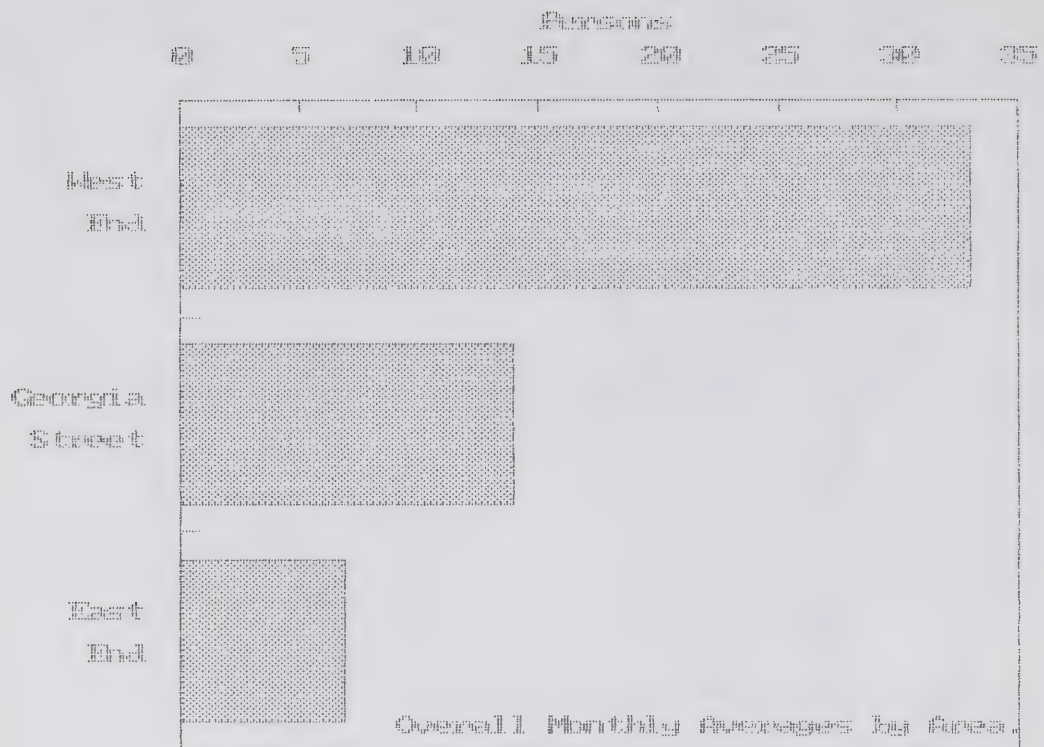
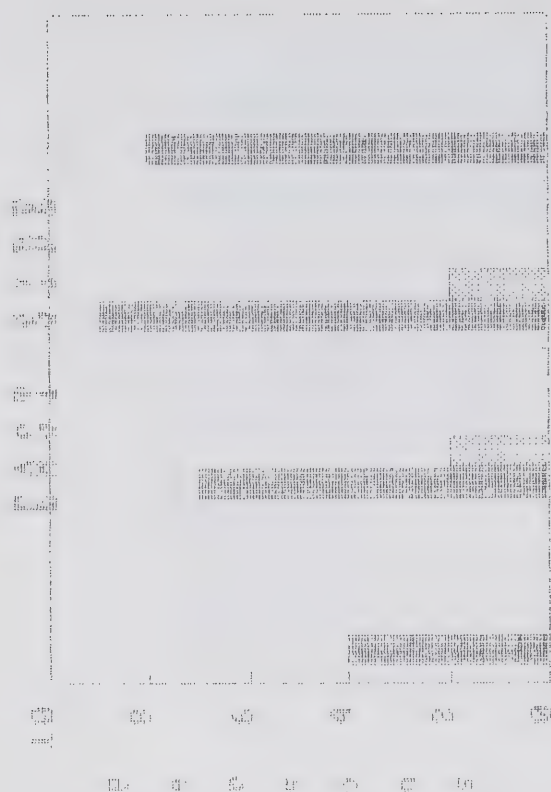


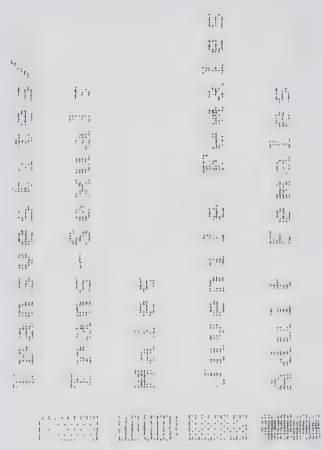
Figure 18. Average Number of Prostitutes and Sexually Procured Juveniles Observed between 1pm and 2am, March to June, 1991.



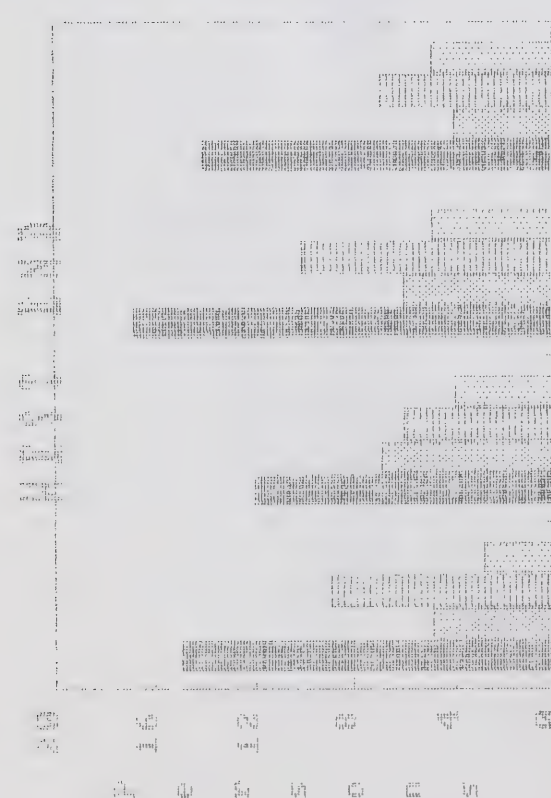




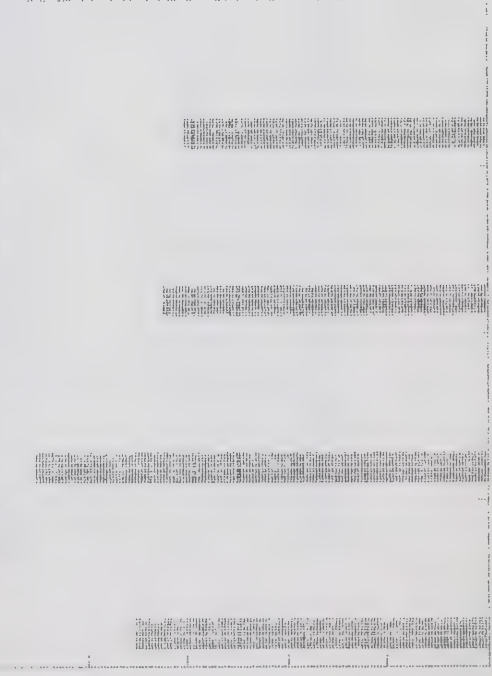
10  
9  
8  
7  
6  
5  
4  
3  
2  
1



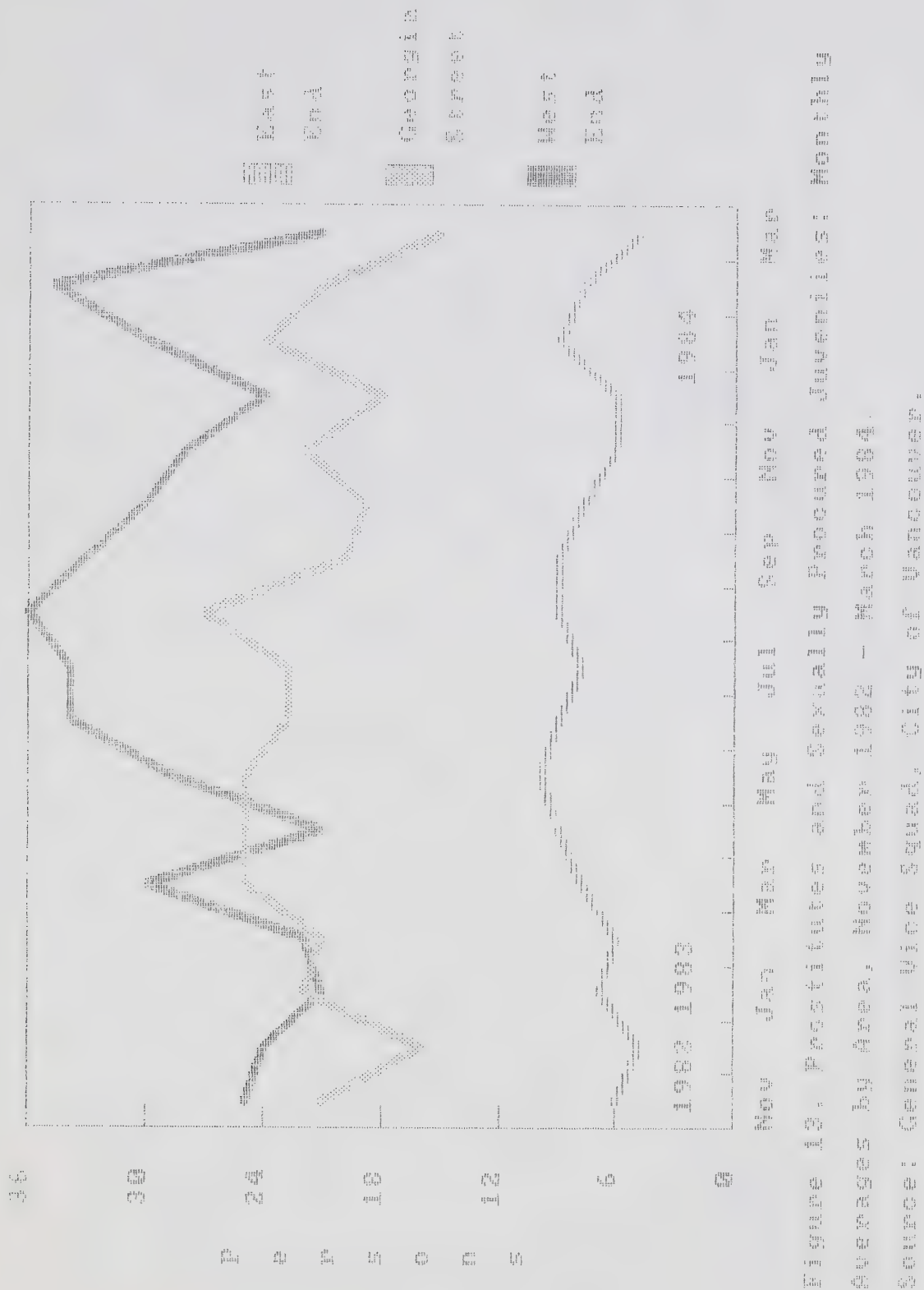
10  
9  
8  
7  
6  
5  
4  
3  
2  
1



10  
9  
8  
7  
6  
5  
4  
3  
2  
1



10  
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4  
3  
2  
1



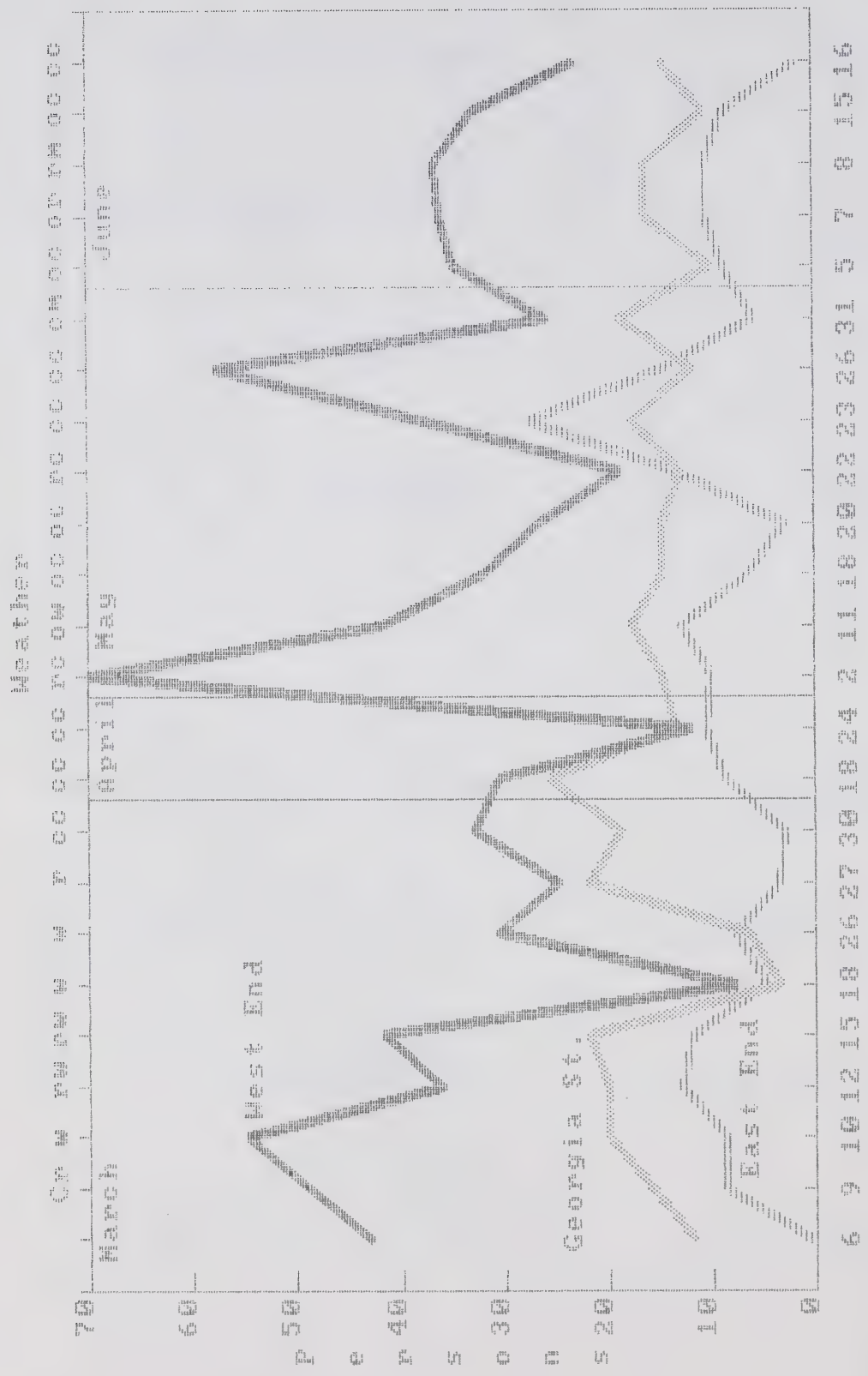


Figure 14. Prostitute and Sexually Procured Juveniles Counts: 9pm - 11pm, March to June, 1984.



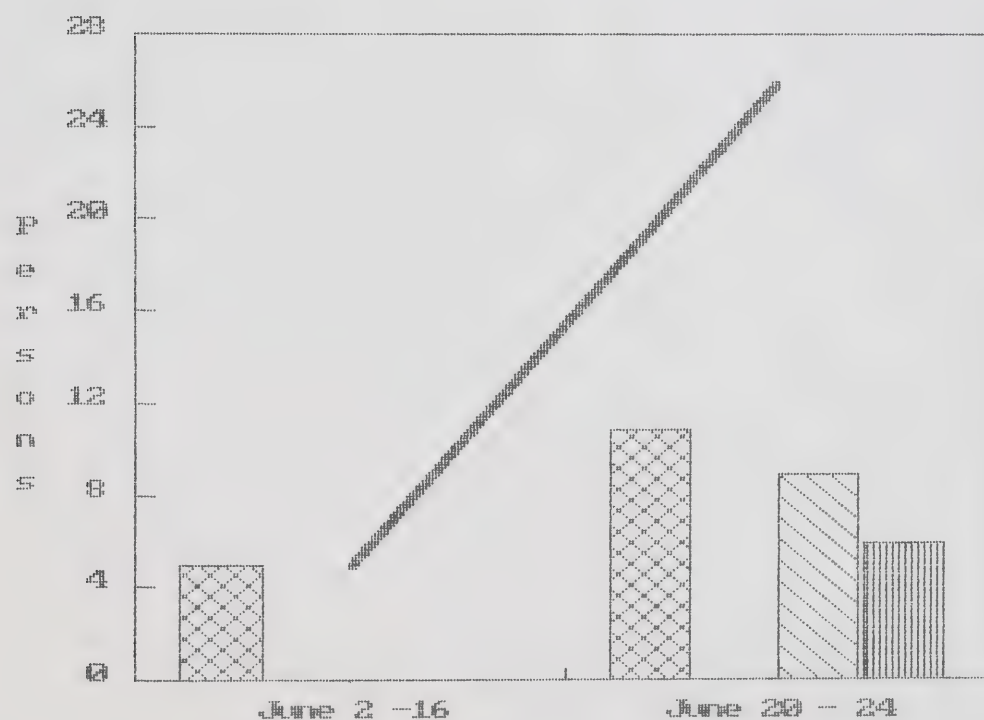
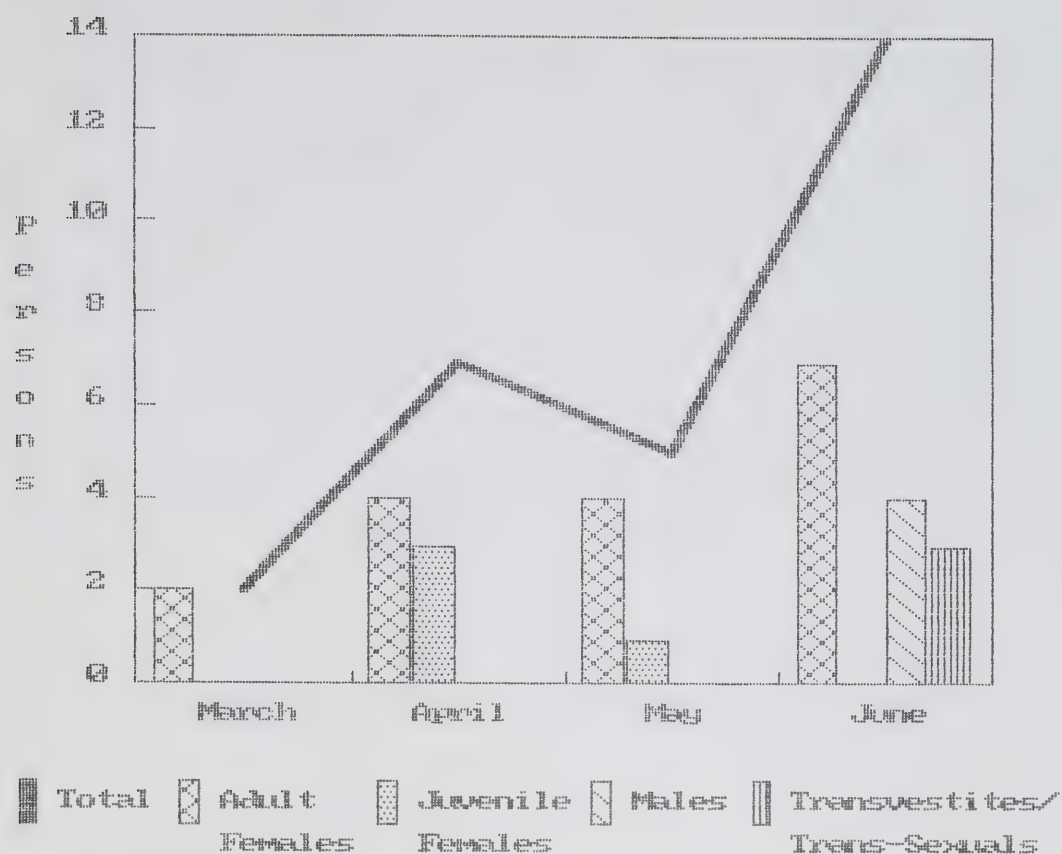


Figure 15. BURBANK/GRANVILLE: Average Number of Prostitutes and Sexually Procured Juveniles, March to June 1984.



CHAPTER IX  
ADVERTISED "COMPANY":  
ESCORTS, MESSAGES, DATING AND OTHER SERVICES  
ADVERTISED IN NEWSPAPERS

CHAPTER IX  
 ADVERTISED "COMPANY": ESCORTS, MESSAGES, DATING,  
 AND OTHER SERVICES ADVERTISED IN NEWSPAPERS

Although much of the Vancouver prostitution study has dealt with the street trade, this is but one dimension of the commercial sex business. In all likelihood, the street trade represents only a small fraction of the total - several American estimates suggest that it contributes less than 20% of the total prostitution business. Such estimates are complicated by the problem of defining prostitution; as many feminists point out, ours is a patriarchal society which tends to commodify the sexuality of women in such a way that the line defining prostitution is hard to locate. If, however, we take only the most obvious form of prostitution - direct payment of money for sexual services on an ephemeral basis - a variety of off-street services exist. But the program of interview studies we conducted gave very little indication of recent trends in the off-street trade. Although our prostitute subject group included a number of persons who currently worked or had worked for escort agencies and we met a few people who advertised sexual services in local newspapers, we met only one person that advertised actual massages, and we met only one person that worked exclusively for an escort agency (although he too used to work the street). We thus gained little idea of the recent history of these types of services. What we did do, however, was attempt to gain some idea of the soliciting patterns of various off-street trades in the form of newspaper advertising and advertising in the telephone yellow pages.

The persistent impression given by the Vancouver press is that street prostitution has increased dramatically in Vancouver since either the closure of the Penthouse cabaret or the impact of the Hutt decision. One often gets the impression that given the failure of soliciting law, the street has become a more popular location for meeting tricks. If that is the case, one might expect a reduction of the off-street trade. But that does not appear to have been the case.

The method we used here is subject to a number of problems. For the purposes of this analysis we sampled editions of the two main local Vancouver newspapers, the Sun and the Province, and counted the number of personal advertisements for sexual services classified into 3 categories - escort, massage and dating. The counts are subject to a certain amount of error: some escorts may not



provide sexual services (but it appears that most do); we do not know how many personal advertisements for dates involve commercial sexual services, but it is quite clear from the tone of many of the advertisements that they do. But clearly there is a certain element of judgement-calling in our attempt to count only those dating advertisements placed by prostitutes.

TRENDS IN ADVERTISING (Figures are included immediately after the text, Tables appear in APPENDIX G)

We counted the advertisements appearing in the Vancouver Sun contained in the edition printed on the first Friday of each month for the period 1970-1984 (see Figure 2, Tables 1-6). For the Province, we examined two periods, 1970-1972 and 1978-1984 also for the first Friday of each month (see Figure 3, Tables 7-9).

We also counted the advertisements appearing in three other local weekly Vancouver newspapers, the Vancouver Night Times, the Vancouver Star, and the West Ender. In the case of the West Ender, the advertisement count was simplified by the papers policy of including an advertising section under the heading "Business Personals". In Figure 5 (Table 13) we show the average monthly number of business personals in which sexual services were advertised appearing in the edition published during the first week of each month for the period 1980-1984.

In the case of the Vancouver Star, we obtained a sample of back copies appearing during the period 1980-84 and calculated the average number of services advertised in each edition. The services include "escorts", "massages", "body-rubs", "steam baths", "strip clubs", "strip pubs", and other "clubs", as well as a variety of persons identifying their sexual gender or sexual preference in such a way that they appeared to be offering sexual services for money. Here again the obvious margin of error created by this judgement-calling must be considered in the results (Figure 4, Tables 10 and 11).

We have not produced a graph depicting the results of our analysis of the Vancouver Night Times (Table 12) because we could only obtain 6 back copies of the publication.

The final element of our analysis in this section of the study involved a count of escort agencies advertising in the Vancouver Yellow Pages during the period 1960-1984 (see Figure 1, Table 1). Escort services appear to be a child of the 1970's, but the proliferation of advertising

begins in 1982 and 1983. The first service was advertised in 1969.

Given the problems associated with some of our advertising classification schema our observations are largely restricted to the main trends in the data. Two main points seem to be clear:

a) the breakdown of types of advertisement appearing in the Vancouver Star (Figure 4, Tables 10 and 11) indicates that many more men advertise sexual services (whether for money or not) than do women and

b) the number of advertisements placed in these various publications increases significantly after 1981 (see Figures 1, 2, 3, and 5). Much of the increase is attributable to the apparent proliferation of advertisements for escort and massage services; we do not know the ratio of men and women represented by the advertising in these categories, nor do we know what impact changes in advertising policy have had on the types of advertisement appearing. It appears unlikely, however, that a change of advertising policy occurred uniformly in 1981 in the various publications that we examined such that it would explain the increase in advertising at that time. Conversely, the onset of the recent economic recession cannot be discounted as a much more plausible explanation of the trends that we see. One thing is certain, the number of advertisements do not change at the time of the Hutt decision, although it is difficult to know what importance to place on this finding.

Overall, our results strongly suggest that if street prostitution is increasing in Vancouver, it has not increased at the same rate as the off-street trade since 1982 (see Chapter VIII, Figures 13 and 14).

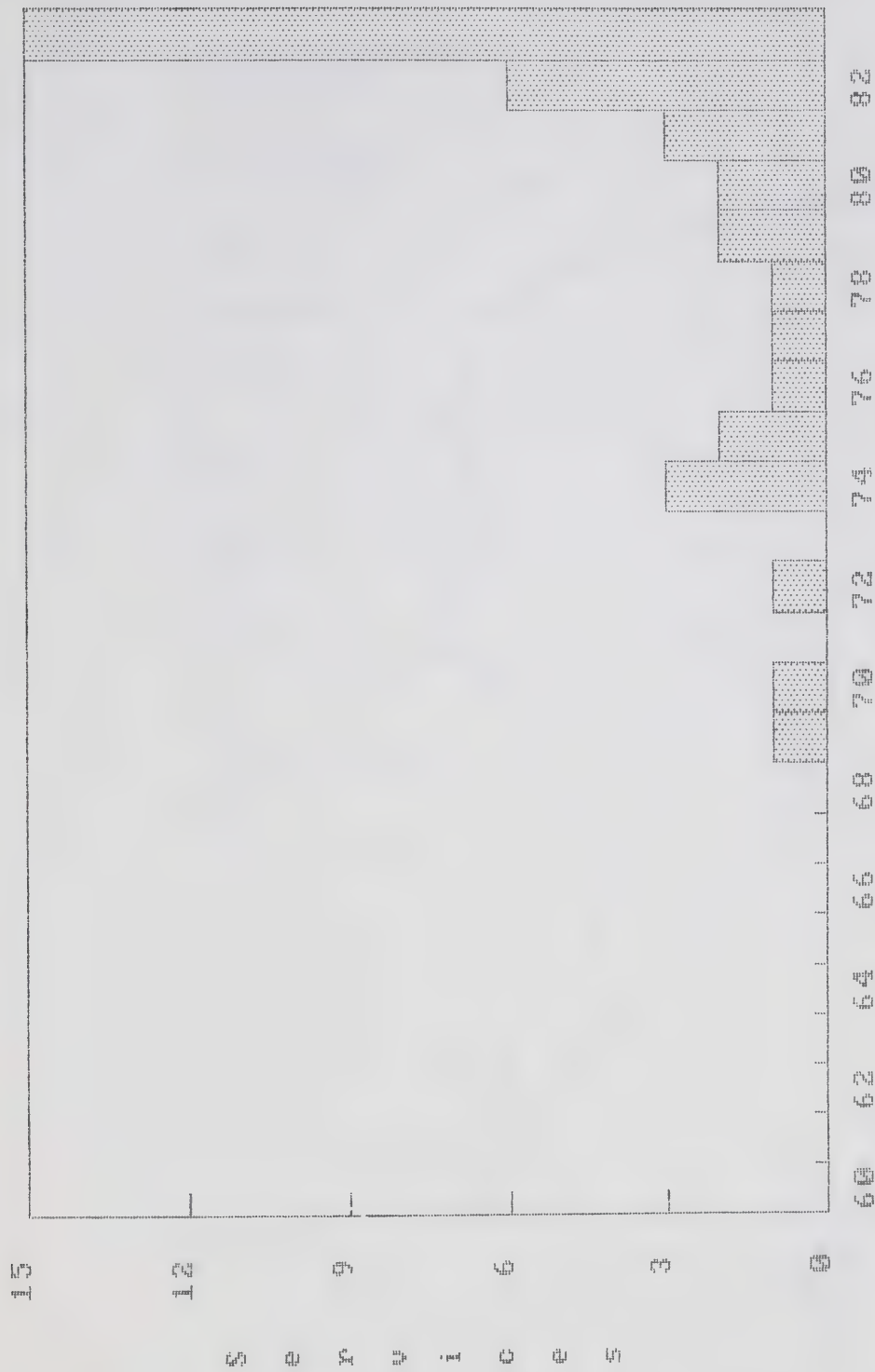


Figure 1. YELLOW PAGES: Escort Services Advertisements per Year, 1960 to 1982: source: D.C. Telephone Company.

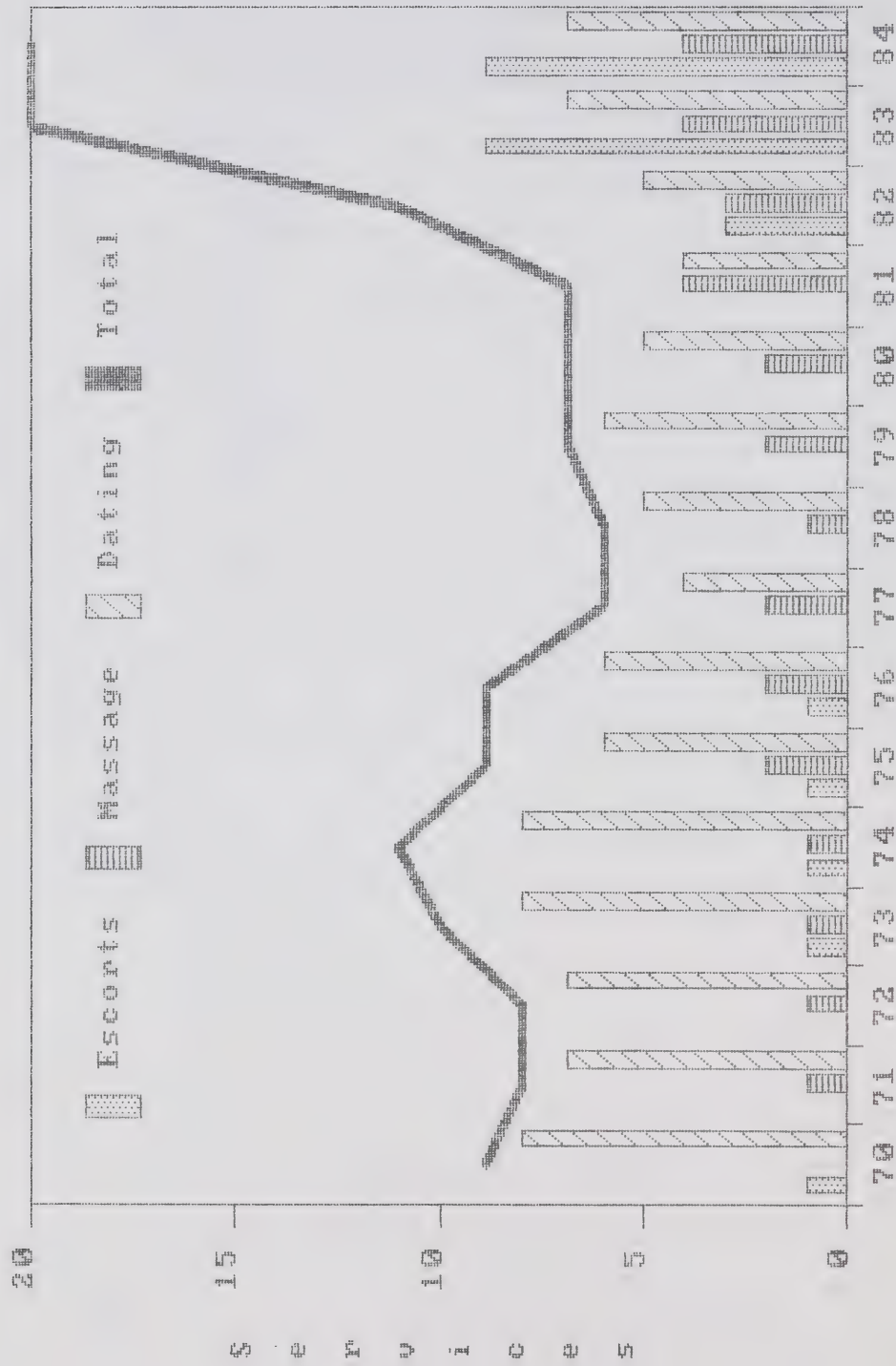


Figure 2. The VANCOUVER SUN: Average Number of Escort, Massage, and Dating Services Advertised on the First Friday of each Month.



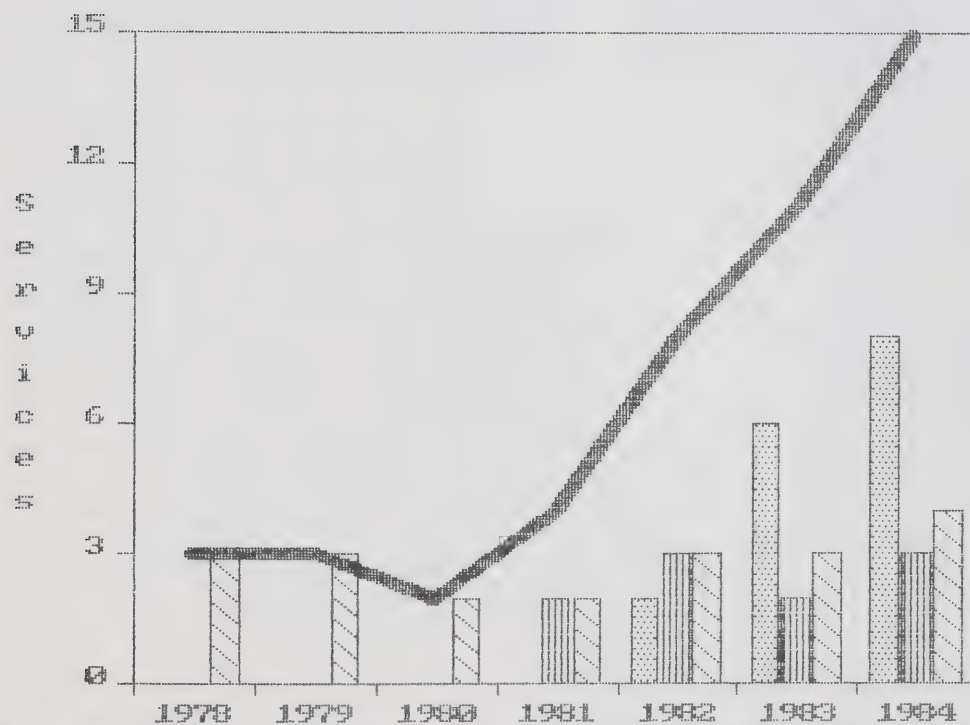
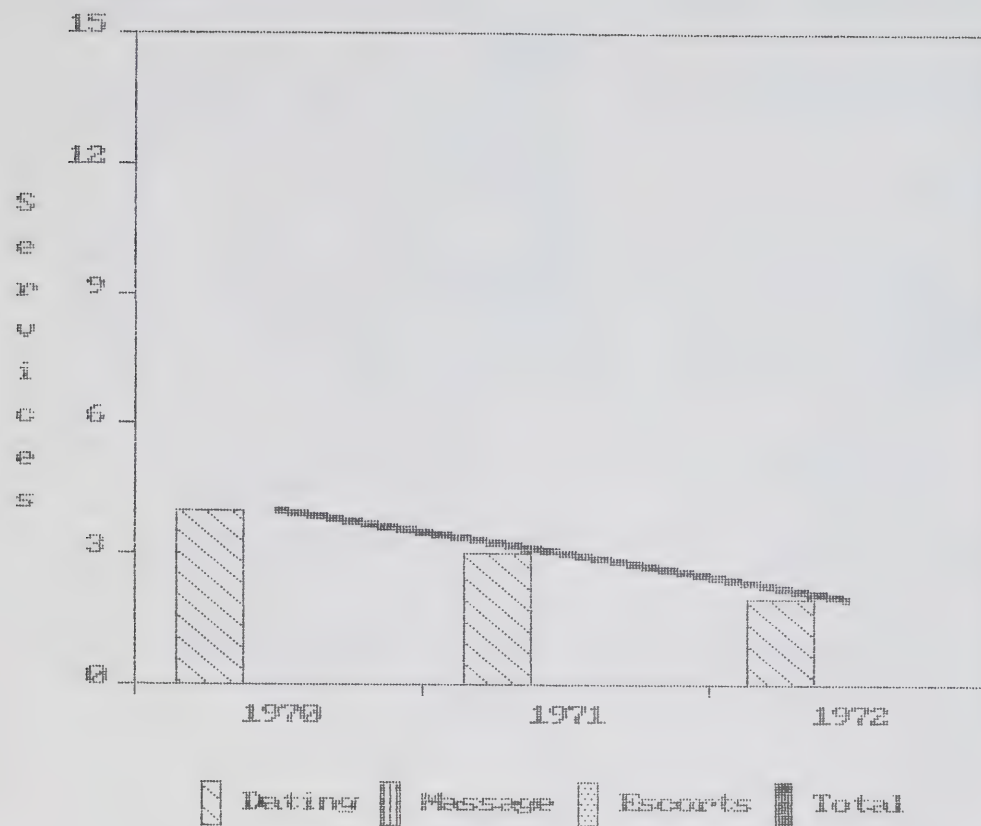


Figure 3. The PROVINCE: Average Number of Escort, Message and Dating Services Advertised on the First Friday of each Month, 1970 - 1972 and 1978 - 1984.

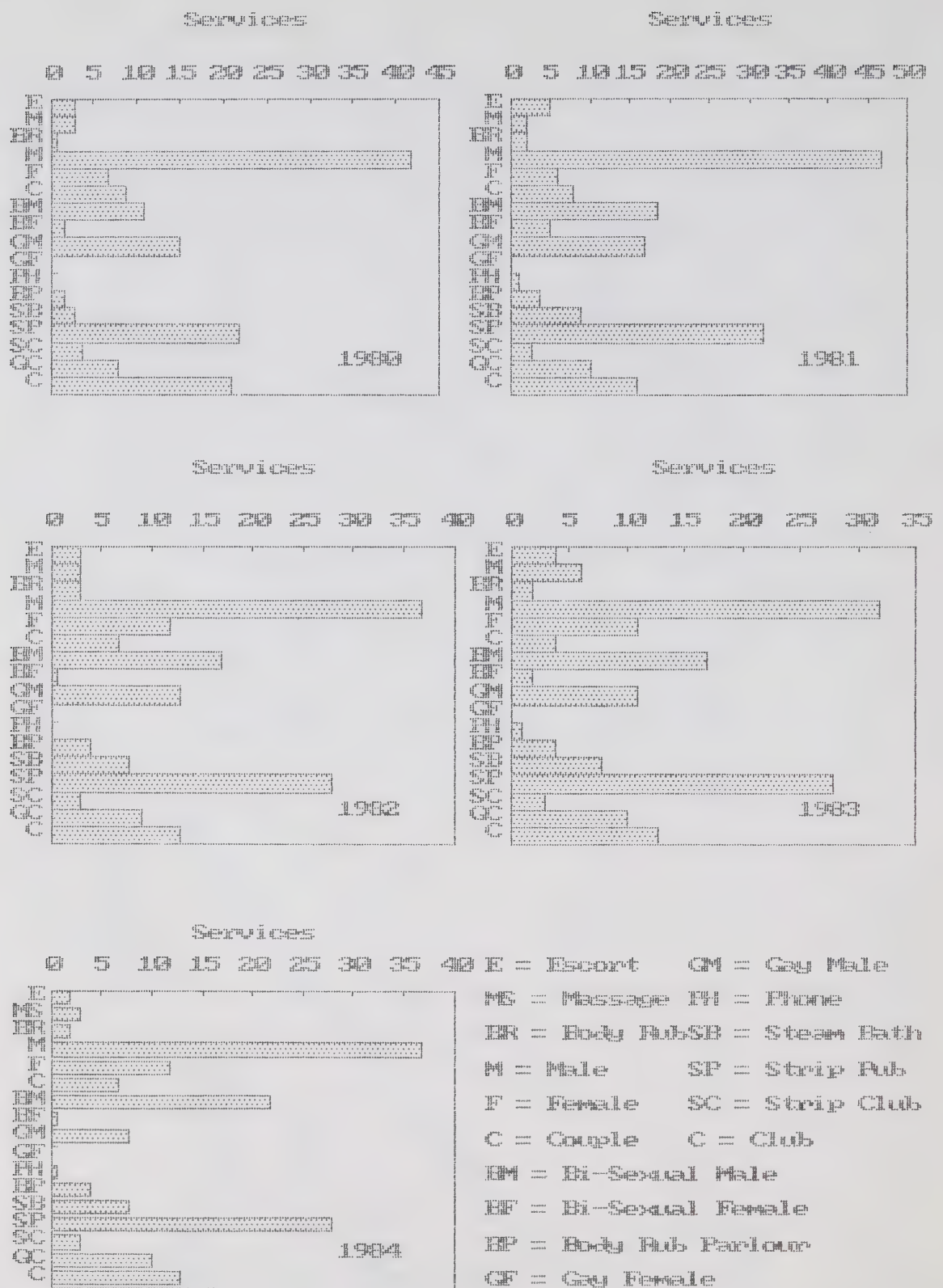
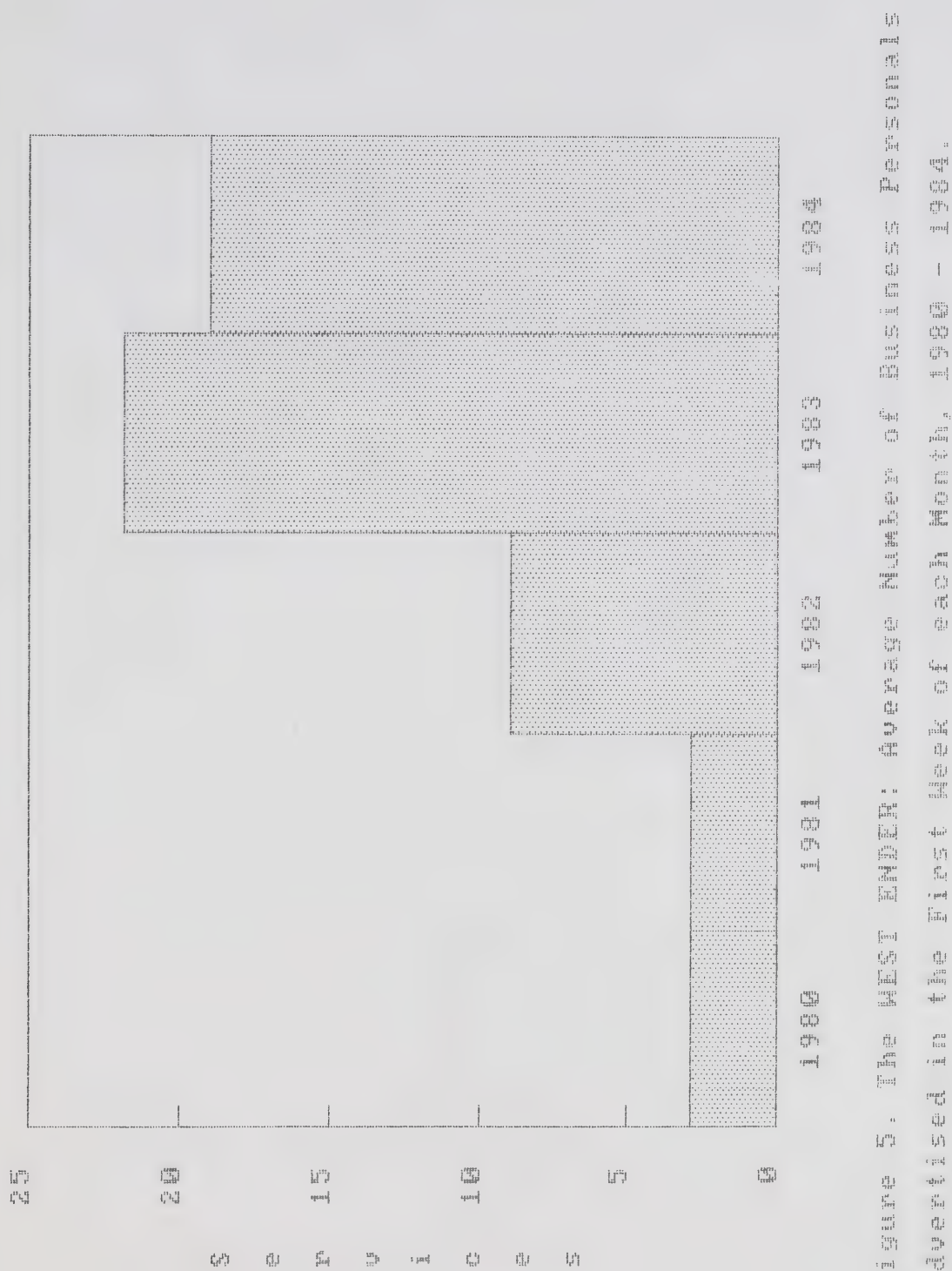


Figure 4. The VANCOUVER STAR: Average Number of Services Advertised in Subset of Newspapers.







CHAPTER X  
PROSTITUTION AS A BUSINESS

## CHAPTER X PROSTITUTION AS A BUSINESS

HOWARD GREENSTEIN

### Overview

"Business: Commercial activity engaged in as means of livelihood; a trade, profession, line, or occupation; a particular field of endeavor; a role or function extended over a considerable period of time; a task, assignment or chore extended over a limited period of time; something felt to be one's own affair, personal concern, responsibility or duty. <Econ.> activities of a person, partnership or corporation involved in commerce, manufacturing, or performing a service; transactions of those engaged in purchase or sale of commodities for a profit..."

Webster's Dictionary

The act of prostitution is a business transaction. Sexual services are provided by the "seller" to the "buyer" in return for money. The issue of prostitution is typically examined with a host of perspectives largely concerned with "morality", social values, and the interests of a variety of groups. Ultimately, the issue of prostitution, associated social problems, implications for social values and attempts at "solutions" become the province of the political arena.

In this chapter, however, an attempt is made at separating to some degree the contentious and often emotional "moral", social and political arguments from an analysis of prostitution as a business. As will be readily seen, this task is fraught with difficulty, insofar as social and "moral" issues become the non-quantifiable stumbling blocks to arriving at a "rational" analysis of problems and solutions.

The analysis begins with a view of prostitution from the perspective of economic theory concerned with markets and the relationships between business, government and society. The results of an intensive literature search on the "economics of prostitution" are discussed, with reference to relevant studies in other jurisdictions. The business of prostitution is then examined with reference to empirical, quantitative data collected in the present study from police, prostitutes and social service agencies, relevant official statistics and related data from previous studies.

Finally, the policy implications of this analysis of prostitution as a business are discussed, at which point the dilemma for policy-makers becomes highlighted - the economic implications of the legalization, decriminalization and criminalization options can not easily be divorced from moral, social and political issues. But, the analysis of prostitution as a business does appear to offer some additional considerations for policy development which do not seem to have been thoroughly examined to date.

## LITERATURE SEARCH

In approaching the problem of examining prostitution as a business, an intensive literature search was performed with the assistance of computerized access to numerous data bases through the Simon Fraser University Library. These data bases include all major economics and social science journals, magazines and newspapers. Surprisingly, although there have been numerous published articles dealing specifically with various aspects of prostitution, the search failed to locate even one published journal article dealing with the economics of prostitution. A few unpublished articles which may have been relevant could not be obtained. The computer search was followed up by a detailed hand search of recent indexes to published articles in a number of fields, with the same result. The one study located through the search which deals directly with the economics of prostitution is an unpublished study conducted in San Francisco in 1978 (Lynch and Neckes). The results of this study are reviewed below. The fact that the economics of prostitution has received so little formal study is significant in light of the vast amount of published literature on the subject of prostitution.

## THE BUSINESS OF PROSTITUTION - AN ECONOMIC PERSPECTIVE

In a "free market", demand for a product or service is met by a supply of that product or service. A transaction occurs when the supplier provides the buyer with the demanded product/service in exchange for money. In an ideal situation of "perfect competition", an efficient allocation of goods and services is achieved, as with optimal allocation of social costs and social benefits.

Real markets do not live up to the economic ideal of "perfect competition". Douglas Greer, in "Business, Government and Society" (1983), notes a number of problems with "private free enterprise markets", such as "market imperfections" (eg. monopoly power, information inadequacies), "market failures" (eg. externalities) and "ethical criteria other than efficiency". The categories of market "imperfections" and "failures" assume acceptance of "efficiency" as the chief ethical criterion to be concerned about. The category "Ethical Criteria other than Efficiency" is especially interesting, in that it recognizes circumstances where free-market results may not conform to society's notions of "morality" or "fairness" or "equity". In Greer's terms: "...the free market may be super-efficient in providing liquor, sex, gambling and marijuana, but such efficiency would be (and has been) rejected by moral outrage."

In developing an economic model to deal with markets systematically, Greer has allowed for a "rejection" of markets which may well be "efficient" in economic terms by the criterion of "moral outrage". This "moral outrage" criterion seems somewhat incongruous in the context of a model grounded in economic theory, and an argument could be made to the effect that this aspect is in fact a "cop-out" with respect to the economic system of examining markets. Alternatively, it could be viewed as an attempt to consider, in a more sophisticated fashion, criteria other than "efficiency". In any case, it is of note that in this theoretical economic approach to markets, "efficiency" with respect to markets for "sex" is presumed to have been rejected by "moral outrage". Whether past or future legislators accept the rejection of economic "efficiency" by reason of "moral outrage" is an open question. Clearly, it has been explicitly recognized that efficiency has not been the criterion to date with respect to the market for sexual services. Social change over time might well alter the criteria with which legislators approach the issue of the market for sexual services. However, as Greer notes, alluding to attempts to rationalize policies of discouragement of pornography establishments on economic grounds: "But this is stretching economics a bit too far



and needlessly so. Economics cannot explain everything." (1983, p.35)

As discussed above, some economists view society's response to certain markets (through government policy intervention) as being exempt from the predominant economic ethical criterion of "efficiency". In contrast, there exist other schools of economic thought which extend the economic model to such activities as prostitution. The Fraser Institute, a Vancouver "think-tank" which is funded by major corporations, has had an impact on the policies of the Provincial government in British Columbia. Walter Block, the senior economist of the Fraser Institute presents such an argument in "Defending the Undefendable." (1984). In discussing the role of various groups in society, including prostitutes and drug addicts, he states that "they are guilty of no wrong-doing", "they actually benefit society" and "if we prohibit their activities we do so at our own loss."

He argues that laws against prostitution "are harmful to women in that they prevent them from earning an honest living." In this economic view, the pimp performs the function of "brokering" (a view which does not receive much support from the prostitutes interviewed in the present study). These views are not cited here in support of this particular argument (or any argument of the Fraser Institute), but rather to highlight an apparent contradiction. The views of Fraser Institute economists are typically regarded as radically "right-wing" politically. With respect to the decriminalization of prostitution, then, a right-wing view agrees with the view of feminist groups who argue for decriminalization. (Typically, radical feminist groups are regarded on the left of the political spectrum). Both of these views, although arrived at through quite different perspectives, are in accord with Canadian law to the extent that the act of prostitution per se is quite legal. Although Greer is probably correct when he asserts that government policy with respect to prostitution has essentially been exempt from analysis on economic grounds of efficiency, the question arises as to whether the social costs imposed by a government policy based on supposed "moral" grounds do not outweigh the presumed social benefits of the existing system.

In simple terms, the present analysis examines the business of prostitution with reference to social costs and benefits in terms of positive and negative externalities. This examination is intended to be illustrative rather than exhaustive, in an attempt to enable the observer to appraise prostitution and the market for sexual services from a broader perspective. "Externalities" refer to social

costs and benefits to third parties as a result of a free and voluntary exchange between two parties. Pollution is the classic example of a "negative externality" involving "external costs" which are not borne by the polluters. Planting a hedge in one's front yard benefits the neighbours as well as oneself. When benefits extend beyond the buyer, as in this instance, a "positive externality" or external benefit accrues to third parties.

#### "NEGATIVE EXTERNALITIES"

In examining the business of prostitution, a number of "negative externalities" are apparent. For example, in Vancouver's West End, there has been vocal opposition to street prostitution and related activities on a number of grounds.

"Noise pollution", caused presumably by customers, prostitutes and in particular the associated "window-shopping" activities, is frequently cited as an irritant. This noise pollution is clearly a negative externality - third parties are negatively affected by consequences external to the actual transaction between prostitute and customer. (It should be noted that complaints regarding "noise pollution" from transactions between "call girls" or "escorts" and their clients seldom, if ever, reach public attention. The negative externality in this case appears to be confined to the street prostitution business in a residential district).

Aside from noise, the issue of "harassment" of third parties on the street (particularly in the aforementioned residential district) has been mentioned by vocal resident groups. Examined from this perspective it may be easily seen that this alleged "harassment" is an example of the marketplace in action. That is, "sellers" (prostitutes) can not distinguish between potential "buyers" ("tricks") and "ordinary" residents. Therefore, residents (presumably non-consumers of the service) may feel "harassed" when the seller (prostitute) offers their services. Similarly, potential customers ("tricks") can not always distinguish between women or men who are in the business of selling sexual services for money ("prostitutes") and those residents who do not engage in such business transactions. Therefore, residents (particularly single women) may well feel "harassed" when approached by strangers and offered money for intimate sexual relations. In both types of case, a market imperfection is apparent. The buyers and sellers, who create the supply and demand for sexual services, are operating in a marketplace where buyers, sellers and non-participants are often indistinguishable. There is an

information inadequacy. It is an inefficient market distribution system. One may speculate on whether or not a resident would be offended if an offer to sell fresh fish were made while walking down a commercial street which contained street food vendors. In all probability, the resident would not be offended (at least if the fish vendor were not overly "pressing and persistent"), since it would be known that fish vendors sell fish in that street and all pedestrians would be potential fish consumers. However, were that same fish vendor to walk up and down other residential streets offering fresh fish to all who passed, it is likely that residents would be offended.

Thus, although the sellers (prostitutes) and buyers ("tricks") are unlikely to be affected by such workings of their market, (either "advertising", "bargaining", or the transaction itself), non-involved third parties are negatively affected by the inefficient operation of this marketplace. Indeed, opinions have been voiced that it was not the act of prostitution "per se" which was being opposed, but rather the location of the transactions in the residential neighbourhood of the West End (an "out-of-sight, out-of-mind" or "anywhere-but-here" attitude appears to typify third-party opinion).

In addition to noise pollution and the pre-transaction activities affecting third-party residents (because of an inefficient and inappropriately located marketplace), there have been complaints by West End residents that the actual transactions (i.e. the performance of sexual acts) have been occurring in local parking lots, alleys, etc. That such acts are audible and visible to offended third-parties clearly indicates a negative externality of the prostitute-client transaction. The inappropriate location of the market is again highlighted.

It may be the case that certain businesses (eg. some hotels) may experience a reduction of trade due to the presence of prostitutes. The present study has collected no direct evidence of such effects, although it is known that certain hotel representatives have voiced such concerns. Others, however, have argued that the prostitution trade is a boon to the hotel business.

Another negative externality has emerged from the prostitution marketplace in Vancouver's West End which has been presented as a particular concern of parents. The clear visibility of street prostitutes near public schools has provided a potential role model to children which is unpalatable to parents and presumably to society in general. The unmeasurable potential impact upon children of a high-visibility street prostitution trade in a



residential district may be viewed as part of a larger negative externality. That is, there existed vocal opposition to the perceived negative impact of street prostitution upon the "social fabric" of the residential neighborhood. Presumably, this supposed deterioration of the social fabric entails social costs to a substantial population (i.e. - those West End residents who perceive such deterioration), for the social benefit of a relative few (eg. - street prostitutes and their customers).

These negative externalities are difficult, if not impossible, to quantify in economic terms for purposes of an economic model. (An attempt was made locally to quantify such effects by examining land value/rental changes in the West End. However, since the presentation was prepared by a particular interest group and the methodology and results were subsequently subjected to public controversy and rejected, it will not be discussed in this analysis).

What does seem clear in terms of negative externalities, particularly regarding residential street prostitution, is that externalities do exist which negatively affect third parties. It seems clear that such negative externalities are particularly apparent in the residential street prostitution situation, and seem largely due to the inappropriate location of the marketplace. That is, the negative externalities noted above would not be apparent if:

(a) potential buyers and sellers were readily distinguishable from non-participants;

(b) bargaining, transactions and "sight-seeing" were not located in a residential neighborhood.

#### "POSITIVE EXTERNALITIES"

Since media and public attention are typically focused upon the sensational or problematic aspects of the prostitution trade, little thought appears to be directed to existing social benefits. Aside from the benefits accruing to "buyers" and "sellers", there are some positive externalities which appear to benefit some third parties to the prostitute-client relationships.

The impression gained from interviews with West End hookers is that a number of West End businesses have received a significant portion of their business from prostitutes (and presumably their potential and actual clientele). Some restaurants, drug stores and hotels in the area certainly have received business as a direct result of



the prostitution trade. The impression gained from hookers is that such business has been substantial in some cases. The current study does not provide direct evidence in this regard. It is known from the study that the street prostitute incurs substantial expenses in the course of conducting business, including a variety of supplies purchased at drug stores and clothing stores, meals and drinks in restaurants and hotels during working hours, hotel rooms rented for the business transaction, and "trick pads" (apartment or hotel rooms rented on a regular basis to be used for business, aside from the principal residence), taxis, pagers and legal fees. The business which accrues to third parties as a result of such prostitution activity is a positive externality to the prostitute-client relationship.

A cynical observer might suggest that the large amount of newspaper copy generated by the West End prostitution industry has been a very positive benefit to the newspaper trade in Vancouver and therefore indirectly to all business advertisers in Vancouver newspapers. Further, review of Vancouver newspapers in the present study has revealed a large number of advertisements in the "personals" section of a number of Vancouver newspapers which appear to be thinly-disguised offers for commercial sexual services. Often, these advertisements have appeared in the same issue that contains scathing critiques of the prostitution trade in the West End. Presumably, the sensational copy helps to sell papers and the advertising revenue is also welcome. In both cases, the newspaper trade benefits, - a positive externality of the prostitute-client transaction. (A review of the Vancouver Sun, the paper with the largest circulation, reveals an average 5 articles per month from 1976 through 1983, with recent coverage of prostitution exceeding one article per day).

As noted earlier, street prostitutes often rent hotel or apartment rooms as "trick pads". Clearly certain landowners are benefiting from this aspect of the prostitution trade. Similarly, escort services which may be associated with the prostitution business, "call girls", massage parlours and bawdy house operations all presumably rent or buy premises from landowners, who benefit as a result of the income accruing to them. Some presumably also pay related taxes. In New York City, a study was performed by Gail Sheehy (1983), which involved tracing down the owners of immensely valuable properties in downtown N.Y. (Times Square and the East Side) which housed prostitution hotels, body-rub parlours, and a variety of sex-related businesses. Not only did this investigation uncover owners (through a series of "shell" corporations) who were linked to organized crime, but also several "respectable" lawyers

and businessmen, some of whom were involved in Mayor's committees, enforcement-related activities, and even relatives of the President of the U.S.A., all of whom benefited significantly from the prostitution trade. The present study does not attempt to quantify or to trace such third-party beneficiaries to the prostitution trade in Vancouver. However, it should be clear that there are third parties who do benefit.

Whether the tourist trade in general receives a net benefit or a net cost as a result of the Vancouver prostitution trade is unclear. It is also unclear at this point, whether the relative social benefits (positive externalities) accruing to third parties are greater or less than the relative social costs (negative externalities) mentioned above. It should be evident to the objective observer, however, that there are significant considerations on both sides of this question. In economic terms, it is not at all certain that the negative externalities (or "problems" associated with the trade) outweigh the positive externalities, as a naive observer might deduce from media coverage of the issue. Were environmental conditions altered somewhat, it might be argued that the social benefits accruing to third parties outweigh the relative social costs (in economic terms). It must be noted that the impact of prostitution on "social values", "morality" or "social fabric" are exceedingly difficult to quantify in economic terms.

#### "TRANSACTION COSTS"

In examining the social costs and benefits associated with prostitution the concept of "transaction costs" is useful. J. H. Dales, in his 1975 presidential address to the Canadian Economics Association discusses economics as a study of behaviour based upon exclusive and transferable rights. He notes:

"No system of social control is costless, and each system of rights carries with it typical "transaction costs", both pecuniary and non-pecuniary." (Dales, 1975)

Dales suggests two different, though related, components of transaction costs; (1) the "time and trouble" costs borne directly by individuals in using a rights system and (2) the "system" costs of creating and enforcing it.

With regard to "system" costs, Dales argues:

"Since rights are created and enforced by governments, system costs are borne indirectly by individuals in their capacities as citizens (where non-monetary costs are involved) and taxpayers (where monetary costs are involved)."

(1975)

In terms of prostitution, there are transaction costs which can be readily identified for the prostitute under the current system in Canada. Further, in the terms noted above, there are certain 'system' costs which may be viewed as social costs. Although the 'rights' system is fundamentally different under legalization, decriminalization or criminalization policy, all of these may be viewed as "rights" systems which involve different 'system' costs or social costs. The most apparent social costs, the costs of law enforcement and social services, will be discussed below with reference to a detailed cost study in another jurisdiction. What is important for the present discussion is the relative social costs under the different policy conditions.

For the prostitute, the "time and trouble" costs associated with conducting business transactions are numerous. Financial expenses are discussed below in attempting to estimate "average" income and expenses for the sample of Vancouver prostitutes we interviewed. The non-monetary costs for the prostitute are especially noteworthy. As discussed in Chapter VI there are numerous hazards, especially for street prostitutes, involving various crimes against persons (including rape, assault, robbery) and numerous medical hazards. The effects of criminalizing the prostitute herself/himself must be considered as social costs under the present system (ie. - entry into criminal subculture, reduction of alternate employment opportunities, etc.). A perusal of transcripts of prostitute interviews reveals in a dramatic way the severe costs borne by individual prostitutes in carrying on their business. It may well be the case that prostitutes in situations other than the street hooker (eg. - call girl or escort) may incur less severe non-monetary costs associated with the business. The present study offers no data in this regard.

The effects of prostitution on the individual prostitute's self-image may also be considered a cost. Although some prostitute's interviewed argued that prostitution had improved their self-image, most expressed the negative impact on their self image as a result of impact of both the job itself and other people's attitudes towards them. It is not clear whether a change in government policy on prostitution would improve the

prostitute's lot in this regard, although the other non-monetary costs (both medical and violence-related) are amenable to varying degrees of social control.



## SOCIAL COSTS AND BENEFITS: PROSTITUTION AND THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

In examining social costs and benefits, the enforcement of prostitution-related laws is the most readily identifiable, quantifiable social cost which comes to mind. Presumably, the social costs borne by individuals as citizens and taxpayers result in a social benefit as a result of enforcement of such laws.

In the present study, an initial formulation of the problem suggested that collecting specific data concerning actual police and court costs might be the logical place to start in examining "social costs". However, it became clear as the problem formulation was refined, that the absolute value of related police and court costs provided no practically useful information whatsoever. It is the relative cost of enforcement which is of interest in developing prostitution policy. The social cost must be examined relative to presumed social benefit and this cost-benefit relationship must be viewed in relative terms across the three conditions of decriminalization, criminalization and legalization. The fact that estimates of court and police costs related to prostitution would be time-consuming and very difficult to obtain was considered and weighed against the potential benefit of such estimates to the present analysis. The decision was made not to expend scarce resources of time and manpower on collecting data for estimating B.C. police and court costs. The wisdom of this decision was confirmed by the experience of the San Francisco study on prostitution.

In 1978, the Unitarian Universalist Service Committee in San Francisco produced a report, "The Cost-Effectiveness of Enforcing Prostitution Laws", authored by T. Lynch and M. Neckes. The study was federally funded by the U.S. Comprehensive Employment and Training Act. It is especially relevant to the present examination for two reasons:

(1) It is one of the very few reports produced on the economics of prostitution.

and (2) The study did proceed to estimate law enforcement costs, the absolute value of which are essentially irrelevant to the conclusions of the study.

The San Francisco study examined both financial and social costs associated with enforcement of prostitution laws and reviewed legislation in California and elsewhere. The authors concluded that the existing means of attempting to control prostitution (including criminalization of prostitution per se) were "...too expensive, both socially

and financially." Their long range recommendations include "decriminalization of prostitution and simultaneous strengthening of the community ties and supportive services for persons involved in prostitution." Their conclusions do not differ much from those of William Acton commenting on prostitution in Britain one hundred years before.

In reviewing the California situation, Lynch and Neckes noted that a 1969 San Francisco Committee on Crime, appointed by the Mayor, had recommended decriminalization of private solicitation, based largely on the argument that "...the costs of prostitution law enforcement are great and the benefits are virtually nil." That Committee concluded that any system of control of prostitution should attempt to:

1. prevent street solicitation
2. eliminate the pimp
3. prevent minors from entering prostitution
4. prevent any use of force or violence, or the sale of dangerous drugs in connection with prostitution." (p.6)

The study noted that after this Committee's recommendations, in 1976, a liberal administration in San Francisco had a platform of low priority on "victimless crimes", including prostitution. The number of visible street prostitutes and pimps subsequently increased, public pressure increased, and the number of arrests were increased. The study recommended that "when prostitution is decriminalized, it should be nationwide, rather than in one part of the country." Subsequently, in 1976, bills were introduced in the California legislature which would have decriminalized most prostitution activity. The bills did not pass. The study also noted that the California State Bar Association Conference passed a resolution introduced by the San Francisco Bar Association, to the effect that "...no person would suffer a criminal or civil penalty for engaging in solicitation or other acts of prostitution and that local governments are authorized to establish time, place and manner of regulations concerning prostitution." The resolution was passed again in 1977 and presented to the Board of Governors of the State Bar in 1978, who voted to support legislation which reflects the points of the resolution. (The present study has no information on California legislative action after that point.)

The method of the San Francisco study was similar in some respects to the present research. In examining social costs to individuals involved in prostitution, interviews were conducted with street prostitutes, on the basis that street prostitutes accounted for 85% to 90% of the prostitution arrests in San Francisco. The study gathered a

considerable amount of financial data related to arresting, releasing on own recognizance, pre-trial diversion, prosecuting, defending, court time, jail, probation, and parole for prostitution charges. (Arrests for related charges such as "obstructing the sidewalk" and "loitering" were not computed.) Detailed cost estimates were prepared for all relevant criminal justice agencies including the San Francisco Police Department, San Francisco Bail Project, District Attorney's Office, Public Defender's Office, Municipal Court, Pre-Trial Diversion, Probation Department, Sheriff's Department, Jails and County Parole. A number of high, low and average cost estimates were generated. Clearly, a good deal of effort was required for this exercise. Without belabouring the details of the cost calculations, the total 1977 expenditures to process persons charged with prostitution (per se) through San Francisco's criminal justice system was about \$2 million. (Average cost per case was estimated from \$2000 to \$3500.) Further, an estimate of \$36 million in lost tax revenue was developed, if prostitution were decriminalized and income were taxed. (The estimate of average annual income was \$36,000 U.S. before expenses and before the pimps' share.) The results of the estimation of costs of each individual criminal justice agency is not of great interest for the Canadian situation. But the conclusion of the study, after examining the relationship between criminal justice process, costs and the people involved in prostitution, was that decriminalization was recommended. At that point, the actual value of the costs ceased to have meaning. For each criminal justice agency, the identified costs would either disappear or be greatly reduced under the decriminalization option. The resources could then be used for other more serious offenses. The decriminalization option was seen to greatly reduce financial 'system' costs, which could be extrapolated to other jurisdictions. The absolute value of the dollar saving would vary according to the actual cost figures of criminal justice process in each jurisdiction. (Given the difference in size between San Francisco and Vancouver, one might assume that Vancouver costs are somewhat less, although this has not yet been demonstrated.) The implications of the financial cost study for the present examination are:

(1) Criminal justice system costs associated with criminalization of prostitution were shown to be significant, with no apparent social benefit in that prostitution continued to increase.

(2) Decriminalization would result in substantially reduced costs to the criminal justice system.

(3) Detailed cost estimates of each component of the



criminal justice process are unnecessary for reaching the two conclusions above.

As a consequence of (3) we have not attempted to construct detailed estimates of the cost of prostitution law enforcement.

Although generation of detailed cost estimates for B.C. criminal justice processing of persons involved in prostitution was not undertaken, a few figures are worth noting in this regard.

A number of Police Task Forces on Prostitution have been implemented in Vancouver. In 1980, a Task Force involved 1,000 detective hours and 552 patrol officer hours at an estimated cost of \$23,000 for man hours alone. The 1980 Task Force was aimed strictly at juveniles. The object was to identify 12 juveniles under age 16 involved in prostitution and to determine how many could be charged for other offences such as gross indecency, buggery, etc. Of the 12 juveniles identified, 6 were charged with the result that they were restricted from the West End. Thus the resulting six charges and restrictions had an average cost in excess of \$4,000 each. (Court costs, vehicles, etc. not being calculated.) The social benefits of restricting six youths from the West End is arguably not worth the social cost expended, especially in light of the fact that prostitution-related activities could readily occur elsewhere. It is quite likely that the six youths simply moved to other areas in order to work (as was the case with several of our respondents who moved from the West End to the Broadway area as a result of probation and bail orders)

Another Task Force was implemented in September, 1977 at an estimated cost of \$72,000. This produced 240 street soliciting charges. Of these, 140 prostitutes were arrested in one ten week period - 51 of these were "repeaters" (i.e. were charged more than once during the ten week period). In terms of results, 100 charges were dropped as a result of the Hutt decision in February, 1978. The relatively small number of charges brought to court and the high number of repeaters during the task force period, suggests that the effectiveness of the task force in terms of social benefit (i.e. - reduction of prostitution) was questionable relative to the costs.

In 1979, a Task Force involved detectives, traffic patrol, "batmobiles" (breathalyser vans) and motorcycles, at an estimated cost of \$170,000. It was designed as a type



of "saturation" policing style, involving intensive enforcement of traffic laws and criminal laws in an attempt to deter the prostitution trade in the West End. It has been suggested that this effort had considerable effect, but mainly on the residents of the area, not on the target groups of prostitutes and their customers.

Experience with the Vancouver by-law is also instructive. Commencing in April, 1982, the following table summarizes the volume of charges laid:

Apr. 27, 1982-----	27 summonses issued (to 25 males and 2 females).
Apr. 29, 1982-----	93 summonses (48 women, 45 men).
May 4, 1982-----	110 summonses to date (2 convictions to date).
May 5, 1982-----	119 summonses
May 17, 1982-----	17 by-law convictions to date.
May 18, 1982-----	181 summonses issued to date.
May 22, 1982-----	204 summonses, 21 convictions (all guilty pleas).
Sep. 29, 1982-----	\$28,000 collected from by-law fines, 100 of 458 charges to date ended in guilty pleas, 80 fines paid to date.
Jan. 26, 1983-----	312 by-law charges outstanding.
Feb 3, 1983-----	300 by-law charges to be withdrawn because of the Westendorp decision (Calgary by-law appeal).

In light of the above figures, a Dec. 10, 1982 Vancouver Sun article is particularly interesting. (It should be noted that the presumed intent of the by-law was to reduce street prostitution in the West End.) The author, G. Bohm, reviewed by-law records and found that some individuals had been repeatedly charged under the by-law, but had never actually appeared in court. That is, the by-law charges did not appear to have a deterrent effect. (Presumably, the fines were viewed as a cost of doing business.) Given the intent to reduce West End street prostitution, the following example highlights the potential discrepancies between legislative intent and enforcement activity. One woman was charged 5 times but never appeared in court on these charges.

April 20th (Union)  
 May 11th (Gore)  
 May 19th (Gore)  
 June 14th (Gore)  
 Sept, 23rd (Gore)

These charges all occurred within two blocks. The location is not in the West End.

As the above Vancouver examples illustrate, the social costs of intensive law enforcement activity have not necessarily met with the intended social benefits (i.e. - reduction of street prostitution). In fact the need to pay fines make prostitutes work more hours that they would otherwise! The cited examples are intended to be illustrative and do not necessarily provide a comprehensive picture of prostitution-related law enforcement costs and benefits in Vancouver. It is clear however, that such costs vary both with the existing legal structure and with enforcement policy which changes from time to time. It is also clear that street prostitution has not been eliminated to date by means of criminal law enforcement. The social impact of the criminal justice process upon persons involved in prostitution must also be considered in examining social costs and benefits.

#### SOCIAL COSTS AND BENEFITS: SOCIAL SERVICES

The findings of the social service survey in the present study will not be reviewed here. It is important to note that the social service respondents generally agreed that more services for prostitutes and juveniles are required, and most suggested that this would be the case under any legal scenario. The economic cost of providing such social services in the short term would presumably generate long term benefits to juveniles and adults involved in prostitution. Few would argue that such services should not be provided, especially to juveniles. (It should be noted, however, that recent B.C. provincial government cutbacks have in fact reduced services related to child abuse, family support, juveniles involved in prostitution, income assistance and related services.)

Services for juveniles were generally seen to be most needed in relation to prostitution.

## SOCIAL COSTS AND BENEFITS: NON-MONETARY SOCIAL COSTS

The examination of non-monetary social costs in the San Francisco study, based largely upon interview data, produced findings similar to those reported in the present study.

Lynch and Neckes study defined social costs as "...those losses a community or individual suffers as a result of the enforcement of prostitution laws." They concluded that "...the greatest losses to the community include family instability, loss of faith in the criminal justice process, maintenance of high unemployment, dependence on welfare, physical and psychological abuses and stigmatization." The details of each will not be discussed here, but some relevant factors are worth noting.

Of the females Lynch and Neckes interviewed, 37% had children from whom they were regularly separated due to incarceration. The children were either left with relatives or in state custody during the mother's incarceration.

Similarly, the involvement of juveniles in prostitution is either an indicator of or contributes to family instability. The San Francisco study, like the present study, found that most prostitutes had been victims of either incest or rape, typically at an early age. In their sample, 78% of the respondents, both male and female had either been raped, a victim of incest at an early age or a victim of physical abuse as a child. Further, 60% of the females and 33% of the males had been victims of rape or other forms of sexual abuse. Of the females, over half had been raped more than once. Rapes were rarely reported.

Loss of faith in the criminal justice system was cited as a social cost, due largely to the selective enforcement of prostitution laws. The disproportionate numbers of street prostitutes who were arrested relative to call girls, customers and pimps was noted, along with the fact that not one customer served time in jail. (Both parties act illegally under the California legal system.)

In contrast with the sample of respondents in the present study, 80% of the women and 60% of the men in the California study supported a pimp or "old man" (boyfriend). In 1977, although 2938 persons were arrested for prostitution, only 66 were arrested for pimping and very few pimps were convicted. Further, the San Francisco study of juvenile prostitution found that "...virtually all juveniles involved in prostitution are dependent upon a pimp or old-man." The Vancouver investigation did not

reveal such findings with regard to juveniles, but the study of official statistics (Chapter 2) showed that pimps are rarely prosecuted in Canada

The San Francisco study found that 67% of interviewed prostitutes were "substance abusers." The present Vancouver study suggests a high level of alcohol and drug use in the sample interviewed. However, such use was not identified as "abuse" by most prostitutes and several police respondents. The relatively lower levels of heroin use and lack of perception of "abuse" are likely responsible for this difference. This also stands in contrast to Layton's earlier Vancouver study (1974) which found high levels of heroin addiction among prostitutes.

One of the "greatest losses to the individual", according to the San Francisco study, was stigmatization. As the authors concluded "...when a person becomes, through repeated contact with the criminal justice process, a prostitute rather than a person who engages in prostitution, it becomes almost impossible for her/him to assume a socially positive definition of herself/himself. He or she becomes stigmatized or isolated from the larger community."

In summarizing such social costs to the individual and the community, Lynch and Neckes concluded that the then-current method of enforcing prostitution law (criminalization) was at fault. In the authors' words:

"We conclude that the social and monetary costs of attempting to enforce prostitution laws in San Francisco outweigh the benefits. In 1977, the monetary costs had reached approximately \$2 million and the number of arrests for prostitution has risen to 2938. Many of these people have been arrested repeatedly. These multiple arrests reflect the social costs inflicted by the criminal justice process and larger society.

We conclude that prostitution, when it involves persons over 18 years of age, should be decriminalized and that pimping should remain a criminal offense. Decriminalization means that prostitution would no longer be a criminal offense.

We are against legalization because this would mean unnecessary government intervention and costs to regulate." (Lynch and Neckes, 1978)



The conclusions of the San Francisco study have been cited here for a number of reasons. First, it is noteworthy that the conclusions do not depend at all upon knowledge of the absolute value of criminal justice system costs, although many costs were computed in the study. Secondly, the non-monetary social costs are seen to be as important, or more important, in analyzing prostitution. Third, the social costs cited in Lynch and Neckes' study are, for the most part, quite similar to the social costs which emerged from interviews with police, prostitutes and social service agents in Vancouver. Finally, although historically a variety of interest groups, committees and politicians have advocated either harsher criminal laws, decriminalization or legalization, recent attention in Canadian media has focussed upon the failure of criminal law related to prostitution and demands from vocal interest groups for more stringent criminal law. The San Francisco study provides a different perspective, based upon empirical research and the position taken by groups such as Bar Associations, the San Francisco Crime Committee and the American Civil Liberties Union. At this point in Canadian policy development, it seems advisable to consider seriously the social costs and benefits associated with each available policy alternative, and to consider the reported ineffectiveness of laws designed to control prostitution elsewhere in the world.

The non-monetary social costs revealed in the present study have been reviewed in earlier discussion of negative externalities, the prostitute and police interviews and the social service questionnaires. Criminal law enforcement appears to have little positive impact upon such social costs and indeed imposes significant economic social cost in its own right. The social benefits of criminal law enforcement with respect to prostitution would appear to be found in the maintenance of the appearance of "law and order" for the benefit of the general public, the maintenance of a "moral" stance which may or may not be in accord with modern Canadian social values, and the prevention or apprehension of more serious criminal activity which may be associated with prostitution.

The effects of the introduction of the recent provincial Supreme Court injunction against prostitution in downtown Vancouver cannot be assessed at this early stage. However, some social costs and benefits can already be identified. For those residents of the West End who were disturbed by street prostitution, the "problem" of prostitution has been "solved". It is not occurring in their neighbourhood. This is a social benefit for those

West End residents. But in other areas to which the prostitutes have moved, residents and hoteliers have requested an extension of the injunction. Civil libertarians and other groups have expressed outrage at the manner in which individuals were labelled "public nuisances" and restricted from the greater portion of downtown Vancouver. Police powers under this situation have been described as excessive and the civil liberties of other groups are seen to be in jeopardy by virtue of the "public nuisance" device. For the prostitutes, none of the social costs associated with their situation have been ameliorated. Many fear violence in competition for new territories. A loss of income is also feared. Clearly, the intent of the injunction places a higher value upon presumed social benefits to residents than potential social costs to prostitutes and others affected by moves to new locations. This was a policy decision at the provincial government level. The social costs and benefits in the foregoing discussion have yet to be adequately addressed by Canadian national social policy. The projected impact of policy alternatives upon social costs and benefits will be discussed after a closer examination of prostitution as a business enterprise.

# PROSTITUTION AS A BUSINESS ENTERPRISE: ESTIMATION OF "TYPICAL" REVENUES AND EXPENSES

Public opinion regarding the profitability of prostitution as a business enterprise ranges from images of the glamorous "high-class call-girl", presumably steeped in luxury, to a caricature of the poverty-stricken street hooker, "selling herself" to make ends meet or to meet the demands of pimps or drug habits. Despite the variety of such images regarding prostitutes portrayed in various media, little empirical evidence has emerged regarding the financial situation of working women involved in prostitution.

The media has presented a widely varying range of estimates of revenues of prostitutes. (Although the word "income" is often used in this regard, income is actually revenue minus expenses, and expenses are seldom considered in such estimates.) In a July 7/82 article in the Vancouver Sun, describing the economics of prostitution, one police sergeant estimated that prostitutes have a "lower middle class income." In the same article, a Revenue Canada spokesperson reported that there had been little luck in obtaining tax from prostitutes apart from one celebrated case in Halifax where a 74 year old woman was fined \$18,000 for tax evasion. She had operated a call-girl business since World War II. The spokesperson stated that the problems were such that even if prostitutes do make money, there is rarely anything to collect - they have no assets. Bookmakers and drug traffickers make "better targets" in this regard. The police Staff Sergeant also stated that he did not see any prostitutes with lots of property.

In a similar vein, newspaper coverage of the Wendy King case reported that her celebrated telephone book had 800 names and police had 378 wiretap transcripts, about 300 of which related to prostitution. King pleaded guilty to keeping a common bawdy house and received a \$1500 fine, 200 hours community work and nine months probation. Many of the calls reportedly did not result in a sex act and it was estimated that King only earned \$4,000 during the four month period of the investigation.

In contrast to such statements suggesting low incomes from prostitution, a July 8, 1976 Vancouver Sun article cited a Vice Squad officer's estimate of a 19 year old prostitute earning \$70,000 per annum. A Nov. 2, 1977 Vancouver Sun article reported the Forbes report (1977) estimates that more than 700 hookers (including 61 male juveniles) worked in downtown Vancouver and the West End for an estimated \$30 million per year (averaging about \$43,000 each). These higher estimates may or may not take

into account expenses and may or may not include the involvement of pimps who might receive shares of the revenues. The estimation procedures used are unknown (a November 19, 1980 Vancouver Sun article reported that a pimp who was jailed and fined was reported to have received \$70,000 to \$90,000 from three women in 8 months). It is worth noting that very little empirical evidence has been presented to support these various estimates.

This paucity of empirical data is understandable when one considers the illicit nature of the prostitution business (even though the act of prostitution per se is legal). Accurate data are quite difficult to obtain. The present study approaches this problem by developing estimates of revenue and expenses based upon a number of items in the prostitute interviews. Most respondents had difficulty estimating their annual revenue and expenses due to the nature of the lifestyle, the person's focus on the present, their lack of records and lack of attention to the issue. Further, it was decided that direct questions regarding income estimation would be perceived as possibly threatening or inappropriate and might jeopardize the interview situation. Therefore, the issue was approached by asking a number of questions related to prices charged for services, number of days worked per week, number of customers on a "good" day vs. a "bad day" and various questions relating to specific expenses incurred. A number of revenue and expenses estimates were then developed in an attempt to establish a range of high, low and average annual estimates for this sample of prostitutes. It should be noted that the present sample is comprised primarily of street prostitutes working in Vancouver's West End during the interview period, although some respondents had worked in a number of locations, and call-girl or escort services had been provided by a small number of respondents. Interview data indicate that prices for services do vary predictably across geographic territories (i.e. - West End prices would generally be lower than Georgia and Hornby prices, higher than Chinatown or E. Hastings, and so on). Further, interviews indicated that call-girl or escort prices may be generally higher than those charged by street hookers.

Since the sample studied was generally comprised of persons who primarily engage in the street prostitution business and since the street prostitution business appears to be the major focus of media and public concern in Vancouver, development of a picture of street prostitution as a business enterprise was viewed as the most appropriate approach to take. The generalizability of these estimates may be limited due to the limited sample and relatively crude estimation procedures. Thus caution must be exercised



in attempting to generalize these findings to other groups of street prostitutes in Vancouver or elsewhere, or to persons engaging in prostitution by other means (eg. - call-girls, escorts). In the case of the street prostitutes that we talked to the estimates do provide a coherent, and perhaps surprising, picture.

#### ESTIMATION PROCEDURES - REVENUE

Due to the fact that respondents were not directly asked to estimate their income, a number of estimation procedures were used.

##### Method 1 (Revenue):

Item 24 asked respondents to report prices charged for services. Item 39a asked for an estimate of number of tricks on a "good day", while item 39b estimated number of tricks on a "bad day". Item 39c asked "How many days a week do you work?"

(a) The first estimation method involved analyzing the service price data to obtain an "average service price" for each respondent. Other interview data were used to weight the service price average where possible. For example, if a respondent answered "60/80/100", this indicates prices of \$60 for oral sex (often negotiable according to location performed), \$80 for intercourse and \$100 for "half-and-half". Thus \$80 would be the "average service price" if no other data were presented. If however, these prices were qualified by a statement that oral sex was the most requested service by far, the service price average would be lowered. In some cases, only one service price was reported.

(b) A "High" Estimate of weekly revenue was developed for each respondent by the formula:

High Weekly Estimate = number of tricks on "good day"  
x number of days/week worked.

This High Weekly Estimate represents a considerable overestimate of weekly revenue, because a "good day" was considered to have an exceptionally high number of transactions by most respondents. The interviews clearly indicated that such "good days" were relatively rare occurrences. Thus, the High estimate which involves optimal business on each day worked must be considered a device which is part of the overall estimation process used here and not an estimate of actual revenues for individuals.

(c) Similarly, a Low Weekly Estimate was developed for each respondent by the formula:

Low Weekly Estimate = number of tricks on a "bad day"  
x number of days/week worked.

This Low Weekly Estimate is an underestimate, in that most respondents stated that zero (0) tricks in a day constituted a "bad day". The Low Weekly Estimates, then, are mostly zeros. Obviously, someone who did no business on each day worked could not be considered to be in business. Thus, the low weekly estimate should also be viewed as a device in the overall estimation process rather than an estimate of actual revenues for individuals.

(d) An "Average Annual Estimate" was obtained by calculating the average High Weekly Estimate and the average Low Weekly Estimate, extrapolating to High Annual and Low Annual Estimates and then computing the Average Annual Estimate = (High Annual + Low Annual) divided by 2.

This Annual Average Estimate of Revenue is an overestimate of average annual revenue, since it assumes an equal weighting of "good" to "bad" days. The interviews gave the impression that "good" days were a relatively rare occurrence and "bad" days were more frequent. Unfortunately, the interview questions did not ask for an estimate of the ratio between "good" to "bad" days. Thus, although the average annual estimate of revenue obtained by Method 1 is an overestimate, a precise correction factor was not readily available.

Method 2 (Revenue): - A number of weightings of "good days" to "bad days" were used to produce a range of estimates below the overestimate produced by Method 1. The weightings used were:

- (a) 1 "good day" to 4 "bad days"
- (b) 1 "good day" to 3 "bad days"
- (c) 1 "good day" to 2 "bad days"

Since estimates based upon "good days" are artificially high and estimates based upon "bad days" are artificially low, and a true average day is unknown it cannot be determined which of these weighting schemes most closely approximates actual revenues. Our main interviewer believes that the ration 1:3 is the most representative.

Method 3 (Revenue): - Since Method 1 produced an overestimate, the data were examined again to obtain another estimate by a different method. It was noted that a number of respondents had been coded as working 7 days per

week. Upon examination of interview transcripts, it appeared that some respondents interpreted the questions in terms of "which" days of the week were worked. That is, the response indicated that they would work on any given day of the week, but not necessarily seven working days per week throughout the year. Therefore, an "average number of days worked" was computed by averaging all non-seven responses to the item. The average number of days worked obtained by this method was 3 days/week. This may be an underestimate of the average days/week worked, since some respondents may actually work seven days each week. The average number of days worked was applied to each case as in Method 1 to compute an Average Annual Estimate.

Method 4 (Revenue): - In order to obtain a single index of the various estimates, an "estimate average" was computed from the above estimates. This figure simply gives a measure of the central tendency of the estimates.

#### REVENUE ESTIMATES

The average annual estimates of revenue obtained by the methods above are:

Method 1 Revenue (overestimate, unweighted average of high and low):

(per annum) \$46,547

Method 2 Revenue (weighted averages):

(a) 1 "good" to 4 "bad"	\$24,535
(b) 1 "good" to 3 "bad"	\$28,773
(c) 1 "good" to 2 "bad"	\$38,835

Method 3 Revenue (3 days/wk. worked avge): \$31,102

Method 4 Revenue (Average of Estimates): \$33,358

#### ESTIMATION PROCEDURES - EXPENSES

Respondents were asked questions related to which types of expenses they incurred while working. For a subset of respondents (15), actual dollar estimates were obtained for expenses. In other cases, respondents were unwilling or unable to estimate expenses, while in some cases dollar estimates were not requested. In some cases, dollar estimates were only provided for one or two key expenses.

Two methods were used to estimate expenses:

Method 1 (Expenses): - (a) Dollar estimates for each expense for each case were converted to monthly amounts.

(b) On the assumption that respondents largely only estimated some expenses which were significant to them or easy to estimate and did not estimate other existing expenses, "monthly expense averages" were computed for each expense category. These "expense averages" were computed by simply averaging those figures which were reported under each expense. (non-responses were not differentiated from zeroes in the response categories).

(c) An "Annual Expense Average" was computed for each expense and these were totalled to produce an Average Total Annual Estimate.

This Average Total Annual Estimate of expenses is an overestimate of expenses, since non-responses to certain expense items by some respondents must be considered as "zero" or negligible costs. Thus, although some respondents appeared to only estimate for a subset of expenses, it is not mathematically defensible to ignore all non-positive amounts for expenses.

Method 2 (Expenses): - Although it appeared that some cases were incomplete in estimating each expense category, a more rigorous calculation of averages for each expense would count all non-responses as zero for each expense category. Thus, although this method will provide an underestimate if some respondents did not give estimates for each category, the total annual expense average estimate should be a more accurate conservative estimate of expenses than that obtained by Method 1.

EXPENSE ESTIMATES: TOTAL ANNUAL EXPENSES (Average)\*

Method 1 - (Expenses Averaged by Category for Positive Responses Only; Overestimate) : \$48,537

Method 2 - (Expenses Averaged including all zero responses; Conservative) : \$24,419

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\*NOTE: Expenses quoted for apartment rental were not included in the calculations, since it is not the principal work place of most respondents and therefore is not considered a business expense. Since some do use the apartment for business purposes to some degree, a portion of rent might properly be considered an expense.



## ESTIMATION PROCEDURES - INCOME

Income is revenue minus expenses.

## Method 1 (Income):

Method 1 Revenue	\$46,547
minus Method 1 Expenses	-48,537
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Net Loss	(-1,990)

- This method involves an overestimate of expenses and an overestimate of revenues. The expense estimate would only be accurate if all prostitutes spent the average amount for each expense reported by respondents who do spend money in these categories. This is unlikely since some prostitutes will spend "zero" in some categories.

- Since use of the Method 1 overestimate of expenses results in a net loss, it will not in all cases be applied subsequently to estimates.

## Method 2 (Income):

Method 1 Revenue	\$46,547
minus Method 2 Expenses	-24,419
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Net Annual Income	\$22,128

This estimate uses an overestimate of Revenue and a conservative estimate of expenses which is probably more accurate than the prior overestimate of expenses. Therefore, the annual income estimate of \$22,128 should be an overestimate of average net income.

## Method 3 (Income): (Using weighted average Revenue estimates)

1 "good " day to 4 "bad" weighting)

Method 2(a) Revenue	\$24,535
Minus Method 2 Expenses	-24,419
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Net Annual Income	\$116

(1 "good" day to 3 "bad" weighting)

Method 2(b) Revenue	\$28,773
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Minus Method 2	Expenses	-24,419
	-----	-----
Net Annual Income		\$4,354

(1 "good" day to 2 "bad" weighting)

Method 2(c)	Revenue	\$35,835
Minus Method 2	Expenses	-24,419
	-----	-----
Net Annual Income		\$11,416

(Note that the weighting of "good" days to "bad" days significantly affects net annual income estimates)

Method 4 (Income): (using 3 days/week average worked for revenue estimate)

Method 3	Revenue	\$31,102
Minus Method 2	Expenses	-24,419
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Net Annual Income		\$6,683

Method 5 (Income): (using average of revenue estimates)

Method 4	Revenue	\$33,358
Minus Method 2	Expenses	-24,419
	-----	-----
Net Annual Income		\$8,939

#### DISCUSSION OF ESTIMATES

##### EXPENSES:

(1) The use of Method 1 Expenses estimates (using average of all separated expenses in each category) results in Net Annual Income estimate of a NET LOSS in all income estimates. This strongly suggests that for those prostitutes who do not spend the "average" of positive reported amounts in each and every expense category, net annual income is nil. The data suggest that not all prostitutes incur the same expense patterns. However, it is suggested that there probably does exist a subgroup who are in this situation. This conclusion is supported by interview data concerning the chronic dependence on Welfare for rent payments by some prostitutes. It should clearly be noted that this expense estimate used is an "overestimate"

of the average expenses of the sample. Some respondents reported significant expenses in some categories where the majority of respondents did not report expenses (recall that zeroes and failures to answer were not distinguished). For example, in the "tips" expense category, few estimates were reported, but the average of those who reported estimates was about \$10,000. per year. When all non-responses were averaged in as zeroes in Method 2 Expenses, average annual "tips" were \$4,272. per year. In other expense categories, the expense estimates were more stable across methods since most estimate sample respondents reported positive estimates. For example, for "Alcohol/drugs", \$10,584. per year was the Method 1 Expense estimate while \$7,476. per year was the Method 2 estimate.

Although the Method 1 Expense estimate is an overestimate of the true average expenses of the entire sample, it does strongly suggest a subgroup who are spending more than they earn through prostitution.

(2) "Alcohol/drugs" expenses, as discussed above, constitute a major expense category, having the highest annual average using both estimation methods. Note that although there might be a strong argument that alcohol and drug use constitutes personal and not business expense, there is a counter-argument as well. That is, many prostitutes spend a considerable sum on alcohol while working, in hotels and restaurants. One could argue that this does not differ in essential nature from drinks consumed during "business lunches" by executives. Whether such expenses would be considered valid business deductions by Revenue Canada is not significant at this point. The fact is that many prostitutes interviewed clearly stated that they used alcohol and drugs regularly in an attempt to "handle" their work situation. It is a cost related to their work. Note that in this sample, heroin was not a significant factor, in contrast to police and research reports on the Vancouver prostitute population in earlier years (Layton, 1974). The stereotype of the prostitute-addict does not apply to the current sample.

(3) Similarly "Clothes/cosmetics" is a major expense category for this group. A strong argument could be made that for prostitutes in particular, these expenses are incurred for the purpose of earning further income from their business (certainly, the expenses of entertainers on costumes, etc. are business expenses).

(4) The general impression gained from the interviews and supported by these expense estimates is that it is expensive to live and work "on the street". Use of the conservative estimate of Method 2 demonstrates that average

expenses for street prostitutes are considerable - \$24,419 per year. This is especially significant in light of the lack of reported expense estimates suggesting that "revenue" may be reported in the media as "income".

#### INCOME:

(5) All net annual income estimates, derived from current data from prostitute interviews, are more consistent with previous reports of relatively low annual income for prostitutes than with higher estimates reported by some observers.

(6) The highest estimate of net annual income (Method 2) is \$22,128., which must be considered an overestimate by the estimation procedures (overestimate of revenues minus underestimate of expenses).

(7) The use of weighted averages for "good" versus "bad" days, to compensate for the overestimate, results in net annual income estimates of \$116. per year, \$4,354. per year and \$11,416. per year. The average of these weighted estimates is \$5,295. per year. Interview data suggests that "good" days are more rare than "bad" days, which are apparently common. Thus, none of these weightings are unreasonable. The most conservative estimate results in a maximum of \$11,416 average net annual income.

(8) The use of 3 days per week worked on average, as another method of compensating for the overestimate of revenue, resulted in a net annual income of \$6,683.. This falls between the range of two of the weighted average estimates discussed in (7) above and is consistent with the average of the weighted estimates.

(9) Use of the average of revenue estimates results in a net income estimate of \$8,939.

#### INCOME ESTIMATION SUMMARY:

In summary, using several estimation procedures to estimate average net annual income, a range was established from various NET LOSSES to a maximum of about \$22,000. Net Annual Income. The \$22,000 maximum was an overestimate of income according to the estimation procedures used. Methods used to compensate for the overestimate suggested an Average Net Annual Income in the \$5,000. to \$10,000. range. These estimates are more consistent with earlier reports of relatively low prostitute incomes rather than with some media reports of higher incomes. The lack of



estimated prostitute expenses in such reports suggests the possibility that "revenues" may sometimes be regarded as "incomes". Our estimates of income are consistent with the impressions we gained from the interview experience which indicated that many street prostitutes depend upon welfare, they may have difficulty making rent payments and that economic need appears to be a major factor in the entry into and continuation of prostitution. The income levels estimated suggest that the accumulation of wealth would be extremely difficult for many of our subjects, thus making exit from prostitution, in the face of high levels of unemployment and lack of job skills, highly problematic.

#### PROSTITUTION AS A BUSINESS ENTERPRISE: SUMMARY OF INCOME ESTIMATION STUDY

Based upon research involving working persons engaged mainly in the street prostitution business in Vancouver, prostitution as a business enterprise appears as a high-risk venture with considerable expenses and little opportunity for accumulation of assets or wealth. The personal risks and costs to the individual appear to be quite high relative to the "profits" obtained. Although there may be significant cash flow in the business, numerous expenses and the general lack of attention to operating "as a business" result in lack of assets and inability to accumulate wealth. A "living for the moment" mentality permeated the various attitudes of many of our subjects. Significant portions of revenue are spent on alcohol and drugs, food on the job, clothes and cosmetics, accomodation for business ("trick pads") and cabs, in the course of procuring business revenue. Although the validity of certain items as tax-deductible expenses might be argued, it is clear that such expenses are in relation to the prostitution business for the sample studied.

The picture of income and expenses gained from the sample may have limited generalizability for persons engaging in prostitution in other circumstances (call-girls, escorts, etc.), prostitutes working in other locations (former Georgia and Hornby trade) or prostitutes working for pimps. Interview data indicate that prostitutes working for pimps often charge higher prices (eg. Georgia and Hornby, hotel trade) and are often pressured into working long hours, up to 7 days a week or until minimum revenue figures are reached. This suggests that higher revenues are possible from prostitution as a business under different conditions of "business management", but that such conditions (eg. pimp control) may be onerous for the working person (prostitute or procured juvenile). We met

few independent prostitutes who appeared to have accumulated significant amounts of capital or assets (although we did meet some).

#### PROSTITUTION AS A BUSINESS ENTERPRISE: "REVENUES" VERSUS "INCOME" ISSUES

The foregoing analysis of income estimates raises a significant issue which arises under all three policy options of criminalization, decriminalization and legalization. That is, if the individual prostitute is viewed as an independent business entrepreneur (with varying status under the law), then what degree of validity does the identification of business expenses assume? As discussed, it may well be that some reported estimates of prostitutes' "income" in the media are actually "revenue" estimates which do not consider significant operating expenses. On the other hand, the street prostitute in particular does not appear to have many "visible" operating costs in that store premises are not visible, advertising consists of standing on the sidewalk (for the most part), accountants are seldom hired, and so on. Further, some identified expenses could be argued to be personal, rather than for business purposes.

Since the estimation of expenses in relation to the prostitution business was not found to be reported in the English language literature searched, some corroboration was sought for the estimation results.

#### PRECEDENT IN CANADIAN TAX LAW:

In the course of researching secondary data sources to locate corroborating evidence for the impression of revenues and expenses gained from the data in the present study, a Canadian case in tax law was found which provides significant information for policy development (Dominion Tax Cases, 5338-5348, 1964. Minister of National Revenue v. Olga Diana Eldvidge, Exchequer Court of Canada, Nov. 27, 1964). A brief review of significant aspects of the case is presented and implications for the present study are addressed

The case concerns the operation of a "call girl" organization in Vancouver. In 1960, the operator and her staff (two telephone operators and seven call girls) were convicted on charges of "conspiring to live from the avails of prostitution". Records seized by the police during the criminal investigation were obtained by the Department of National Revenue and used as the basis for "arbitrary

assessments" of the operator ("taxpayer"), for the years 1959 and 1960. The Department computed the taxpayer's gross revenue to be \$78,000 per annum, allowed certain expenses and assessed tax on a taxable income of about \$22,000 for 1959 with a similar assessment made for 1960. The taxpayer agreed with the gross revenue figure, but contended that she was entitled to deduct numerous additional expenses in each year totalling over \$20,000 including:

- rentals for various premises
- legal fees
- commissions re: bail bonds
- "protection" fees paid to law enforcement officers
- cost of liquor supplied to civic administration officials
- cost of buying the entire issue of a newspaper containing a detrimental article
- telephone inspection to detect "tapping"
- amounts paid to various casual employees

In 1962, the Appeal Board ruled that nearly half of these claimed expenses were deductible from the taxpayer's income. The Minister appealed to the Exchequer court. The appeal was allowed.

It was held that the taxpayer was entitled to deduct a further \$3,270 from 1959 assessed income and \$8,070 from 1960. It was "abundantly clear from the decided cases" that the profits of illegal business are subject to tax. Further the onus was on the taxpayer to prove:

(a) that expenses were for the purpose of earning income from her business

(b) "...to prove, by acceptable evidence, that the amounts had actually been disbursed."

The onus described above was found to be met "...only in respect of less than half of the rental expenses, all the legal fees, practically all of the bail bond commissions and certain small amounts paid to casual employees" (clearly, it would be difficult to prove cash transactions such as bribes, "gifts" to officials, de-bugging of phones, etc.).

Initially, the operator of the business had voluntarily submitted tax returns earlier for 1954-57, on a "net worth" basis, since no accounts were kept by her due to the nature of her business. These tax returns, on a "net worth" basis, were accepted by the tax department at that time. (Later, the failure to keep records proved vital to the case.)



As it turned out, most expenses cited by the operator would be allowable deductions, if proved. As stated in the judgement:

"All such items, with the possible exception of ... are of such a nature that, if proved to be disbursed, would be proper deductions."

It is quite instructive to note that all of the following expenses would have been allowable deductions if proven.

- rental expenses, telephone inspections, "protection" fees, liquor payment fees, legal fees, "assistance" to call-girls ("...an arrangement with certain men possessed of physical strength and some guile, which they exercised when sent to extricate a girl from difficulty, for which services these men were paid."), commissions re: bail bonds, payments to casual employees.

The written records of expenses are crucial in the determination of valid deductions for tax purposes. On the other hand, such records may act as incriminating evidence in criminal investigations. Thus, the business operator in this business was placed in a difficult situation regarding keeping adequate business records. The judge was not sympathetic in this regard.

In the judgement of the court, the onus of proof (i.e. - the retention of written records) is not changed by virtue of the fact that a business may be illicit or illegal. A portion of the concluding remarks of the judgement are noteworthy in this regard:

"On the other hand, the respondent did maintain records from which an accurate tax return could have been prepared by her or on her behalf. Her suppression of those records and her destruction of some for the obvious reason that their seizure by the police would result in her criminal prosecution, as eventually happened, was a choice she made voluntarily and dictated by her choice of the means of earning her livelihood. She has no one to blame but herself." (p. 5348)

#### SOME IMPLICATIONS OF THE TAX CASE

This case suggests some extremely significant considerations in developing policy and legislation with respect to prostitution, when considered in the context of



the findings of the present study.

(1) This case suggests that, at least in the nineteen-fifties and early sixties, for an apparently active "call-girl" business, it would not be unreasonable for expenses ("proper business deductions" in the eyes of the Department of National Revenue) to be almost equal to or even in excess of revenues. That is, taxable income on revenues of about \$80,000 per year for this operation was judged to be relatively small, even with many claimed expenses disallowed for lack of proof. If all claimed expenses in this particular case could have been proven to the court's satisfaction, taxable income would have been \$4,391 in 1959 and nil (a loss) in 1960.

(2) This suggests that the estimates of income and expenses in the present study, (although admittedly rough estimates), may well present a fairly accurate picture of the current street prostitution business in Vancouver. That is, taking into account a great deal of variability in the "business expenses" of individual prostitutes, it is not unreasonable to assume that, after expenses (whether judged by Revenue Canada to be "proper business deductions" or not), the "typical" Vancouver street prostitute as represented in this study is left with very little or nothing in the way of personal income. Although this suggestion may produce disbelief or even resentment in the naive casual observer, it is nonetheless corroborated by a number of findings in the present study and elsewhere. (Note that the present findings are self-reported findings for which the present study has no "objective" evidence. However since no direct questions were asked regarding total annual income or expenses, there is no reason to suspect systematic bias in responses. Errors are due to crude estimation procedures).

(3) Corroboration of the above suggestion is provided by:

(a) The statements of several Vancouver prostitutes that they must receive welfare to pay their rent.

(b) The observations of many prostitutes interviewed that many (other) street prostitutes work especially long, hard hours to pay their rent when the rent comes due.

(c) The practice of some prostitutes interviewed who earn the money for daily rent at a hotel or apartment/hotel, since they are unable to save enough money for the "first-and-last" months' rent deposit for an apartment.

(d) The admission of many interviewed prostitutes that they do not have (several never have had) a bank savings account and do not have any savings. Some expressed fears that having a savings account would jeopardize their eligibility for welfare payments, which they routinely required to meet their monthly rent payments. (i.e. After expenses, many do not have enough cash to pay rent.)

(e) Several interviewed prostitutes stated that they would typically only work enough time per week to meet their actual living expenses for that week. That is, they would not continue working past that point where savings could be accumulated.

(f) Some "independent" street prostitutes who state that they now work 2-3 days/week, formerly worked for pimps (often those persons who recruited them into prostitution). The pimps typically made "their girls" work 7 days/week, according to interviewees. Typically the pimp receives all the revenues from the prostitutes' work, doling out expense money in very small amounts. (This finding was corroborated in the New York City investigation by Sheehy, 1973). The suggestion here is that many street prostitutes work enough to cover their living expenses particularly when independent, although when under a pimp's domination larger gross revenues are possible.

(g) Note that despite some annual revenue estimates which may seem large to many Canadians, expenses are often very high. When the nature of the work is considered with all the potential associated hazards, the abuse which so often is part of the history of the prostitute, and the necessity of frequenting bars, restaurants, hotels, clothing stores, drug stores, taxis, etc. - the high expenses and inability of many "working women" to manage their affairs as a successful entrepreneurial business are not at all surprising.

(h) Interviews from "the street" suggest that although a high annual income is certainly possible for a street prostitute, typically high expenses and basically an inability to conduct affairs as a successfully-managed business, prevent most street prostitutes from saving money and building an estate capable of removing them from the trade. In the present study, those very few street prostitutes who had demonstrated "good business sense" and had acquired some possessions, property or savings were referred to as exceptions, to be respected for those abilities.

(i) Data in the present study pertaining to "call-girl" operations, escort services, pimp operations

and bawdy-houses or brothels are very scarce in this regard, although the general impression gained from interviews is that the "working girl" is even worse off financially in many of these situations. The prostitute is very often the victim, the target of those persons willing and able to exploit them for maximum profit. For this reason, the overwhelming majority of respondents in the present study, whether prostitutes, police or social service agents agree that any legislative action should include strong provisions for dealing with pimping or procuring, especially in the case of juveniles. These considerations are not new, having been discussed in Lord Acton's recommendations for English law (1854), Sheehy's (1973) New York investigation, and many published reports dealing with decriminalization, legalization or criminalization. Such considerations are, however, especially important in considering that the group of street prostitutes in the present study (mostly independent from pimps), appear to be earning relatively small annual amounts after expenses even without the obvious exploitation of pimps or other "managers". The tendency of this group to be abused and/or exploited, many since their early years of childhood, should certainly be considered in any attempt to modernize legislation pertaining to prostitution as a business.

## THE BUSINESS OF PROSTITUTION: IMPACT OF POLICY ALTERNATIVES

The analysis and discussion in the foregoing chapter have examined the business of prostitution with particular reference to social costs and social benefits in economic terms.

As discussed, the monetary social costs incurred through the criminal justice process may outweigh social benefits received under recent Canadian prostitution laws. Although reference had been made to non-monetary social costs and benefits, issues involving "morality", social values or "social fabric" are exceedingly difficult to quantify. Closer examination of prostitution as a business enterprise has suggested that for street prostitutes the enterprise involves a high level of personal risk, often high transaction costs, relatively low income levels after expenses are considered and little opportunity for accumulation of wealth for exit from the business.

The general direction of the potential impact of policy alternatives upon the economic social costs and benefits associated with the business of prostitution are briefly noted here. A further exploration of the impacts of such policy options is presented in the concluding chapter.

### CRIMINALIZATION:

The review of Task Force data, official statistics in Vancouver and the study of monetary costs to the criminal justice system in San Francisco suggests that the criminal justice process results in significant monetary and non-monetary social costs. Given that prostitution continues to occur or even increases, the social benefit of the criminal justice process appears to be questionable relative to social costs. The impact of this process on "social values" "morality" and social fabric, however, is extremely difficult to address in these terms. Social costs to prostitutes are significant under this option.

### DECRIMINALIZATION:

Recent experience in Vancouver has been referred to as "de facto" decriminalization. Our interviews with police indicate that in fact a considerable degree of enforcement activity still occurs nevertheless, at some social cost. As discussed in the conclusions, the current situation is far from actual decriminalization. If decriminalization occurred, a significant decrease in social costs as



reflected in the criminal justice process would occur. Presumably, if prostitution were treated as a "business", even under decriminalization there would need to be some form of regulation of the trade as there is in any business. Establishment and administration of such business regulation (non-criminal regulation) incurs monetary social costs. Options for increasing monetary social benefits include income taxation and possibly business licensing (the forms of taxation or licensing are not addressed here, as issues are complex and dependent upon the definition of decriminalization used. It is not necessarily a simple, consensually-understood concept). Net monetary social cost may be projected to be less than under criminalization. Most observers agree that criminal law regarding juvenile procurement and pimping should exist, with concomitant economic costs. This alternative begins to address the social costs incurred by prostitutes, in that reduction of some of these costs is possible. Amelioration of negative externalities associated with the prostitution business would need to be addressed via some form of regulation, incurring some system costs in the process. Impact of this option in terms of "morality", "social values" or "social fabric" is again exceedingly difficult to address in terms of this perspective. Such intangibles are more fully discussed in the conclusions.

#### LEGALIZATION:

Direct government control through various specialized licensing systems such as brothels, red light districts, licensing of prostitutes and other more direct government control options involved in the legalization concept involve significant monetary social costs ("system" costs). These may be offset by revenues to government under this policy alternative. Although certain negative externalities can be addressed under this policy, social costs for prostitutes are projected to be significant. The social and moral implications of the legalization policy are significant and are explained in more detail in the concluding chapter. Many prostitutes reject the notion of brothels (in which the state is said to play the role of pimp), and resist the idea of red-light districts for their tendency to "ghettoize" the prostitution trade. This "ghettoization" itself may enhance the likelihood of the convergence of prostitution with other, criminal, subcultures.



CHAPTER XI  
CONCLUSIONS

## CHAPTER XI CONCLUSIONS

"The extreme youth of the junior portion of the 'street walkers' is a remarkable feature of London prostitution, and has been the subject of much comment by foreign travellers...Certain quarters of the town are positively infested by juvenile offenders whose effrontery is more intolerably disgusting than that of their elder sisters."

- William Acton

"Prostitution: Its Moral, Social and Sanitary Aspects", Frank Cass; London 1854

One hundred and thirty years ago after an extensive study of prostitution in London, William Acton concluded that prostitution should be legalized and controlled, although, as with many of our research subjects over one hundred years later, he felt particularly outraged by the juvenile trade. Nearly all of the people that we talked to believed that the criminal law should be applied to persons procuring juveniles for sexual purposes. But when it comes to adult prostitution most of our subjects, like Acton, believed that the criminal law should not be used to either control or eliminate it. Other forms of control or regulation have been suggested as both more effective and more egalitarian. A tabular review of our respondents' opinions is included below:

	CRIMINALIZE	LEGALIZE	DECRIMINALIZE
Police	10	10	0
Social Services	10	17	18
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Prostitutes	0	18	27
	----	----	----
Total	20	35	45

Certainly our groups of social services and police respondents cannot be claimed to be representative of the general population. Nor does the sample equally represent these two different groups that we interviewed. But these are a group of people who have either direct contact with or knowledge of prostitutes and prostitution and, as a result, their opinions cannot be easily dismissed. The



majority of them have no faith in the ability of the criminal law to control adult prostitution, and the majority of them questioned the justness of such use of the criminal law.

And yet such results seem peculiar in a country in which prostitution is actually legal - why would 80% of our subjects recommend legalization or decriminalization of prostitution? It is because the legality of prostitution is more a reality on paper than it is in the actual substance of the law. Certainly the Hutt decision has changed the situation to some extent - prostitutes cannot be arrested for street soliciting unless their behaviour is pressing and persistent. Indeed, one of the main recommendations of the people who urge the legislation of stronger criminal laws is the introduction of a statute which prevents prostitutes from meeting customers in public places. And yet, prostitution is effectively illegal, at least to the extent that a concerted police effort is still devoted to street prostitution control. So let us first consider what appears to be the most likely outcome of changing the soliciting law to include all public interactions between prostitutes and customers, without changing the other prostitution statutes. And then let us consider the situation as it stands at present together with the recent history of prostitution law enforcement in Vancouver.

If the soliciting law was changed so that the pre-Hutt interpretation of soliciting once again prevailed, prostitution would effectively be illegal. As far as we can see it would be impossible for the prostitute not to break the criminal law in completing a transaction. One could meet customers in private places, but where would one go to complete the transaction? A prostitute could not rent an apartment as a place of business, or use their own apartment - to do so would be to run a common bawdy house. One could rent a hotel room, but there are several examples in Vancouver over the past 10 years in which hotel proprietors and/or employees have been charged with running common bawdy houses because they rented rooms to prostitutes. De facto, the prostitute commits a criminal offense by being an inmate of a common bawdy house. The commission of a sex act in a car would represent gross indecency or public indecency. A prostitute's spouse could also be charged with living off the avails even if they do not fit the stereotypical definition of a pimp.

The law as it stood prior to the Hutt decision thus contained a contradiction in terms, a hypocrisy wrought to solve the contradictory social attitude towards prostitution which simultaneously supports, fosters and condemns it. On paper, prostitution itself was legal, but

the ancilliary criminal law relating to prostitution actually made it illegal to carry out the trade. This is not to say that this illegality was effectively prosecuted, but until the Hutt decision it meant that the prostitute was always subject to the whims of law enforcement. But the situation since the Hutt decision has only changed to the extent that prostitutes can meet their customers on the street without much fear of prosecution, but prostitution is still itself effectively illegal. Where is the prostitute supposed to conduct business? The fact that these laws are difficult to enforce does not change the actual illegality of the situation. And so it does not help to change the attitude towards prostitution.

What our police interviews indicate is that a considerable amount of energy has been invested in prostitution control even though the police feel that their efforts have been ineffective because of the perceived failure of prostitution law. Prostitutes are nevertheless viewed by police (in their role as policemen) as "offenders"; their identities are continually checked, they are photographed, and often a whole series of laws theoretically unrelated to prostitution are used as all-purpose prostitution control devices. The anti-prostitution campaign also appeared to be stepped up during the course of our research after many of the interviews were completed, beginning with the appearance of "Shame the Johns" and culminating in the public nuisance injunctions laid in June. As the Alliance for the Safety of Prostitutes' newsletter, the "Whoreganizer", reported earlier this year:

"The women in the west end have told of repeated harassment. Told of officers following women all over, for days on end so that the women were unable to work... other women have told of getting seven littering tickets in one day. Once while the officer was handing her the ticket she saw a man dropping a candy wrapper onto the pavement, when she asked the officer why he didn't give the man a ticket, she was told because the man was not a whore. We have heard from women who have gotten seatbelt tickets for not wearing the seatbelts when the car was sitting in the alleyway and not moving. Women say they are being given jaywalking tickets.

This is not only occurring in the west end, on West Georgia the Georgia Hotel has taken all the lightbulbs out from in front of the hotel and put up spikes on the ledges in front so the women can't sit on the ledges. They have also hired

security who man handle the women, they physically remove the women from in front of the hotel, they dump pails of soapy water from the upper floors of the hotel soaking the women, they refuse the women the use of the washroom facilities. But the latest is the best, the police have come and told the women that if they stand in front of the hotel they will take the women down to the station and hold them on a mandatory V.D. check. When we told people who worked within the health field, they could not believe it, they had not heard of that tactic being used by the police before...In the East end and the Downtown east side the police use the old dump the purse and stomp it into the ground routine. They also use the old if you don't snitch on your sisters then we won't allow you to work here ploy". (March 1984)

We do not want to create a one-sided impression; the evidence presented in Chapter VI suggests that many prostitutes are helped by the police, although almost all of them did at least complain about certain police officers. Even when the prostitutes did move out of the West End, they were subject to police harassment in the new stroll locations east of Burrard and Granville. During the upheaval of the stroll, our researchers did directly observe incidents which corroborate the kind of account given by the Alliance for the Safety of Prostitutes' newsletter (see Chapter VII).

The logic of the appeal for the reintroduction of harsher criminal laws which would effectively render prostitution itself illegal (no matter what rhetoric is offered to declare that it is legal) also has to be weighed against the recent history of Vancouver prostitution. To begin with, the appeal is based on a questionable account of the alleged increase of street prostitution in Vancouver, especially if the increase is attributed to the impact of the Hutt decision.

Many politicians, journalists and resident groups attribute the visibility of street prostitution to the failure of the law to control it. In this respect, the portrayal of the reasons for the development of street prostitution in the West End by many local politicians, resident group spokespersons and journalists deserves comment. What an examination of different periods of newscoverage of prostitution in Vancouver reveals is two phases in which different catalysts were identified as responsible for the development of the prostitution stroll in the West End. But in neither case is there any



recognition of the fact that street prostitution occurred in the area several years prior to the events frequently cited as the 'precipitators' of the West End stroll - the Penthouse closure (Jan. 1976) and the Hutt decision (Feb. 1978).

Several prostitutes have informed us that street prostitution was occurring in the West End in the early '70's. Indeed a front page headline article in the Vancouver Sun on October 10th, 1972, which continued as a full-page article inside, read "Worried Davie Street Looks for Cure: Sleazy Elements Rooted in Quality Area". This editorial describes what it casts as the growing problem of the takeover of the Davie Street strip by the "sleazier" elements of society, among whom he included a large number of prostitutes working Davie Street and the lanes off the sidestreets. Indeed much of the article is devoted to the visibility of the West End's prostitution trade. A spokesperson for the local Ratepayers' Association was quoted as saying that he had walked two blocks along Davie near Thurlow and had seen about 30 hookers, had been approached by 5, and was worried about the number of pimps in the area. Elsewhere, mention is made of male prostitutes and transvestites working the area. A policeman quoted in the article suggested that the transvestites were the first to use the area as a stroll, a development which served to attract other female prostitutes. Another person attributed the development to the gentrification of Gastown and the displacement of the "sleazier element" from the area, and yet another attributed it to the development of a hotel on Davie Street and other "nocturnal" activities. Whatever the case may be, it does seem that street prostitution was occurring in the West End long before the Penthouse closure or the Hutt decision. In my previous work (Appendix A) I have thus probably overemphasised the importance of the Penthouse closure in the development of the West End stroll.

This is not to say that the Penthouse Cabaret closure did not have an effect on patterns of street prostitution in Vancouver. The development of the Georgia and Hornby stroll appears to have been mainly in response to the cabaret closure (although several police officers have suggested that some prostitutes worked the area prior to 1975, but mostly in the local cabarets, bars and hotels). While street prostitution in the West End can be traced back to 1972 at least, there seems little doubt that the cabaret closure increased the level of street prostitution, perhaps quite dramatically. The Hutt decision can certainly be argued to have entrenched the situation. But other factors relating to the politics of urban development were probably more important in the development of the West End



stroll location.

In any event these findings are important to the extent that many recommendations for criminal law change are themselves based on what appears to be an erroneous analysis of the "cause" of West End street prostitution.

This is particularly problematic in the analysis based on the belief that the Hutt decision produced the West End situation, for the recommendation which flows out of it calls for the reintroduction of a less restricted definition of soliciting. The problem is that when a less restricted definition was in effect, it still did not succeed in controlling street prostitution. Indeed, in 1973 and 1974, prior to the closure of the Penthouse, 1400 soliciting charges were laid. Earlier research has shown that many of these were repeat offenders. During the 1977 police task force on prostitution, a T.V. news reporter examined a sample of 140 prostitutes charged with soliciting - 51 were repeat offenders (Appendix A p. 24). During the period of the Vancouver street prostitution by-law, one local newspaper reporter found that one prostitute had been charged five times for the by-law offense within an area of two blocks in a period of a few months, but had never even appeared in court. Prostitution prosecution has been stereotyped as the "revolving door of justice", a door which often jams because of the sheer number of cases.

Experience has shown that street soliciting charges place a considerable load on the courts. During the nine months that the Vancouver street prostitution by-law was in effect well over 500 charges had been laid, but only 200 had been brought to court. The sheer number of charges, laid against both prostitutes and customers, itself attests to the ineffectiveness of the approach. Indeed the fines levied may make the prostitute work that much harder.

Several of our prostitute and juvenile respondents, when asked where prostitutes would meet customers if such public meetings were criminalized, replied "the street", an answer which confirms the impression given by the official statistics in 1973 and 1974. Without a viable alternative location, street prostitution will persist, it seems, especially since the perception of viable alternatives will not be the same for all prostitutes and sexually procured juveniles. Many of our subjects had few opportunities when they entered the trade (most of them as juveniles), and even fewer once they had done so.

The solution, it seems, is the development of a legal architecture which actually acknowledges the principle that

prostitution is itself legal in Canada. One alternative to avoid the dissatisfaction and confusion that prevails is to fulfill the apparent intention of the Canadian law and delineate a place where prostitutes and customers can meet without jeopardy, and without impinging upon other land uses. The other alternative is to make prostitution itself illegal, a strategy which would also remove the hypocrisy of Canadian law, but one which historically and currently appears to be palpably deficient in controlling prostitution, even when putting the moral and ethical issues aside.

In discussing prostitution law, however, one cannot help but raise certain ethical issues. As our analysis of prostitution as a business clearly illustrates, the criminalization of prostitution does not appear to make any objective sense. Even Walter Block, a representative of the generally right-wing Fraser Institute, has suggested that on purely economic, business and financial reasons alone, the use of the criminal law to control prostitution makes little sense (Highland Echo, 24th March, 1984 p.4). It should be noted, however, that our data do not generally support many of Block's claims about prostitution. Other studies (eg. the Universalist Service Committee, San Francisco, 1978), have shown the use of criminal laws against prostitution to be an extremely costly business, especially given the results of enforcement efforts. In Vancouver, the present study has similarly indicated that since street prostitutes are perceived by the police as "offenders" a great deal of time and money are spent on experiments with different types of law enforcement, and on the general policing of the strolls. Many commentators would undoubtedly question the use of ancilliary laws by Vancouver police to control prostitution, but it should also be acknowledged that these attempts reflect the contradictory nature of prostitution law which provides no clear law enforcement mandate. The economic benefits of legalizing or decriminalizing prostitution, however, are probably not as great as common sense would suggest - the allowable costs of the business, if our calculation of prostitute earnings and costs are correct, would leave most of the prostitutes that we talked to with only a small taxable income. But certainly some taxes would accrue to the government.

On these apparently objective grounds alone, the use of criminal law to control prostitution appears to find little support. This is not to say that street prostitution should be condoned in all types of land use area, but the control of the street trade has been possible in Vancouver (at least it has been for the past three weeks) as a result of the public nuisance injunctions. When the prostitutes were

provided with a viable alternative location to the West End (but one which they do not find nearly as pleasant a work environment), they moved. When the Vancouver by-law was in effect, it was enforced fairly uniformly wherever the prostitutes worked, and yet it appears that they kept on working the streets despite the threat of \$350.00 to \$2,000.00 fines. It is difficult to gauge the affect of the by-laws on customers, but we do know that customers were charged.

If one accepts the reasoning to this point, the problem becomes the alternative location to be provided for the trade (ie. should prostitution be allowed in certain areas, in brothels, in private homes). Here the advocates of decriminalization and legalization tend to part company

In terms of the way we have defined the various legal scenarios, the term legalization refers to the establishment of red-light districts, licensing systems of individuals or brothels, or some combination of these. Generally the reasons for rejecting this option relate to the experience seen in other countries where legalization has resulted in further exploitation of prostitutes (mostly women) in a situation where several commentators have noted that the state effectively assumes the role of "pimp". Intermediary entrepreneurs also reap considerable rewards from the prostitution trade, leaving the women only a small portion of the income they generate. While licensing, depending on the fees levied, might provide similar problems, such systems also serve to intrench a person in the trade; a trade which appears to be difficult enough to leave as it stands at present. A number of objections have also been raised to the concept of red-light districts because they effectively ghettoize prostitutes.

Our police respondents consistently opted for legalization rather than decriminalization. In choosing this option, they gave many of the same reasons as their colleagues advocating criminalization - each solution was seen as a more effective means of control. Opinion was simply divided over what the most effective control methods consisted of. This is not necessarily to say that the police officers choosing legalization wish to perpetuate the exploitation of prostitutes, but they certainly do believe that the trade should be controlled.

Advocates of decriminalization, however, do not actually resist the regulation of prostitution per se, as long as whatever regulation that exists enables prostitutes to control their own business and pay their taxes accordingly, in the same way that any self-employed business person would. The details of the regulation of the



business present some problems because prostitution will always be visible to some extent - for the business to be conducted there must be a location which customers visit. It is difficult to envisage a situation in which society can completely hide the trade. And it is in this respect that one of the main obstacles to legalization or decriminalization is raised. Many commentators have argued that the legalization or decriminalization of prostitution effectively condones the trade and creates unfortunate role models for young Canadians to follow. It is here that we come to the real heart of the problem surrounding prostitution law.

To begin with, the role-model argument is a peculiar one in a society which already condones the actual act of prostitution, although as noted above, it is difficult to see how the act of prostitution can actually occur without the participants (or at least the prostitute) breaking the criminal law. The law thus appears to have been designed to appease civil libertarians and feminist interests by declaring prostitution legal, but then appeases "moral" interests by making the practice of prostitution virtually impossible. The criminal law thus tackles the suppression of prostitution tangentially, guided by a prophylactic rationale designed to control the visible aspects of prostitution and tangentially contain it. The tangential nature of the law, however, appears to have made its enforcement particularly problematic. But the real issue is that if we are worried about prostitutes providing undesirable role models, we must address the factors which foster prostitution rather than attempting to conceal them. If we do not address these factors we are left with the role model regardless of the control measures pursued. As a society, it would thus seem to make sense that we accept this fact, for to avoid it will mean the perpetuation of the business and the role model anyway. That, too, will effectively mean that society accepts the role, although we can rest contented that it will appear that we do not. The object of social action should be the negation of the need for the role.

Our interviews confirm the results of many other studies conducted since the 1850's which purport to show that economic opportunity structures play the most significant role in a person's becoming a prostitute. And like many recent studies, our subjects reported a consistent pattern of sexually abusive and/or violent childhoods. An interview study conducted in San Francisco, for example, indicated that 80% of their subjects had been victims of either incest, sexual abuse or rape prior to their involvement in prostitution (The Unitarian Universalist Service Committee, 1978). This study also



indicated that 65% of the subject group had been juvenile runaways, many of whom had been sent back to abusive family situations by control authorities. Our study indicates similar results - although most of our subjects were interviewed when adults, over 65% of them had "turned out" as juveniles; 90% of them had turned out by the age of 20 and the majority had been subject to physical or sexual abuse as children. It seems clear that economic contingencies play a major role in the etiology of prostitution - for many juveniles living in home situations which they find intolerable, prostitution becomes a viable alternative providing pecuniary benefits and the appearance of autonomy. Most of our subjects indicated that after a short time these appearances become all too illusory as they found themselves entrenched in the business. As testimony to this sentiment, many of our subjects, when asked what advice they would give to a potential prostitute, simply said "don't bother" - but one qualification often followed this statement; "unless you really have to". It is difficult to see what grounds one could subsequently use to justify the treatment of prostitutes as "offenders", simply because they are prostitutes, rather than as victims.

The trend for escort services and outcall massage may also support the argument that economic considerations play a major role in levels of prostitution - the rapid increase in advertisements for these services coincides with the onset of the recent economic recession. We do not, however, have sufficient evidence to rule out other factors in this case.

Whatever the reasons for the increases in advertising of sexual services, it is clear that while prostitution represents one of the viable livelihoods for juveniles who find their home situation intolerable, the social service system in British Columbia appears to be doing increasingly less to provide any intervening opportunities. Almost all of our research subjects (prostitutes, police and social workers alike) agreed that criminal measures should be used against persons who sexually procure juveniles, and many of them thought that far more resources should be made available to create alternative lifestyles for juveniles.

The immediate solutions to these various factors which seem instrumental in the genesis of prostitution are not likely to occur rapidly, and perhaps will not occur at all. We are faced in the meantime with the problem of what to do about adult prostitution, and how to prevent juveniles from feeling the need to enter the trade. Our results suggest that the criminal law cannot play much of an effective role in controlling adult prostitution. To that extent it seems

reasonable to conclude that prostitution should be decriminalized or legalized if Canadian law is to actually honour the idea that prostitution itself is legal. And in this respect, decriminalization appears to be the more egalitarian option to the extent that while this strategy does not deny the possibility of regulating prostitution, it does avoid the likelihood that regulation in the form of legalization will just become another way of exploiting prostitutes, an idea which our West End respondents often vehemently opposed.

The only problem is that the information generally made available to the public about prostitution may make this a politically unfeasible strategy. Should that be deemed the case it is unlikely that the design of the new criminal laws to control prostitution will be particularly effective, especially because the hard repressive line is just as politically untenable.

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# WORKING PAPERS ON PORNOGRAPHY AND PROSTITUTION

## Report # 8

### VOLUME II

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VANCOUVER FIELD STUDY  
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APPENDIX A  
"PROSTITUTION IN VANCOUVER:  
THE GENESIS OF A SOCIAL PROBLEM"





**PROSTITUTION IN VANCOUVER**

The Genesis of a Social Problem

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January 1984

## PROSTITUTION IN VANCOUVER: THE GENESIS OF A SOCIAL PROGRAM.

### A Changing Legal Milieu

On Saturday, March 11, 1978, a headline in a Vancouver newspaper exclaimed, "Hookers out in force with new legal immunity." A few days later another article appeared claiming "Now hookers can smile at detectives they feared."

"Vancouver is right now the most open city for hookers in North America...'Sheila' is a 21 year old red-head. Tall, attractive, neat, she dresses like a million dollars.

She plies her trade - openly - on the corner of Georgia and Hornby five or six nights a week. And she plans to do it for a long time to come.

As cities go, she says Vancouver is one of the best places on the continent for working girls.

'Vancouver's a playground'...the police vice-squad estimates there are 650 female prostitutes, and 200 male ones in the Greater Vancouver area now. That figure will climb to 1500 in the next few months.

And many of them will be from the rest of Canada and the U.S., drawn here by the city's reputation...

Hookers are going to go where they get the fewest hassles so, of course, they are going to come here. They know they've got no fears of repercussion at all in Vancouver."

(Vancouver Sun, 11th March, 1978)

Two months prior to the publication of this article, a special police task force had some hundred prostitution cases awaiting litigation. At that time, the streets were by no means safe for prostitutes plying their trade, as a concerted effort was made to suppress visible prostitution. The uninformed observer might be tempted to conclude that sometime in the intervening period prostitution must have been legalized in

Vancouver. But in fact prostitution was legal throughout this period. Instead a series of interactions occurred between the police, courts and prostitutes which had the effect of transforming the interpretation of laws designed to control the activities of prostitutes. The effect of this change in interpretation has been to turn what was a prohibitive legal milieu into one which is highly conducive to the practice of street prostitution. But, as we shall see, the change in interpretation of street prostitution offences was itself occasioned by the impact of certain law enforcement decisions, and was not actually responsible for the changes in patterns of street prostitution that are described here. Changes in the interpretation of law did, however, consolidate and perpetuate the new pattern once it had developed. In this case, then, the catalysts of changes in patterns of street prostitution in Vancouver can be identified largely in terms of the control response to prostitution with little consideration of factors involved with a person's becoming either a prostitute or a customer (n.b. Shumsky and Springer, 1981, p. 88).

What the analysis reported here reveals is that the behaviour of prostitutes is intimately tied to the meaning of law, court decisions, and the behaviour of law enforcers, although not in a way necessarily consonant with the intentions of law enforcement efforts. The study highlights how contradictions in the meaning and purpose of prostitution law created a problematic legal milieu in which the consequences of certain kinds of enforcement policy were in direct opposition to their intended purposes.

The analysis thus begins with a description of the intention and purpose of Canadian prostitution law as it stood between 1975 and 1978, and proceeds with a discussion of the occupational and administrative context of policing in order to lay a foundation for the interpretation of changes in patterns of street prostitution in Vancouver.

### Prostitution Statutes - Ideology as law

Although in Canada the act of prostitution is legal, several clauses of the Canadian Criminal Code specify prostitution related offences. Sections 193 and 194 relate to the keeping and patronizing of a common bawdy house, whilst section 195 deals with "soliciting" and "procuring". It is the ideology of the latter section as it stood up until 1982 which is important and in this case vital to understanding the unfolding consequences of prostitution law enforcement. Of soliciting, the code said: "Every person who solicits any person in a public place for the purpose of prostitution is guilty of an offence punishable on summary conviction." (Martins Annual Criminal Code 1977, pp. 176-179).

This soliciting law was overtly sexist, the commentary in the 1977 code continuing:

"Since prostitution can only be carried on by a female a person impersonating a female having engaged upon arrangement in bringing about sexual gratification to another male cannot be convicted of soliciting for the purpose of prostitution (emphasis added).

Besides being exempt from the soliciting law as a prostitute, male patrons are also exempt from prosecution in a heterosexual



contract. The underlying rationale of this law demands close attention. Why, if prostitution is legal, should its public preparation be illegal, and why should men be exonerated from legal responsibility? The Wolfenden Commission Report (1963), which in part dealt with prostitution, is instructive here.<sup>1</sup>

The Commission argued that it is not the duty of the law to concern itself with immorality as such; the law should be confined to those activities which offend against public order and decency, or expose the ordinary citizen to what is offensive or injurious (p. 143). From the point of view of the law, a person's body is private property, the individual enjoying complete control of its use (hence it is not an offense to use drugs, only to possess them). It is only when the use of one's body affects public order and decency, the Commission Report argued, that it should come under the purview of the criminal law. Soliciting in public for the purpose of prostitution is thus deemed to be a public nuisance. Soliciting in a private place is legal, as is a sex for money transaction.

Since many other forms of public soliciting are legal (e.g., collecting for charities or recruiting for various religious and political organizations), it is reasonable to conclude that it is partly the adjudged immorality of prostitution that makes public soliciting for that purpose a criminal offense. And while it is true that other businesses are prevented from conducting their commercial enterprise in public places, such regulation is achieved mainly through civil as opposed to criminal law. To this extent, despite the assertion

that the law does not deal with immorality as such, a plausible argument can be made that solicitation laws represent a codification of moral standards.

The morality enshrined in prostitution law, however, runs much deeper and still persists in the contemporary legal milieu in British Columbia (e.g. R v Dudak (1978), 41 C.C.C. (2d) 31 (B.C.A.A.)). The Wolfenden Commission took great pains to stress that if the intent of the law is to punish prostitution per se on the grounds that it is immoral conduct, then it would be right to provide for punishment of the men involved in the purchase, as well as the women providing the goods (remembering that according to the Canadian Criminal Code of 1977, by definition a man could not be a prostitute). What are we to make of this argument? The relationship between prostitute and customer is reciprocal - each needs the other in order for the act of prostitution to take place. Without the customer, there is no prostitute; men are thus just as responsible for the soliciting that occurs in public places as are the women who offer their services. On this score, the Wolfenden Report appears to be little more than an apologetic.

The prostitute, the report says, parades herself habitually and openly (1963, p. 143). Her continued presence thus affronts the sense of decency of the ordinary citizen more so than the presence of prospective customers (an unavowedly moralistic argument). But this does not deny that male customers offend public decency by approaching women who are not prostitutes, or by publicly securing sex for money; since both prostitutes and

customers solicit, it is difficult to justify legal discrimination against the one or the other.

Both legislation and law enforcement, however, can operate in such a way that status can become a better predictor of the attribution of the criminal label than behaviour. So it is with the prostitute and customer - there is a considerable difference in their status. But in the case of prostitution this is not so much a matter of police discretion, but the underlying ideology of the law itself. As Abraham Flexner suggests:

The professional prostitute, being a social outcast, may be periodically punished without disturbing the usual course of society; no one misses her while she is serving out her turn - no one, at least, about whom society has any concern. The man, however, is something more than partner in an immoral act; he discharges important social and business relations, is as father or brother responsible for the maintenance of others, has commercial or industrial duties to meet. He cannot be imprisoned without deranging society.

(Quoted in Davis, 1966)

A double moral standard attributing different statuses to men and women has become enshrined in law. The question now becomes, what is it about the nature of human society that causes it to give rise to, and maintain an institution which it simultaneously condemns.<sup>2</sup> The answer usually takes a functionalist form. Freda Adler for example, argues:

Given the sexual freedom men have reserved for themselves, and the code of premarital chastity and post-marital fidelity they have imposed on women, prostitution is the only mechanism which would permit the coexistence of these two mutually exclusive and contradictory ideals. Without prostitution their

foundations in fantasy would be exposed, and they would fall of their own weight.

(1975, p.57)

Adler quotes the nineteenth century moralist William Lecky's observation that the prostitute is ultimately the most efficient guardian of virtue:

He (Lecky) contended that but for the social function she performs, the stability of the family, and the preservation of the very social institutions dependent on abstinence would be in jeopardy.

(Adler, 1975,p.57)

Society at once supports and denigrates prostitution treating it with a mixture of pity, scorn, persecution and fascination (Davis, 1966, p. 262). This same confusion seems to apply to prostitution law which in Canada does not actually prohibit the act of prostitution, but does prevent a person from making a living by it. Whatever the root causes of prostitution, it is a behaviour which has proven highly resistant to repressive measures (Reckless, 1933; Shumsky and Springer, 1981; Symanski, 1981).

Because of the great difficulty the courts and police have experienced in enforcing prostitution laws, a prophylactic mentality now prevails. The legal strategy adopted in Canada until recently has been aimed at controlling the public expression of prostitution and its unchecked expansion.<sup>4</sup> Because paradoxical social attitudes are reflected in the criminal law, the act of prostitution being legal, the problem of its regulation is tackled tangentially. Laws pertaining to "public soliciting" and "living off the avails" are difficult to enforce,



however, because they deal with activities in which the participants are consenting. The police in enforcing prostitution law must consequently rely almost exclusively on proactive investigations. The character of these investigations in the context of police occupational culture also merits some consideration. Bearing in mind Reckless (1933) seminal work which indicates the importance of public pressure group activity on law enforcement practices, the local political context in which police enforcement practices unfold must also be considered.

#### Police Culture, the Politics of Police Administration and the Translation of Law in the Books to Law in the Streets

By tracing the genesis and the meaning of prostitution laws, we identify the legal parameters within which people act, and by which they organize their relationships with each other. In this case the law is the major component of the urban social environment moulding relationships between police and prostitutes. But government is by people, not law, with the result that the law can only be understood as it is administered. By extension, criminality can only be fully understood in light of the varying interpretations and administration of law.

Given the prophylactic purpose of Canadian prostitution law the visibility of the street prostitute has become the main criterion for police action, and often only in response to the campaigns of political pressure groups. Even when prostitution

is visible, action is not necessarily taken since charges against prostitutes may be traded-off for information relating to other areas of criminal investigation; by bartering information the prostitute is often able to avoid arrest. Thus in some respects, it is to the advantage of the police to have prostitution laws but not to enforce them; theoretically a contradiction in terms. In this sense prostitution law is an all purpose device in the sense that Bittner (1970) and Ericson (1982) convey, an instrument for "ordering the streets". (Although the current concern over prostitution in Canada which prompted the creation of the Fraser Committee in 1983 is precisely because prostitution statutes are interpreted in such a way that they no longer fulfill this function). Because of the discretionary component of enforcement practices the actual meaning of the law can only be understood in the context of police organization and function. It is the tension produced by this metamorphosis of legal statutes into practical instruments that leads J.H. Skolnick to ponder what he considers the fundamental dilemma of police administration. Are the police, he asks, principally an agency of social control, with their chief value the efficient enforcement of the prohibitive norms of substantive criminal law? Or are the police to be an institution falling under the hegemony of the legal system, with a basic commitment to the rule of law, even if this obligation may result in a reduction of social order? (Skolnick, 1975, p. 1). In fact, the police function in both these capacities in different contexts and at different levels, but they are primarily an agency of social

control (Ericson, 1982). Since police activity is not solely geared to the specification of law then, by definition, their administration of law sometimes appears to be arbitrary or biased. The question becomes what social order, or whose vision of it are they maintaining? It is clear that police operations are not solely shaped by the dictates of law. They are also shaped by various political pressures, and by police occupational culture. On top of all these influences social opinion may be divided about or in opposition to the criminal law.

Skolnick argues that the goals of democratic society can sometimes undermine the capacity of the police to respond to the law (1975, p. 6). The recent social movement geared toward the equalization of women in western societies generally may have provided a context in which challenges to the inherently sexually biased prostitution law could be received favourably in the criminal courts. Any police campaign against prostitution, especially if given extensive press coverage, might provide an occasion for just such a challenge and may partly explain some of the Appeal Court rulings to be described shortly which made prosecution of street prostitutes in Vancouver almost impossible after 1978.

The influence of the women's movement aside, public sentiments about prostitution are clearly equivocal, and this together with the fact that it is an activity engaged in by consenting adults (aside from the problem of juvenile prostitution) implies that the routine enforcement of prostitution law is fraught with difficulty. Adler's comments

about prostitution law in practice apply well to the Canadian experience:

The legal apparatus associated with the arrest, prosecution and sentencing of prostitutes is a morass of contradictions within contradictions. It is a Gordian knot of procedural ruses and subterfuges contrived to harmonize that which authorities do not wish to carry out with that which they cannot afford to ignore. The result is often a ceremonial ritual dance performed by the police and courts, each stepping to the mandatory measures of the law but improvizing sufficiently to express their concepts of justice.

(1975, p. 221)

In that the premises and design of criminal law are often impractical for enforcement purposes, the police tend to identify with a guiding concept of social order. This is not to deny that they perceive law and social order as one and the same, but that they are frequently forced to make administrative and enforcement decisions the criteria for which are not provided by the criminal statutes. What processes shape these decisions and which groups benefit from various enforcement policies? To answer these questions with reference to prostitution, some general observations about police administrative decision-making are required.

The cajoling of various pressure groups creates a volatile milieu in which the police operate. Groups with conflicting interests may each hold potential power to influence the police. A city council is not necessarily a monolithic interest group, different members representing different interests, all with potential power to cut back police budgets. Police are consistently exploited by competing politicians and



organizations; many politicians pursuing the "safe-streets" vote place impractical demands upon the police (Sikes, 1975, p. 123). Many police departments are greatly influenced by monied interests and right wing groups (Sikes, 1975, p. 123) and are themselves characteristically right wing in their attitudes.

Furthermore, the actions of the police department make headline news - police administrators are thus always sensitive to, and sometimes preoccupied with public relations (H. K. Becker, 1970, p. 33). Public relations practices often amount to little more than an attempt to show that administrative decisions are apolitical. Bristow and Gabard suggest that the interests of political pressure groups, especially merchants, are often more important than the issue of public relations simply because these groups are heeded more by city councils. But then, as one police chief they cite maintains, "if press relations are good, public relations are good" and the public always outlasts the council (Bristow and Gabard, 1961, p. 62). Thus many competing groups, each wishing to impress its own vision of social order, complicate the business of police management. Not the least of these visions are the desires and values espoused by the police themselves. If policies are not popular within the police department, their implementation may often be subject to the "poor memories" of officers (Bristow and Gabard, 1961, p. 58). It is police officers who convey their vision of the social reality of city streets to administrative superiors who make the policy decisions. In the case of prostitution, certain values typical of police culture <sup>4</sup>can be instrumental in shaping administrative policy.

Vice investigation (drugs, gambling, pornography and prostitution) is among the most prestigious areas of police work because it is proactive (skolnick, 1975, p. 102). It is proactive police investigation that preoccupies books and movies, and is often given high profile by the news media. Compared with other forms of police-work, vice control is often interesting, demanding and allows an outlet for real ingenuity and problem solving in the detectional sense. The informer is the indispensable foundation of much proactive work, but not necessarily in prostitution law enforcement.

In practice it is difficult of for the police to prove solicitation charges because the customers of prostitutes are generally hesitant to appear in court. Thus proactive investigation is the usual means of apprehending prostitutes or other people associated with the trade who might be "living off the avails of prostitution". Under the interpretation of the Canadian law that pertained until 1978, the normal practice had been for plain clothes police officers to pose as customers and arrest the prostitute for public soliciting once an offer of sexual services for a fee had been established. This was a difficult task since the officer could not express the first interest in a transaction. The practice also required frequent personnel turnovers - undercover officers soon became known to the prostitutes. Moreover, convictions were difficult to obtain because of conflicting interpretations of what constituted soliciting. This method of investigation, however, only snared individual prostitutes - it did not disrupt the organizations

that were suggested as backing them. Investigations against such organizations require large-scale and well-coordinated team police efforts.

By virtue of their scale, sophistication of techniques, the need for guile in gaining information and the detectional appeal all these engender, large-scale investigations against criminal organizations are regarded by police as one of the most prestigious forms of police work. It was one such large-scale investigation that seems to represent the "efficient" cause of changes in the geography of street prostitution in Vancouver.

Keeping in mind the meaning and purpose of prostitution law and the factors impinging on the enforcement of that law, the discussion turns to a consideration of the circumstances which led to the conspicuous expansion of street prostitution in Vancouver, and subsequently, as a result, elsewhere in Canada. The narrative begins with the closing of a well known Vancouver cabaret club in 1975 and proceeds to describe the activity displacement that this closure seems to have occasioned.

#### Street Prostitution in Vancouver: 1975-1979 A Narrative

Few people outside city council or police administrative echelons know why the investigation of a notorious cabaret club in downtown Vancouver was initiated at the particular time that it was. The news media offered little more than innuendo on this score, a number of articles suggesting that Monique Layton's report to the police on prostitution in Vancouver was instrumental (e.g. Vancouver Sun, 26th September, 1976).

Layton, a University of British Columbia anthropologist, named two carabaret clubs as centres of the prostitution business (1975). Though the report was not made public until September 1975, its contents were likely known to the police before that time. But this information could hardly have been new; the police knowledge of the city scene is extensive, even if it may be biased. What is certain is that one of the cabaret clubs flourished for twenty-five years before the police attempted to close it (the second club burned down before any police investigation was completed).

Although Layton's report may not have provided new information, it did formalize common knowledge. The power of the printed word may have made it much more difficult for the police to ignore the social reality of the cabaret clubs, and the possibility that their owners were living off the avails of prostitution. It was also suggested that the contents of Layton's report were made public by the Vancouver press, thus making it even more difficult for the police to ignore club activities. This assertion was later denied by a spokesman for the press (Vancouver Sun, September 7th, 1976) who suggested that although Layton's report was covered, none of its substantive contents were disclosed. One of the club owners offered an entirely different scenario. He suggested that a personal feud with a vice-squad detective led to the detective urging the then new police-chief to instigate an undercover operation against the club (Vancouver Sun, December 22nd, 1977).



Personal feud or not, this argument is plausible in a different sense. Assuming that proactive investigation is the most prestigious category of police work, what better opportunity to mount a large-scale undercover operation? It required a large team of skilled investigators using the most up-to-date surveillance techniques and equipment in an environment which most people frequented purely for entertainment. The defence, in the subsequent trial of the owners of one of the clubs, frequently alluded to the lavish conduct of the police in the course of their undercover operation which lasted from May until December 1975 (Vancouver Sun, April 23rd, 1977). The defence innuendo was that the police made as much mileage out of the investigation as they could. Since the operation was estimated to have cost one million dollars (Vancouver Sun, April 23rd, 1977), it is reasonable to conclude that there may have been some substance to this allegation. Defence attorneys characterized undercover detectives as "King Farouks" constantly "flashing large money rolls" and generally enjoying a "champagne lifestyle" (Vancouver Sun, October 19th, 1976). The liquid diet of "brown cows" and "golden cadillacs" was supplemented by the vivacious atmosphere of the club: "I pretended to be excited", said one of the detectives later of an incident at the club during which a prostitute stripped for him. He arrested her and another woman as they left the club (Province, September 29th, 1976).

On December 22nd, 1975, the three owners of the cabaret and three employees were charged with living off the avails of

prostitution and "conspiring to produce a public mischief and thereby corrupt public morals" (Vancouver Sun, April 23rd, 1977). The adamant attitude of both the police and the Crown is demonstrated by the Court's dismissal of the latter count which does not even appear in the Canadian Criminal Code.

The trial, which began in September, 1976, lasted for over six months, and all but one of the defendants were convicted of living off the avails of prostitution.

The essence of the Crown's case was that both club owners and employees profited from earnings made through prostitution. The cabaret charged a \$2.95 admission fee, and then, the Crown argued, the prostitute had to tip the maitre d' and doorman \$2.00 each, and pay \$2.00 or \$3.00 for a table. If the prostitute left with a customer, she had to pay again the \$2.95 door charge for re-admission to the cabaret. She might thus pay the cover-charge three or four times a night. The club's annual door revenue of \$185,000 attests to the high rate of turnover and profitability of the club's patrons. In addition, the club would provide cash to customers with credit cards at a 20% interest rate in order to purchase the sexual favours of a prostitute (Vancouver Sun, April 23rd, 1977). One undercover police officer borrowed cash in this way, stating as he did so that it was for the purpose of paying a prostitute. He was given it without hesitation (Vancouver Sun, November 30th, 1976).

Forty-five witnesses testified in the course of the trial, including three prostitutes who frequented the club. Here we see exemplified the position of the prostitute in vice-related

investigations; the defence suggested that the only reason one of the women testified was because the police had arranged to drop a heroin charge against her. They further suggested that she had fabricated evidence in her testimony to facilitate this bargain. In summation, the Judge stated he was satisfied that this was not the case (Vancouver Sun, April 23rd, 1977). The two brothers owning the club were each fined \$50,000 and sentenced to sixty days in jail. The doorman was fined \$7,000 and awarded the same jail term, whilst the two remaining employees were each fined \$1,500 and awarded the token sentence of one day in jail. All five immediately appealed the convictions. The cabaret charges had been laid in December 1975. Despite the Canadian principle of law that states a defendant is to be considered innocent until proven guilty, the club's liquor licence was suspended by provincial authorities on January 1st, 1976.

Similar actions may have been initiated by the police against the second cabaret club mentioned in Layton's report but it was destroyed by fire before any action was taken. The owner was charged with arson but was not convicted.

The average nightly prostitute population of each of these cabarets was estimated at between fifty and one hundred (Vancouver Sun, April 23rd, 1977). The essence of the Canadian prostitution statutes is regulatory: to keep the prostitute out of public mind and sight. The effect of the cabaret action, however, achieved just the reverse; the prostitutes could no longer enjoy the protected soliciting havens provided by the cabaret clubs. Their use of these clubs may have represented an

adaptation to the legal statute which prohibits public solicitation for the purpose of prostitution. But it appears that although certain prostitutes were prepared to adapt to the law in order to circumvent it, the law was insufficient to deter these same women when their adaptive strategy was rendered useless. It may be that the women chose to work the clubs and not the streets for different reasons. But, whatever the reasons, the effect was the same once the two clubs were closed - the prostitutes were displaced onto the streets, intensifying the very activity the law is designed to control.

By the time the trial of the cabaret club owners and employees was drawing towards a close in September 1976, the press was giving increasing coverage to the development of a new "social problem" in Vancouver - the inundation of certain streets by "ladies of the night" (Vancouver Sun, September 24th, 1976). While there were established areas of street prostitution in Vancouver's "transitional areas", two new locations developed in downtown Vancouver's most heavily trafficked streets. (Figure 1, areas 4 and 5). Informal interviews with various police personnel, social workers and a number of prostitutes confirmed that prior to 1976 street prostitution was less frequent and extremely limited in these two areas although at a greater level than the media suggested. After the closure of the cabaret clubs both of these areas became conspicuous and locally renowned as containing not only the most, but also the most expensive street prostitutes.<sup>5</sup>



By the summer of 1976, local resident and business groups began applying pressure to the City Council and the Police lobbying for a "clean-up-the streets" campaign, a lobbying which was conspicuously absent when street prostitution was confined to the less salubrious areas of the downtown core. (Figure 1, areas 1,2 and 3). A well-known apartment owner in the area newly invaded by displaced prostitutes, for example, made submissions to the British Columbia Police Commission urging that something be done about the large numbers of prostitutes on Davie Street, the main West End thoroughfare (Vancouver Sun, September 24th, 1976).

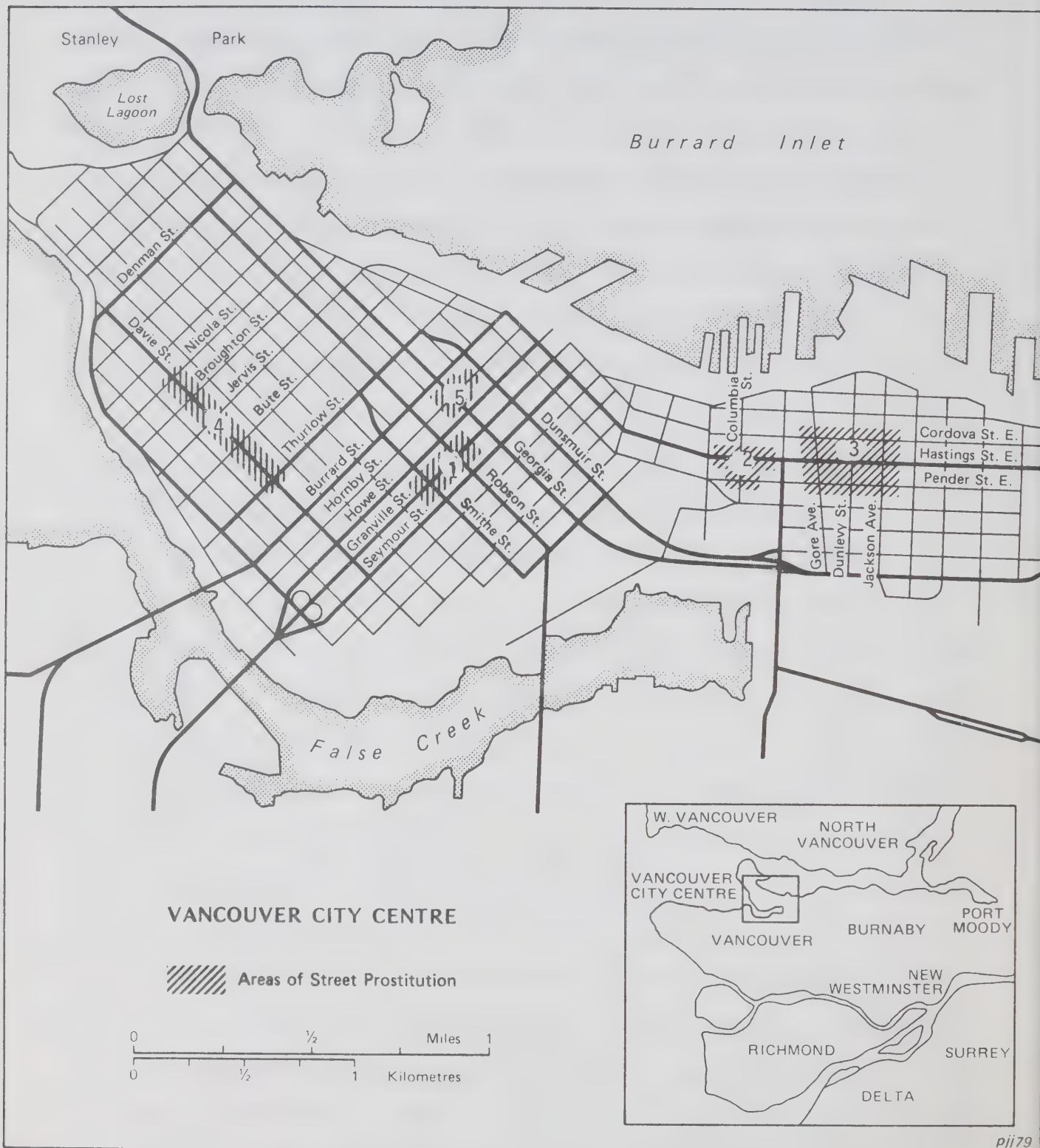
The problem of street prostitution outlasted the cabaret club trial. In September 1977 the Vancouver Police published a report on "Street Prostitution in the West End of Vancouver." Figure 1 identifies the five main areas of street prostitution mentioned by Corporal G.. Forbes, the author of the report. They are largely consistent with other sources consulted (prostitutes, taxi drivers, and residents) as to the extent and location of street prostitution in Vancouver between 1976 and 1979:

1. The 1000 - 1100 block on Granville
2. The Hastings - Columbia Area
3. The Keefer - Gore - Georgia Area
4. The Davie Street Strip
5. The Georgia - Hornby Intersection

The first three areas represent the traditional loci of street prostitution before the closing of the cabaret clubs. The fourth and fifth areas developed as well known areas of the street trade (partly, ironically, because of newsmedia coverage) only after the closure of the clubs (which lay between areas 1,4

FIG. 1. Areas of Street Prostitution in Vancouver

Note: The two cabaret clubs mentioned in the narrative were located between areas 1,4 and 5.



and 5). By 1979 the two "new" areas had almost eclipsed the other three in terms of their importance. Forbes also established a hierarchy of price and "quality" (which most cab drivers confirmed at this time) with the Granville, Hastings and Keefer areas forming the lowest tier. Forbes estimated that about 100 prostitutes worked these three areas, mostly heroin addicts charging about \$30 a "trick". The Davie Strip formed the intermediate rank with about 80 prostitutes charging between \$40 and \$80 per "trick". The Georgia-Hornby nightclub area was established as the top echelon with some 200 prostitutes charging between \$50 and \$100. An additional 280 women were estimated to be working in off-street prostitution - body rub parlors and bars. An inverse relation between price and heroin use was suggested by Forbes, heroin use being most typical of the prostitutes ranked lowest. He also estimated that about 200 males providing sex for money worked in Vancouver. Of 80 male and female prostitutes checked on Davie, 61 were juveniles (Forbes, 1977).

One of the first attempts made by the police to alleviate the problem which their own law enforcement efforts had apparently unwittingly highlighted, was to take the precedent-setting step of charging the customers of prostitutes with soliciting in public for the purpose of prostitution, as well as the prostitutes themselves. One man made legal history in October 1976 by pleading guilty to soliciting an undercover policewoman, the first conviction of its kind to be registered in Canada (Vancouver Sun, September 2nd, 1976). The police,

however, were not so successful with the second man they charged, the judge claiming that a man could not solicit since he had nothing to sell.<sup>6</sup> The result of this decision was the perpetuation of the inherent sex bias of Canadian prostitution law.

Between January 1st and July 31st 1977, 226 vice-related charges were laid. According to Forbes, 146 of these were processed by the time of the report's writing, bringing 72 convictions. The inefficiency of these proceedings in reducing the level of street prostitution resulted in the creation of a special task-force on prostitution. Local news reports suggested that the task-force was a direct response to political pressures applied by hoteliers and local merchants on Davie and Granville streets that street prostitution had become too visible following the cabaret trial; the closure of the cabaret was held as being directly responsible for the increased level of street prostitution.

Task-force activities began in September 1977 and continued until February 1978 when the main investigative strategy was rendered inoperative by a precedent setting court decision which ruled that the interior of a car was a private, not a public place (Hutt v. The Queen 1978, 38 C.C.C.2d,448) The task-force strategy involved a hired or second-hand car set up with a tape recorder and camera in the rear. A police-officer would use this car to cruise the streets looking for a likely pick-up (an activity the police termed "trolling"). Having made a "catch", the officer would try to solicit from the prostitute certain key



words and phrases, such as the offer and price of a trick. From this modus operandi it is difficult to interpret just who is doing the soliciting, and would almost certainly, if falling under the jurisdiction of American law, represent entrapment.

During the six month period approximately 240 street soliciting charges were laid. In the six months prior to the inception of the task-force 56 street soliciting charges were laid. In a ten week period representing the zenith of task-force activities, 140 prostitutes were arrested. Of these, 51 were repeaters, and 74 were on welfare.<sup>7</sup> One commentator noted the expense to the taxpayer of welfare recipients who already had an income. This financial loss, however, was nothing compared to the cost of the cabaret investigation, the task-force, and the legal proceedings they engendered. For, ultimately, the Appeal Courts overturned all the cabaret convictions, and issued two decisions which effectively made it impossible for police to charge street prostitutes with solicitation offences.

In December 1977, in overturning the cabaret convictions, the judge argued that the Crown had simply not proven the case. He reasoned the evidence was that the management gave no special or preferential treatment to prostitutes who frequented the club. For example, the Crown did not establish that any male leaving the club would not have to repay the door admission price if he returned later the same evening. No prostitute received payment from the management, and it was not established that the club only lent money for the purpose of prostitution. Thus, to all intents and purposes, the two million dollars spent on the

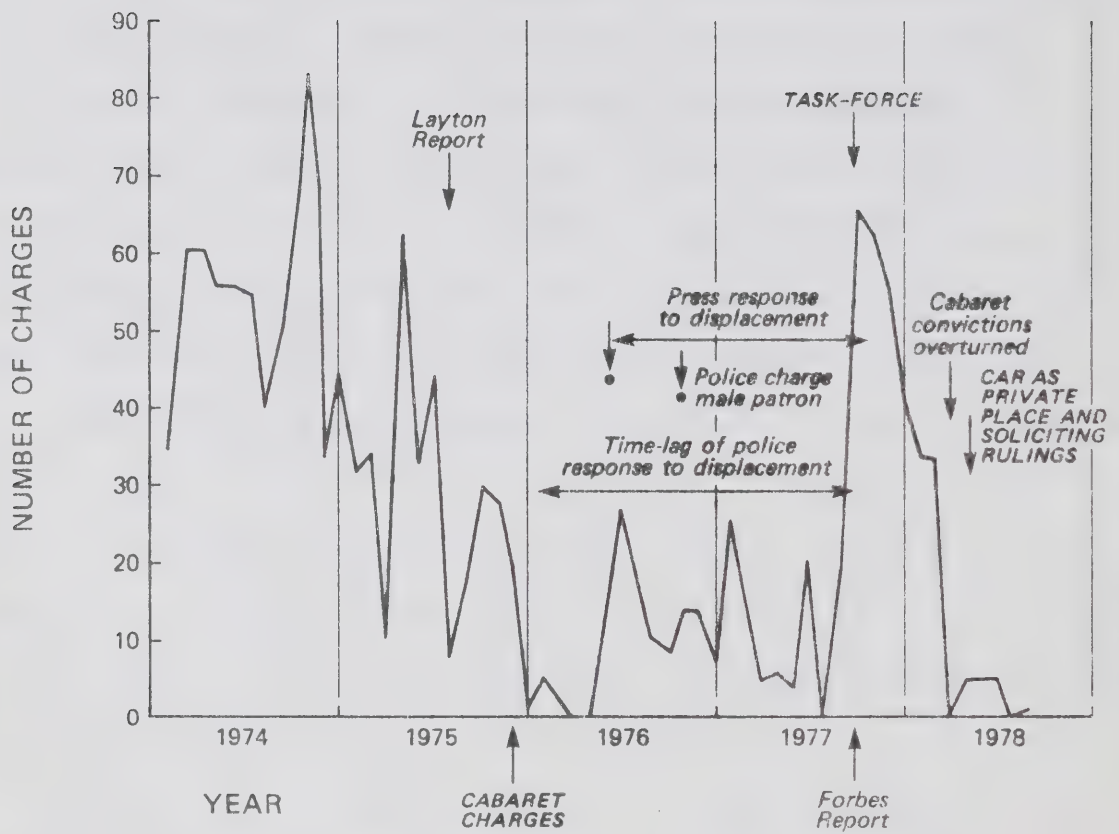
cabaret undercover operation and court case was a waste of money.<sup>8</sup> But, much worse, it was a high price to pay for the intensification of a much more severe "problem", in terms of the law; the amplification of street prostitute activity. The Crown unsuccessfully appealed the overturning of the cabaret convictions.

The task-force on prostitution also foundered in appellate court.<sup>9</sup> A local prostitute appealed her solicitation conviction on the grounds that the interior of a car was not a public place. Also raised was the question of who was soliciting whom? For the officer to manage to induce the prostitute into his car in the first place, he must have given her some encouragement. The appeal was upheld, and, as a result, 100 charges of soliciting made by the task-force prior to this time had to be dropped. In addition, the term solicitation was reinterpreted - a woman must do more than offer sexual service and quote a price; she must harass potential customers by not accepting "no" for an answer (Hutt v. The Queen 1978). Thus not only were cars ruled out-of-bounds for enforcement purposes, but also the alternative strategy of travelling on foot since few prostitutes would reach the point of harassment in their approaches to men. With these decisions the legal environment in Vancouver became highly conducive to the practice of street prostitution. The purpose of the prostitution law - to allow prostitution, but appear to condemn it by hiding and containing it - has been thwarted.

Figure 2 shows the number of street soliciting charges laid in the period 1974-1978. The diagram is annotated to indicate the pivotal elements of Vancouver's unfolding prostitution story. The year 1974 is used as a cut-off point simply because a change of police recording practices made it impossible to obtain month by month totals for earlier periods. The annual totals from 1973 onwards have been reconstructed; in 1973 there were 800 soliciting charges compared to 624 in 1974, 310 in 1975, 123 in 1976, 320 in 1977 and 68 in 1978.<sup>10</sup> A puzzle occurs because street prostitution, according to official statistics, was a much greater problem in 1973 and 1974 than in 1976 and 1977 when Vancouver's news media were describing it as a "new" social problem. One must, therefore, consider the possibility that the news media manufactured the "problem" particularly in the light of other analyses of media crime waves (eg. Hall et al 1978 pp. 67-69, 223).

At the simplest level, the newsperson's sense of newsworthiness structures what is considered news. Prostitution was considerably newsworthy in the period under scrutiny here, but its news value may not actually reflect changes in the streets so much as changes in various images of the streets. In this sense the media serves to orchestrate public opinion, and can be instrumental in creating the image of a crime wave. Certainly the Vancouver media orchestrated public opinion by criticizing police enforcement efforts, but evidence suggests that the media's coverage of the "new" problem in Vancouver was a response to the actual intensification of street prostitution.

Figure 2. Soliciting Charges in Vancouver 1974 - 1978\*



\*..see Footnote 10  
(see p. 460)



In reality, the problem of street prostitution was "new" only in certain areas - notably the Georgia-Hornby intersection and the Davie Street strip - and therein lay its newsworthiness. But some prostitution had occurred on Davie prior to the Penthouse closure -- in 1972 a Sun article reported that 30 prostitutes had been counted on Davie Street (Sun October 10, 1972). News accounts therefore were only partially accurate in their representation of street prostitution. And, as scrutiny of police statistics suggest, higher levels of street prostitution in less salubrious areas than Davie and Georgia were not represented as pressing problems by the media.

The large number of street solicitation charges laid by the police in 1973 and 1974 may have something to do with heroin-use patterns. Rather than representing a response to the dictates of prostitution law, these earlier enforcement patterns may represent police attempts to regulate the heroin traffic. Although more information is needed to substantiate this hypothesis, there are indications of its plausibility.

Layton's report on prostitution in Vancouver in 1975 suggests that at that time many street prostitutes were heroin addicts. Her study of prostitutes implied an almost inevitable convergence of prostitution and drug addiction. It appears that in Vancouver this convergence is no longer inevitable, since police reports distinguish prostitution areas according to heroin-use patterns. The two more recent street prostitution areas are occupied by women who do not display much of a penchant for heroin (as the Forbes report suggested). The earlier close

association of street prostitution and heroin-use may have meant that enforcement of street-prostitution laws served both to identify female addicts and create a pool of potential informers in the process of discovering heroin-traffickers. The reduction in the number of street-soliciting charges in the period 1973-1976 may indicate a decreasing incidence of street prostitution as a reflection of declining heroin use. The apparent decline of both heroin quality and use in Vancouver, however, rather than suggesting a reduction of the number of prostitutes, may reflect a decline in police interest in enforcing soliciting laws - sufficiently reliable data to confirm either hypothesis are not available.<sup>11</sup> Whatever the case, the campaign against prostitution received considerable impetus as a result of the cabaret closure and the intensification of street walking.

In short the effect of the closure of the two cabaret clubs was that the prostitutes - whose activities in the clubs were consonant with the dictates of the law - simply moved into the (public) streets, apparently undeterred by soliciting laws which they could no longer circumvent. Law enforcement efforts designed to curb this derivative situation were rendered ineffective as precedent setting court decisions defined and redefined the meaning of both "solicitation" and "public place". The prophylactic had burst. A social problem was born.

Because the court decisions made in Vancouver create precedents for the enforcement of prostitution law across Canada, a corresponding increase of street prostitution has been reported elsewhere since 1980. These pattern changes have brought into

sharp relief conflicting opinions about the appropriate legislation of prostitution as various public interest groups across the country (and particularly in Vancouver) have pressed municipal, provincial and federal politicians to devise legislative strategies to control the more visible aspects of prostitution.<sup>12</sup> While the nature of these debates lies beyond the purview of this paper, one point is clear; whatever regulation of prostitution is considered appropriate for Canadian society, Canadians must realize that since the act of prostitution is legal, some mechanism must be devised whereby customers and prostitutes can complete their transactions without directly offending other citizens and without being jeopardized by the possibility of criminalization in every situation in which they operate.

The police action against the Vancouver cabarets in 1975 effectively precluded the achievement of this balance. The present definition of street solicitation similarly precludes the confinement of prostitution to private places, hence the enormous pressure by residents, land-owners and business groups in areas currently used by street prostitutes to reintroduce repressive soliciting laws. What is most perplexing is that many of these groups (as evidenced by several submissions to the public hearings of the Fraser Committee on Prostitution and Pornography<sup>13</sup> held in Vancouver, 11-13th January 1984) argued that the Federal Government should not repeal legislation on bawdy houses or allow for the establishment of red light districts, for to do so would condone the practice of

prostitution. This position ignores the reality of the legal situation in Canada which already condones prostitution. It also ignores historical realities which suggest that street soliciting laws did little to deter street prostitution in Vancouver before the closure of the cabaret clubs in 1975. Without the legal delineation of an acceptable territory in which prostitutes may operate (remembering that they cannot operate in bars and hotels should the proprietors wish to dissuade them) soliciting laws may simply sweep the activity from one location to another as long as residents and business persons exert pressure to situate prostitution in any area other than their own. When street prostitution is located in areas where there is little organized resistance, soliciting laws tend to be selectively enforced in order to aid investigations into other types of crime, or as political vehicles for aspiring or incumbent local politicians. The pattern as we see it today developed in part precisely because certain law enforcement practices were incompatible with the overall prophylactic objective of prostitution legislation. It is thus time that this society acknowledged the fact that prostitution is legal by creating a milieu in which prostitutes are able to practice their business and make a livelihood out of it without being subjected to selective law enforcement practices, and without directly subjecting citizens not interested in purchasing the services of prostitutes to the practice of the trade.



# NOTES

1. Although the Wolfenden Commission is an English report, it serves to demonstrate the basic philosophy of the Canadian law to the extent that Canadian law is based on English law.
2. This question is raised by Davis (1966, p. 203) but I have cast it in a different context.
3. For a discussion of this philosophy see Layton (1975).
4. For analysis of police culture see Neiderhoffer (1967), Rubinstein (1973), Koenig (1975), Manning (1977) and Ericson (1981, 1982).
5. Although it has not been possible to obtain completely reliable quantitative estimates of the changes, a study of prostitutes in the Georgia-Hornby area (the one infrequently used by prostitutes prior to 1976) shows that in the summer of 1978, 37 prostitutes worked this one street intersection alone. This number was tabulated by Mr. Dale Sands from an unpublished time-lapse photographic study of the microspatial movement of prostitutes. He points out that many more prostitutes worked along Georgia Street well out of the range of his camera and were thus never recorded because the women have fairly well-defined territories.
6. This finding is extraordinary; neither legal nor lexical definitions of solicitation depend on the sale of anything!
7. This information was given by C.B.U.T T.V. in the program "Pacific Report" aired on January 2nd, 1978.
8. In some cases, the investment of money in particular police operations becomes a self-fulfilling syndrome - if the money is spent it must be justified by the laying of charges. In July 1977, one of the cabaret owners was convicted of trying to bribe a liquor board official in an attempt to retrieve the cabaret's liquor licence (Vancouver Sun, July 6th, 1977). In March 1978 this conviction was also overturned by the Appeal Court. The cabaret owner was charged with offering a bribe involving two bottles of liquor and a cake, and sentenced to 30 months in prison. As Justice E.E. Hinkson said in summary, the gifts simply "did not bear the corrupt complexion" (Vancouver Sun, March 25th, 1978).
9. The analysis is incomplete at this point. As important here as the context of police administration is the context of action in the criminal court system. With the exception of the decision regarding the prosecution of the prostitute's patron, all County Court decisions in Vancouver, upheld the Crown's, and consequently the police's, position. At the Appeal Court level, however, every decision was reversed.

Regrettably, because of the difficulty of obtaining information about behind-the-scenes decisions (often so influential in court cases) no attempt is made here to analyze the courtroom as an arena of social action.

10. There is a slight margin of error in the statistics reported here - police recording practices group soliciting offences with charges for "living off the avails of prostitution". Very few of the latter kind of charge are laid, however, with the number rarely exceeding two or three in any given month.
11. A general impression has formed in Vancouver that during the period 1975-1979 the importance of heroin has declined. Prior to that time Vancouver was considered to have the largest heroin-using population in Canada with an estimated 10,000 addicts. Now both police sources and researchers at Vancouver's Drug and Alcohol Abuse unit suggest that this number has decreased considerably. Kohlmeyer's (1982) ethnography of street prostitution in Vancouver indicated that very few prostitutes in the Davie Street area used heroin.
12. The recent decision of the Supreme Court of Canada in the Westendorp case (January 1983) stating that Calgary's by-law designed to control street solicitation is unconstitutional places prostitution statutes in the field of exclusive federal jurisdiction.
13. The Committee established by the Federal Government in 1983 to study prostitution and pornography in order to facilitate legislative change.

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APPENDIX B  
INTERVIEW SCHEDULES AND TABLES FOR CHAPTER IV  
(POLICE STUDY)



## POLICESHEET

## BACKGROUND INFORMATION:

1. In what year were you born? \_\_\_\_\_
2. What level of education have you completed?
- |                       |                             |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Less than grade 10 | 5. Grade 13                 |
| 2. Grade 10           | 6. Some University/College  |
| 3. Grade 11           | 7. Completed Degree/Diploma |
| 4. Grade 12           | 8. Post-Graduate Degree     |
|                       | X. Other (SPECIFY) _____    |
|                       | _____                       |
|                       | N. Not Stated/Refused       |
3. How long have you worked as a police officer? \_\_\_\_\_
4. In what type of unit do you currently work?
- |                           |
|---------------------------|
| 1. General Patrol         |
| 2. Detective (Vice Squad) |
5. Estimate the amount of time you have spent in different policing areas:
- INTERVIEWER: IF ANSWER TO Q. 4 IS GENERAL PATROL, ASK 5a. IF ANSWER TO Q. 4 IS DETECTIVE (VICE SQUAD), ASK 5b.
- 5a. (IF PATROL) What patrol areas have you worked in, and for how long?

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- 5b. (IF DETECTIVE) What different kinds of detective squads have you served on, and for how long?

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6. (ASK ALL) What Special Units or Task Forces have you served on?

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## DESCRIPTION OF WORK ACTIVITY

IF RESPONDENT IS ON GENERAL PATROL, ASK QUESTIONS 7-14. IF RESPONDENT IS ON DETECTIVE SQUAD, ASK QUESTIONS 15-18.

7. (IF GENERAL PATROL) In what areas do you currently patrol?

-----  
 -----  
 -----

8. Approximately what percentage of your time on duty do you spend in patrolling the various prostitute "strolls" in your patrol area?

-----%

9. Approximately what percentage of your time is spent on activity related to bawdy house and other types of investigations?

-----%

10. And what percentage of your time do you spend on other offenses that seem in some way related to prostitution?

-----%

11. What do you see as the main purpose of General Patrol in controlling prostitution?

-----  
 -----  
 -----  
 -----  
 -----

12. What kind(s) of policing measures do you use to control prostitution in General Patrol, generally?

-----  
 -----  
 -----  
 -----

13. What percentage of patrol time do you spend on foot?

\_\_\_\_\_ %

14. What percentage of this time is spent dealing with prostitution?

\_\_\_\_\_ %

15. (IF DETECTIVE) Approximately what percentage of your time is spent on investigative activity related to prostitution?

\_\_\_\_\_ %

16. And how much of this time is spent investigating (READ LIST):

a. Street soliciting \_\_\_\_\_ %

b. Procuring \_\_\_\_\_ %

c. Living off the  
    avails \_\_\_\_\_ %

d. Bawdy houses \_\_\_\_\_ %

17. What are some of the more recent investigative activities relating to:

a. Escort agencies? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

b. Body-rub parlours? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

c. Steam baths? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

d. Other types of suspected prostitution-related organizations?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

## ASK ALL RESPONDENTS: WORK EXPERIENCES

18. Have you ever dealt with situations where a prostitute has had some criminal offense committed against them?

1. YES

2. NO

19. Describe incidents: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

20. Have you ever been involved in situations where a prostitute has committed a crime against someone?

1. YES

2. NO

21. Describe incidents: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

22. What proportion of prostitution-related activities which you have been involved with have actually led to charges being laid, approximately?

\_\_\_\_\_

23. Generally, what kind(s) of charges would be laid, in these cases?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

24. What was the end result of each of those charges? \_\_\_\_\_

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-----  
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25. How often do you deal with situations where residents have complained about prostitute-related activity?

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26. What kinds of complaints are these? \_\_\_\_\_

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27. How do you usually deal with each of the above kinds of complaints?

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-----  
-----  
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## ENFORCEMENT

28. What are the main changes in styles of policing prostitution that you have encountered in the time you have been involved in this kind of police work?

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29. Where did the impetus or pressure for each of those changes come from?

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30. What impact did the introduction of street diverters have on street prostitution in the West End - either from your own experience, or from what you've heard from other members of the police force?

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31a. Since the Hutt decision, what have been the main types of control measure that police have used in attempting to control street prostitution? (ALLOW RESPONDENT TO ANSWER UNAIDED FIRST. FOR EACH CONTROL MEASURE AT 31a MENTIONED, CIRCLE APPROPRIATE NUMBER)

-----

.

. 31b. PROBE: FOR ANY OF THE CONTROL MEASURES LISTED BELOW

. THAT ARE NOT MENTIONED AT Q. 31a., ASK:

. "What about..... - have the police been using

. this control measure? CIRCLE NUMBER BESIDE ALL "YES"

. ANSWERS AT 31b-----.

.

31a		31b
-----	--	-----

1. Stopping and ticketing drivers.....1.
2. V.D. checks.....2.
3. Reporting people to immigration.....3.
4. Photographing prostitutes.....4.
5. High patrol visibility.....5.
6. I.D. checks.....6.
7. Recording of known prostitutes.....7.
8. Following prostitutes.....8.
- X. Other methods (SPECIFY\_\_\_\_\_

-----

32. What percentage of street people who offer sexual services for money are under the age of 18?

\_\_\_\_\_ %

33. Do you see any special problems associated with policing of juveniles who are procured for sexual services?

1. YES

2. NO - skip to Q. 35

34. What are these problems? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

35. What percentage of people offering sexual services for money have pimps, that you are aware of?

\_\_\_\_\_ %

36. What percentage of people offering sexual services are: READ LIST:

1. Juvenile male \_\_\_\_\_ %

2. Juvenile female \_\_\_\_\_ %

3. Transsexuals \_\_\_\_\_ %

4. Transvestites \_\_\_\_\_ %

5. Adult males who  
don't fit in  
categories 3 or 4 \_\_\_\_\_ %

6. Adult females \_\_\_\_\_ %

37. What, if any, are the special problems associated with policing transsexuals or transvestites?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

38. What percentage of sexually procured juveniles in Vancouver work on the street (ie. are visibly working)

\_\_\_\_\_ %

39. What problems are associated with the enforcement of prostitution laws in respect to:

39a. Street soliciting (by prostitutes and customers)? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

39b. Bawdy houses? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

39c. Body-rub parlours? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

39d. Escort agencies? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

39e. Procuring? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

39f. Living off the avails? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

39g. Laws relating to juveniles? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_



## ATTITUDES TO LEGAL CHANGE

The proposed changes in law relating to prostitution are:

- A. Criminalization: Maintenance of criminal laws applying to bawdy houses and procuring, and the introduction of a law which prevents street solicitation by both prostitutes and customers.
- B. Decriminalization: Removal of all laws relating to adult prostitution. Adult prostitution would be unregulated except for some provision for taxation. Most advocates of decriminalization would wish to retain a law relating to the procuring of juveniles.
- C. Legalization: Legalization of prostitution in bawdy houses and "red light" districts, controlled by the government.

40. From a police perspective, which of the above options would you prefer to see implemented in the case of adult prostitution, or would you prefer to see some other alternative?

1. Criminalization

2. Decriminalization

3. Legalization

X. Some other alternative (SPECIFY): \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

41. Why would you prefer to see that option in effect with regard to adult prostitution?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

42. And again from a police perspective, which of the above options would you prefer to see implemented in the case of juveniles who are procured for sexual purposes?

1. Criminalization

2. Decriminalization

3. Legalization

X. Some other alternative (SPECIFY): \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

43. And why would you prefer that option? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

44. And as a citizen would you answer the above questions in the same way (with regard to laws relating to adult prostitution, and to juveniles being procured for sexual purposes)?

1. YES - skip to Q. 46

2. NO - ANSWER Q. 45

45. As a citizen, why are your opinions different from your perspectives as a police officer?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

## PERCEPTION OF PROSTITUTION IN VANCOUVER

46. Would you say that prostitution is becoming an increasingly pressing social problem in Vancouver ?

1. YES

2. NO

47. Why would you say that? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

48. What do you feel are the reasons for this increase or decrease in prostitution in Vancouver?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

50. Are prostitution and the drug trade parts of the same culture in our society?

1. YES

2. NO

51. Why would you say that this is so? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

52. Would you say that in general, prostitution is run by organized crime in Vancouver?

1. YES

2. No

53. Why do you say that? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

54. Would you say that prostitution is only a problem when it is visible, ie. in residential areas or on the street?

1. YES

2. NO

55. Why do you say that? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

56. From a police perspective, how do you feel about the way in which CROWE is dealing with prostitution in the West End?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

57. And how do you feel about the way the Guardian Angels are dealing with prostitution?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

58. And how do you feel about the way ASP (the Alliance for the Safety of Prostitutes) is dealing with prostitution?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

59. What kind of social services are there in Vancouver that you find are beneficial for:

59a. Adult prostitutes \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

59b. Sexually procured juveniles? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

60. In what way have these services been effective? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_



61. What other social services do you feel are needed for prostitutes and sexually procured juveniles?

-----

-----

-----

## ABOUT PROSTITUTES AND PROSTITUTION

62. What would you say that the following might earn in a year?

- a. A "call-girl" \$\_\_\_\_\_
- b. A "streetwalker" \$\_\_\_\_\_
- c. A Transvestite prostitute \$\_\_\_\_\_
- d. A Transsexual prostitute \$\_\_\_\_\_
- e. A street juvenile being  
procured for sex \$\_\_\_\_\_

63. Why do adult prostitutes have pimps?\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

64. Why do sexually procured juveniles have pimps?\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

65. What do you see as the main reasons for a person becoming a prostitute?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

66. And what would be the main reasons for a juvenile to make themselves available for sexual procurement?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

67. Is a juvenile who allows himself to be sexually procured a prostitute?

1. YES

2. NO

68. Why do you say that? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

69. Under what circumstances should the customers of adult prostitutes be charged?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

70. Why? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

71. What should the penalty be? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

72. Under what circumstances should the customers of juveniles be charged?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

73. Why? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

74. What should the penalty be? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

75. If there was an opportunity to get out of prostitution as a means of support, do you think most prostitutes would want to take it?

1. YES

2. NO

76. Why do you say that? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

77. How easy or difficult is it for someone to get out of the business?

1. Very easy

2. Fairly easy

3. Fairly difficult

4. Very difficult

78. Why do you say that? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

79. Finally, what would you say would be the most realistic solution to prostitution in our society?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_



82. If you feel strongly about some issue related to prostitution that we have not covered here, please comment:  
(PROBE: IF NOT MENTIONED IN COMMENTS, ASK ABOUT:

Escort services in Vancouver: How many?  
Who runs them?  
How many people involved?

LETTER OF UNDERSTANDING

BETWEEN:

DR. JOHN LOWMAN

AND:

VANCOUVER POLICE UNION

1. This Letter of Understanding applies to research being conducted by Dr. LOWMAN, with respect to police attitudes and problems in dealing with prostitution.
2. It is agreed that the anonymity of individual officers will be protected throughout the study and in any results published.
3. It is agreed that questions number 69 and 70 will be deleted from the questionnaire as they appear unrelated to a police enforcement role.
4. It is agreed that no unresearched peripheral criticisms of police techniques (other than criticisms related directly to prostitution) will occur.
5. A copy of that part of the research report related to information provided by Vancouver police personnel will be discussed at a formal meeting between Dr. LOWMAN and members of the Executive of the VANCOUVER POLICE UNION. The purpose of this meeting will be to ensure that the information contained in the report is recorded accurately and interpreted fairly.

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UNION PRESIDENT



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DR. JOHN LOWMAN  
RESEARCHER

Should it be deemed that parts of the report are not judged as accurate, fair, or justifiable, the report will be changed in consultation with members of the Union Executive.

POLICESHEET  
TABLES

TABLE 1 - Respondent age:

Average = 36 years

	#
Range = 20's -	5
30's -	10
40's -	4
50's -	1

TABLE 2 - Level of education completed:

	#
Less than grade 10	1
Grade 12 completed	3
Some University/College	14
Completed degree/diploma	2

Note: all respondents in their 20's have at least some University or College education. The two respondents who have completed a degree or diploma are also in their 20's.

TABLE 3 - Length of time on police force:

Average = 12 years

Range = 1 1/2 to 22 years

TABLE 4 - Current unit:

	#
General Patrol	13
Detective (Vice)	7

TABLE 5a - Patrol areas - General Patrol Officers:

Not coded

TABLE 5b - Detective Squads served on - (Detectives);

	#
General Vice/Vice Squad	5
General Squad/General Investigation	3
Drug Squad	2
Stolen Property	2
Major Crime	2
Strike Force	1
CLEU	1
Identification	1
Youth	1

TABLE 6 - Special Units/Task Forces served on - (All respondents):

Too numerous to code



TABLE 7 - Current Patrol area - (General Patrol Officers only):

	#
Team 1/West End/Davie Beat	4
Team 2/Granville /Downtown	2
Team 3/skids/East End/Waterfront	7

TABLE 8 - Percentage of time on duty spent on prostitute "strolls" - (General Patrol Officers):

East End - Average = 26%    Range = 10 to 80%

West End    - Average = 66%    Range = 20 to 100%

Granville - Range = 60%, 90% (only 2 respondents)

TABLE 9 - Percentage of time spent on Bawdy House (and other related activities) General Patrol Officers only):

Average = 2%

Range =                    #  
5% - 4

1% - 1

0% - 7

Note: One respondent gave the answer "Minimal" instead of a percentage; another did not respond to the question.

TABLE 10 - Percentage of time spent on other prostitution-related activity (General Patrol):

East End - Average = 28%    Range = 2 to 75%

West End - Average = 45%    Range = 5 to 75%

Granville - Range = 5%, 20%

TABLE 11 - Purpose of General Patrol in controlling prostitution - (General Patrol Officers only)  
- Multiple Response:

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
Control nuisance factors/protect neighborhoods/residents from street problems caused by prostitution/traffic problems/noise etc.	8
Control prostitution-related crime	7
Contain it in one area/curtail inter-area movement/expansion	4
Keep juveniles off streets	2
Nothing we can do	2
Deter "tricks" through visibility	1
Don't Know	1

TABLE 12 - Current policing measures to control prostitution - (General Patrol Officers only)  
- Multiple Response:

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
Enforce traffic laws	9
Routine checks/I.D. checks of prostitutes	9
Visibility/deter tricks	5
Harrassment	4
Enforce jaywalking/littering	3
Arrests when possible	2
Communication	1
Ways and means act	1
Control strolls (unspecified)	1
Check for weapons	1
Check for drugs	1
Run C.P.I.C. checks	1

TABLE 13 - Percentage of patrol time spent on foot -  
(General Patrol):

East End - Average = 61%    Range = 20 to 90%

West End    - Average = 37%    Range = 1 to 62%

Granville - Range = 60%, 100%

TABLE 14 - Percentage of time spent dealing with  
prostitution when patrolling on foot - (General Patrol):

East End - Average = 16%    Range = 0 to 65%

West End    - Average = 16%    Range = 0 to 50%

Granville - Range = 5%, 20%

TABLE 15 - Percentage of time spent investigating prostitution or related activity (Detective):

Average = 58%                      Range = 0 to 100%

Note: One respondent did not answer this question.

TABLE 16a - Percentage of time spent on street soliciting - (DETECTIVE):

Average = 14%                      Range = 0 to 25%

NOTE: One respondent did not answer.

TABLE 16b - Percentage of time spent investigating procuring - (Detective):

Average = 8%                      Range = 0 to 25%

TABLE 16c - Percentage of time spent investigating Living Off the Avails - (Detective):

Average = 19%                      Range = 0 to 35%

Note: One respondent did not answer.

16d - Percentage of time spent on Bawdy House investigation - (Detective):

Average = 28%                      Range = 0 to 80%

Note: One respondent did not answer.

TABLES 17a - 17d - Not coded.



TABLE 18 - Ever dealt with situations where a crime has been committed against a prostitute - (All Respondents):

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
YES	20
NO	0

TABLE 19 - Describe crimes committed against prostitutes (All) - Multiple Response:

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
Assault by trick	19
Raped by trick	12
Robbery/theft by trick	11
Non-payment by trick	7
Alleged rape	4
Threats	4
Assault	2
Threat by pimp	2
Unlawful confinement	2
Pimp attempt to recruit	1

TABLE 20 - Ever dealt with situations where a prostitute has perpetrated a crime against other - (All):

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
YES	20
NO	0

TABLE 21 - Describe crimes committed by prostitutes -  
(A11) - Multiple Response:

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
Rob/rip-off trick	12
Theft (unspecified)	10
Drugs/drug traffic	5
Assault (unspecified)	5
Threaten trick	3
Possesion of stolen property	3
Causing a disturbance/mischief	3
Assault trick	2
Murder	1
Theft from other prostitute	1
Vandalism	1

TABLE 22 - Percentage of prostitution - related situations dealt with that led to charges being laid:

General Patrol - Average = 21%

Range = 0 to 75%

Note: One respondent did not answer.

Detective - Average = 54%

Range = 35 to 85%

Note: Two respondents replied "Not enough" instead of offering a percentage.

Total - Average = 32%

Range = 0 to 85%

TABLE 23 - Type of charge laid - (All) - Multiple Response:

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
Theft/robbery	11
Assault/wounding	9
Living off avails (LOAP)	4
Keeping Common Bawdy House (KCBH)	4
Procuring	4
Drug-related charges	4
Rape	3
Possession of deadly weapon	3
Threatening	1
Inmate of Bawdy House	1
Causing a disturbance	1
Indecent exposure	1
Possession of stolen property	1
Murder	1
Out-call massage (bylaw 5315)	1
Can only charge if enough evidence	4
Only charge if charge is serious	3

TABLE 24 - End result of charges laid:

Not coded

TABLE 25 - Frequency of resident complaints:

TOTALS - CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
-------------------	---------------

Often	6
-------	---

Daily	4
-------	---

Not very often	7
----------------	---

Once a week	1
-------------	---

5 to 10% of the time	2
----------------------	---

EAST SIDE -CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
---------------------	---------------

Often	1
-------	---

Daily	0
-------	---

Not very often	4
----------------	---

Once a week	1
-------------	---

5-10% of the time	1
-------------------	---

WEST END -CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
--------------------	---------------

Often	3
-------	---

Daily	1
-------	---

Not very often	0
----------------	---

Once a week	0
-------------	---

5-10% of time	0
---------------	---



TABLE 25 Cont'd.

GRANVILLE -CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
Often	0
Daily	0
Not very often	2
Once a week	0
5-10% of time	0
VICE SQUAD -CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
Often	2
Daily	3
Not very often	1
Once a week	0
5-10% of time	1

TABLE 26 - Type of complaints made by residents:

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
Noise	10
Harassment of residents	9
Nuisance	5
Traffic volume	4
Reduced property values	4
Property damage	3
Bawdy house	3
Theft	1

TABLE 27 - How officers deal with complaints:

Not coded

TABLE 28 - Change in methods of policing prostitution:

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
Lack of laws = lack of enforcement	12
Ineffective laws = less policing	6
No change/not much change	4
Crown reluctant to prosecute	3
Could arrest under Vag C in past	2

TABLE 29 - Impetus for change in policing of prostitution:

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
Courts' legal interpretations	11
Removal of Vag C	5
Political/public lobby groups	3
Other	4

TABLE 30 - Impact of street diverters:

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
Give prostitutes a place to stand/ display their "wares"	9
Slowed/"screwed up" traffic	7
Very little positive impact	7
Forced traffic into back alleys/ prostitutes moved into alleys	5
Hampered movement of emergency vehicles	3
Easier access for customers	2

TABLE 31a - Main types of police control since Hutt:

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
I.D. Checks	17
Stopping and ticketing drivers	16
Report people to immigration	16
Follow prostitutes	16
Photographing prostitutes	14
Recording of known prostitutes	14
High patrol visibility	12
V.D. checks	1

TABLE 32 - Percentage of street prostitutes who are juvenile:

Average = 24%

Range = 0 to 70%

Note: One respondent did not know.

TABLE 33 -Any problems associated with policing juveniles?:

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
YES	17
No	1

TABLE 34 - What problems associated with policing juveniles?:

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
No tools/no laws/no power of custody	15
YOA ties our hands/juveniles have legal rights now/law is inneffective	4
Can't charge juveniles for having sex	4
They like the excitement of the life	1
Reduction in social services	1



TABLE 35 - Percentage of prostitutes that have a pimp:

TOTAL            - Average = 60%  
                      Range = 5 to 100%

Note: Four respondents questioned the term "pimp", stating that the term could refer to boyfriends, husbands, etc. as well as the classic notion of a "pimp". Two respondents did not know.

EAST SIDE - Average = 65%  
                      Range = 30 to 100%

Note: Two respondents could not answer.

WEST END    - Average = 57%  
                      Range = 5 to 100%

GRANVILLE - Average = 38%  
                      Range = 20 to 55%

DETECTIVE - Average = 64%  
                      Range = 50 - 85%

Note: Again, four respondents questioned the nature of a "pimp". Generally the percentages were 50% and over, with only five of the 18 respondents who answered giving a percentage of lower than 50%.

TABLE 36:1 - Percentage of prostitutes who are juvenile males:

TOTAL - Average = 6%

Range = 1 to 15%

Note: One respondent did not answer, one did not know.

EAST SIDE - Average = 0%

Range = 0 to 1%

Note: One respondent did not answer, one did not know.

WEST END - Average = 10%

Range = 5 to 15%

GRANVILLE - Average = 5%

Range = 0 to 10%

TABLE 36.2 - Percentage of prostitutes who are juvenile females:

TOTAL - Average = 11%  
Range = 0 to 40%

Note: One did not answer.

EAST SIDE - Average = 8%  
Range = 5 to 20%

Note: one did not answer.

WEST END - Average = 9%  
Range = 5 to 10%

GRANVILLE - Average = 30%  
Range = 20 to 40%

TABLE 36.3, 36.4 - Percentage of prostitutes who are transsexual or transvestite:

TOTAL - Average = 13%  
Range = 0 to 30%

EAST SIDE - Average = 8%  
Range = 0 to 20%

WEST END - Average = 20%  
Range = 5 to 30%

GRANVILLE - Average = 10%  
Range = 10%

TABLE 36.5 - Percentage of prostitutes who are adult males( non transsexual or transvestite):

TOTAL - Average = 5%  
Range = 0 to 20%

Note: One respondent did not know, four did not answer.

EAST SIDE - Average = 2%  
Range = 0 to 5%

Note: One did not reply.

WEST END - Average = 8%  
Range = 1 to 20%

GRANVILLE - Average = 5%  
Range = 0 to 10%

TABLE 36.6 - Percentage of prostitutes who are adult female:

TOTAL - Average = 66%  
Range = 40 to 90%

EAST SIDE - Average = 82%  
Range = 10 to 80%

WEST END - Average = 52%  
Range = 40 to 70%

GRANVILLE - Average = 50%  
Range = 50%

TABLE 37 - Any problems associated with policing transsexuals or transvestites:

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
Get beaten by tricks who thought they were women	7
No special problems	6
Police have to decide whether to treat/process etc as male or female	3
They are more violent	3
They are neurotic	2
More apt to rob tricks	1

TABLE 38 - Percentage of sexually procured juveniles who work on the street:

TOTAL - Average = 64%  
Range = 5 to 100%

Note: Seven respondents did not know.

EAST SIDE - Average = 52%  
Range = 5 to 90%

Note: Two did not know, one did not answer.

WEST END - Average = 69%  
Range = 5 to 100%

GRANVILLE - Average = 70%  
Range - 70%

Note: one did not answer.



TABLE 39a - Problems with enforcing street soliciting law:

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
Inadequate laws/definition of soliciting law is problematic/ Need change in soliciting law	11
No laws to enforce	9
Mentions of problems associated with street prostitution in residential areas	8
Judicial reluctance to charge	1

39b - Problems associated with enforcing laws related to  
bawdy houses:

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
Don't know/patrol doesn't deal with this area	7
Evidence is hard to get/need proof of frequent use of room/hard to get statement from john etc.	5
Takes up manpower/time/equipment	3
Mobility of prostitutes/they move around frequently	3
Judicial/Crown reluctance to prosecute	2
Not stated	1

TABLE 39c - Problems associated with enforcing laws related to body rub parlours:

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
No experience in this area/ patrol doesn't do this/don't know	12
Hard to get evidence/controlled access to premises	7
By-law offense/licensing	2
Time consuming	1
Not stated	1

TABLE 39d - Problems associated with enforcing laws related to escort agencies:

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
No experience/patrol doesn't do this/don't know	10
Hard to gather evidence/information	7
Time consuming	1
Crown reluctance to prosecute	1
Not stated	1

TABLE 39e - Problems associated with enforcing laws related to procuring:

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
No experience/patrol doesn't do this/don't know	9
Refusal of prostitute to give evidence/fear of pimp reprisals/have a relationship with pimp	8
Time consuming	1
Crown won't take charges from police	1
None	1

TABLE 39f - Problems associated with enforcing "Living off the avails" statute:

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
Refusal of prostitutes to give evidence/fear of/love for pimp	14
No experience/patrol doesn't do this/don't know	4
Time consuming	2

TABLE 39g - Problems associated with enforcing laws with regard to juveniles:

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
Ineffective laws/can't hold them/ can't keep them off the streets	10
Lack of laws	4
No enforcement	3
They like the lifestyle	2
Problems with obtaining evidence	2
None	2
Don't know/no experience	1

TABLE 40 - Preference among proposed legal changes with respect to adult prostitutes:

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
CRIMINALIZATION	10
LEGALIZATION	10

TABLE 41 - Perceived advantages of Legalization with respect to adult prostitutes:

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
Could control area/movement/ red light district	7
Could control disease/medical problems	5
Could gain revenue by taxing them	5
Will never eradicate it/will always be a demand for prostitution	4

TABLE 41 - Perceived advantages of Criminalization with regard to adult prostitutes:

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
It's the only effective way to control it/other two won't work/ will never eradicate prostitution so need laws to control it	8
Would help to control related crime	3
Don't want people to see it as a career option	2
Takes it off the street/give us control over streets	2
Control disease	1
Prostitution is immoral	1



TABLE 42 - Preference among proposed legal changes with respect to juveniles who are sexually procured:

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
CRIMINALIZATION	18
SOME OTHER ALTERNATIVE	2

TABLE 43 - Perceived advantages of Criminalization with respect to juveniles who are procured for sexual purposes:

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
Juveniles are too young to know right and wrong/should not be allowed to choose until they are adults/they don't know the consequences	8
Only effective means of control/ to control prostitution	7
Children should not be used sexually/should not be prostitutes/destroys human values	5
To control related crime	2
Prostitution is slavery (for both adults and juveniles)	1
Not stated	1

TABLE 45 - Agreement with preference of legal change  
as a citizen:

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
YES	18
NO	1
Don't Know	1

TABLE 46 - Perception of prostitution as an increasing  
problem in Vancouver:

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
YES	20
NO	0

TABLE 47 - Given reasons for perceived increase in prostitution as a social problem:

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
More prostitutes in residential area/visibility in residential areas causes problems	9
Rise in the number of visible prostitutes	5
More people complaining/residents/media drawing more attention to it	5
No means of control	2
Vancouver is an ideal place for it/ weather/location/tourists etc.	2
More juveniles	1
More transsexuals/transvestites	1
More "weekend" hookers	1

TABLE 48 - Reported causes of increase of prostitution as a social problem:

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
Vancouver is ideal/tourists/transients/Vancouver is infamous	9
Change in moral climate	7
Lack of adequate laws/Hutt decision/little chance of prostitutes being charged	7
Lack of control/enforcement	7
Easy money	5
Bad economic times	4
Easy drugs	1

TABLE 50 - Perception of Prostitution and the drug trade as part of the same subculture:

CATEGORY	# OF Resp.
Yes	13
No	4
Yes and No	2
Don't Know	1

TABLE 51 - Reasons for perceived connection between prostitution and the drug trade:

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
They go hand in hand/many/most prostitutes are addicts/users/ drugs make their job tolerable/ Prostitution supports their habit	13

TABLE 51 - Reasons for perceived non-connection between prostitution and the drug trade:

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
Not all prostitutes use drugs/ are addicts/only skid road prostitutes are addicts	3
Other subcultures use drugs too/ the two aren't mutually exclusive or inclusive	2
They only use drugs/don't sell drugs	1

TABLE 52 - Is prostitution in Vancouver run by organized crime?:

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
Yes	0
No	20

TABLE 53 - Given reasons for the lack of connection between prostitution in Vancouver and organized crime:

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
Most work for independent pimps	7
Know from personal experience/ observation/no evidence of being run by organized crime	7
They work for themselves/they aren't organized in any way	4
There might be informal links between one or two pimps	2
Not stated	1

TABLE 54 - Perception of prostitution as being a problem only when visible on the street or in residential areas:

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
Yes	4
No	13
Don't Know/question too vague	2
Not stated	1



TABLE 55 - Reasons given in describing prostitution as a problem even when not visible on streets or in residential areas:

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
Other crimes/problems associated with prostitution of all kinds	12
Prostitution is also visible in bars/clubs etc.	6

TABLE 55 - Reasons given in describing prostitution as a problem only when visible on streets or in residential areas:

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
Out of sight, out of mind	4

TABLE 56 - Reactions to Concerned Residents of the West End (C.R.O.W.E.):

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
They are taking last-resort measures/frustrated by lack of government intervention/laws	6
Dangerous/irresponsible/mob psychology/may result in violent confrontation	6
All for them/they're doing the right thing	5
They are politically directed/ political implications	4
What they are doing has negative legal ramifications	3
They will just move the prostitutes somewhere else	2
Ineffective (unspecified)	1
Not applicable in this area	1

TABLE 58 - Reaction to The Alliance for the Safety of Prostitutes:

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
They provide useful information to prostitutes/distribute "bad trick sheets" to prostitutes/police/	8
Don't like their philosophy/politically extreme/polarized	5
They are badly organized	5
They aren't changing anything	4
They have no credibility	3
They won't cooperate with the police	2
Don't know anything about them	2

TABLE 59a - Services available for adult prostitutes:

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
Welfare	9
None/don't know of any	8
MHR	5
Clinics/Public Health Dep't.	2
Drug and alcohol counselling	1
Same as for anyone else	1

TABLE 59b - Services available for sexually procured juveniles:

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
575 Drake St./Emergency Services	10
MHR	10
None	3
Welfare	2
Senator Hotel	2
Don't Know	1

TABLE 60 - Perception of named services as being effective:

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
Welfare gives them money	6
Ineffective/don't address the real problem/none are effective	6
They have no power/"revolving door"	4
They aren't effective because the problem is getting worse	2



TABLE 61 - Other services needed:

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
They don't need any/would be a waste of money	5
Some way to get juveniles off the street	5
Cut off welfare for adult prostitutes	3
Don't Know	3
Counselling	2
Halfway houses	1
Need houses to work in	1
Not stated	1

TABLE 62a - Reported annual income of "call girls":

Average = \$57,000

Range = \$20,000 to  
\$75,000 per  
year

Note: Ten respondents could not answer.

TABLE 62b - Reported annual income of street prostitutes:

Average = \$48,600

Range = \$10,000 to  
\$150,000 per  
year.

Note: Three respondents did not know, one did not answer.

TABLE 62c,d - Reported annual income of transsexual/  
transvestite prostitutes:

Average = \$44,000

Range = \$15,000 to  
\$86,000 per  
year.

Note: Ten respondents did not know, two did not answer.

TABLE 62e - Reported annual income of sexually procured juveniles:

Average = \$26,000

Range = \$10,000 to  
\$50,000 per  
year.Note: Seven respondents did not know, one did not answer.  
One person felt that juveniles are taken care of, rather  
than paid.

TABLE 63 - Perceived reasons for adult prostitutes to have pimps:

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
Protection	12
Love/emotional stability/ emotional dependency	10
Live with boyfriend	2
Territorial rights	2
Coercion	1
Drug connections	1

TABLE 64 - Perceived reasons for juveniles to have pimps:

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
Love/emotional stability/ dependency/father figure	13
Protection	9
Fear/domination	5
Drug dependency	2
Territorial rights	1
Excitement/novelty	1
Financial assistance/place to live	1
Contacts	1

TABLE 65 - Main reasons for a person to become a prostitute:

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
Easy money/they think it's easy money	7
Money (unspecified)	7
Economic need/no jobs	4
No job skills/no education	3
Action on the streets	3
Come from a broken home	2
To support a drug habit	1
Stupidity	1
It's not a conscious choice	1
Enjoyment of sex	1

TABLE 66 - Reasons predisposing juveniles to sexual procurement:

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
Broken/abusive homes	5
Economic need/to support themselves	5
Money (unspecified)	5
Runaways	3
Attraction of street life	3
Easy money	3
Lack of skills/education	2
Popularity/attention	2
Coercion	1
Drug abuse	1



TABLE 67 - Perception of sexually procured juveniles as being prostitutes:

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
Yes	19
No	0
Not stated	1

TABLE 68 - Reasons given for perceiving juveniles as prostitutes:

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
Age doesn't make any difference/ still selling sex for money by choice	17
If over 15 years old, yes	1
Procurement might be seen as love	1
Not stated	1

TABLE 69 - Under what circumstances should customers of adult prostitutes be charged:

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
Charge if they buy/solicit services all customers should be charged	9
If they solicit in public }	3
Shouldn't be charged/not an illegal act/prostitution isn't illegal so being a customer shouldn't be	5
Only if they commit a criminal act	4
If the prostitute is charged	1
Not stated	1

TABLE 70 - Reasons given for charging customers of adult prostitutes:

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
If there were no purchasers, there would be no sellers/it's a two-way street/have to treat buyer and seller the same	9
If customers commit an illegal act/ prostitutes should be protected like anyone else	3
It shouldn't be in public	2
Not stated	1

TABLE 70 - Reasons given for not charging the customers of adult prostitutes:

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
It's a victimless crime	1
Not clear as to what is/isn't an offense	1
Prostitution isn't illegal	1

TABLE 71 - Proposed penalties for convicted customers of adult prostitutes:

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
Fines	8
Severe enough to deter	6
Same penalty as for prostitutes	3
Don't Know	3

TABLE 72 -Under what circumstances should customers of juvenile prostitutes be charged?

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
Charge in all cases	11
Charge only when customer solicits	5
Charge only if juvenile is very young/difficult to determine whether person is a juvenile in some cases	3

TABLE 73 - Reasons given for charging the customers of juveniles:

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
Juveniles have to be protected	10
Younger juveniles have to be protected	3
No difference in charges of customers of adults and juveniles	4

TABLE 74 - Proposed penalties for charged customers of juveniles:

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
Heavy fines/jail	7
Sufficient to deter	5
Fines	4

TABLE 75 - Would prostitutes get out of the business if they had alternative means of support?:

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
Yes	6
No	12
Don't know/undecided	2

TABLE 76 - Reasons attributed to why prostitutes would/would not leave the profession:

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
They are lazy/enjoy the lifestyle the money/the drugs	8
No-one likes being a prostitute/ a lot of them hate the job/they feel degraded/they only do it to survive	5
Only if they could make more money than they do now/other jobs don't pay as much	3
Most have no skills/education for another job	2
They get stuck in the life	1
Depends on their motivation for getting into prostitution	1
Takes a serious incident to get out	1
Don't know	1



TABLE 77 - Perception of prostitution as being easy/difficult to get out of:

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
Very easy to get out	3
Fairly easy to get out	2
Fairly difficult to get out	4
Very difficult to get out	8

TABLE 78 - Reasons given for prostitution being very/  
fairly easy to get out of:

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
If they have no pimp,they are in control of their own lives	3
If they really want to,they can	4
Providing they have a job alternative	1

TABLE 78 - Reasons given for prostitution being  
fairly/very difficult to get out of:

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
They like the lifestyle/money/ drugs	6
The mind frame is difficult to get out of/hard to discipline themselves to a regular job/regular hours	6
They have no education/skills	6
Many prostitutes are involved with pimps	4
Can't make enough money at a regular job	4
Drug addicted people can't do a "normal" job	4

TABLE 79 - Proposed solutions to prostitution:

CATEGORY	# OF RESP.
Legalize it/open red light districts with conduct rules/ medical checks/protection etc.	10
No real solution/will never be eradicated	6
Get it off the streets/put it indoors/by-law to keep it off the street	5
Need stronger controls/laws generally	3
Improve family life	2
Juveniles should be placed in a safe environment	2
Keep pimps out of business	1
Treat them as people, not criminals	1

APPENDIX C  
QUESTIONNAIRE, CODELISTS AND TABLES FOR CHAPTER V  
(SOCIAL SERVICES STUDY)





1.

SOCIAL SERVICES

To begin with, some questions about your particular service agency or group:

1. What is the full name of your organization? \_\_\_\_\_
2. Your name and full title? \_\_\_\_\_
3. Address of your organization? \_\_\_\_\_
- 3a. Address of your office? \_\_\_\_\_

4. What are the services your organization provides? CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY AT Q.4, BELOW. PLEASE CIRCLE THE NUMBER BESIDE THE SERVICE(S). THEN PROCEED TO Q.5.

5. How are each of your services funded? Which services involve volunteer workers? PLEASE CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY AT Q. 5., BELOW.

Q. 5

Q.4-SERVICES	FEDERAL FUNDING	PROVINCIAL FUNDING	MUNICIPAL FUNDING	PRIVATE FUNDING	DON'T KNOW	VOLUNTEER WORKERS
1. Protection Services	1	2	3	4	5	6
<u>CHILD/YOUTH SERVICES: (INDIVIDUAL)</u>						
2. Counselling	1	2	3	4	5	6
3. Recreation	1	2	3	4	5	6
4. Educational	1	2	3	4	5	6
5. Assessment	1	2	3	4	5	6
6. Child abuse counselling	1	2	3	4	5	6
<u>FAMILY SERVICES: (GROUP)</u>						
7. Counselling	1	2	3	4	5	6
8. Recreation	1	2	3	4	5	6
9. Educational	1	2	3	4	5	6
10. Assessment	1	2	3	4	5	6
11. Child abuse counselling	1	2	3	4	5	6
<u>PROBATION:</u>						
12. Adult	1	2	3	4	5	6
13. Juvenile	1	2	3	4	5	6
<u>FINANCIAL AID:</u>						
14. Food	1	2	3	4	5	6
15. Shelter	1	2	3	4	5	6
<u>MEDICAL:</u>						
16. Counselling drug/alcohol abuse	1	2	3	4	5	6
17. Mental health counselling	1	2	3	4	5	6
18. Rape victim counselling	1	2	3	4	5	6
19. General health svcs.	1	2	3	4	5	6
20. Specialized health services	1	2	3	4	5	6
21. Family planning	1	2	3	4	5	6
22. Abortion Counselling	1	2	3	4	5	6
23. Nutrition/health counselling/ pre/post natal counselling	1	2	3	4	5	6
24. Specialized group medical services	1	2	3	4	5	6
<u>OTHER SERVICES:</u>						
25. Special Interest Group svcs.	1	2	3	4	5	6
26. Third World Group svcs.	1	2	3	4	5	6
27. Native Group svcs.	1	2	3	4	5	6
28. Legal services	1	2	3	4	5	6
29. OTHER SVCS:SPECIFY: a. _____	1	2	3	4	5	6
b. _____	1	2	3	4	5	6

2.

6. Is your organization a profit or non-profit organization(CIRCLE APPLICABLE #)

1. PROFIT

2. NON-PROFIT

7. What percentage of the services you provide are:

1. RESIDENTIAL \_\_\_\_\_ %

2. DROP-IN SERVICE \_\_\_\_\_ %

3. BY APPOINTMENT \_\_\_\_\_ %

4. OUT-REACH \_\_\_\_\_ %

X. OTHER(SPECIFY): \_\_\_\_\_ %

\_\_\_\_\_ %

8.(IF APPLICABLE) Which of the services provided by your organization are residential (ie. where clients reside at the agency or a branch of the agency)? PLEASE LIST

\_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

9. (IF APPLICABLE) What percentage of your organization's clients are residential?

\_\_\_\_\_ %

10. What percentage of your organization's clients fit into the following age categories?

1. Under 14. \_\_\_\_\_ %

2. 14-17 yrs. \_\_\_\_\_ %

3. 18-20 yrs. \_\_\_\_\_ %

4. 21-30 yrs. \_\_\_\_\_ %

5. 31-40 yrs. \_\_\_\_\_ %

6. 41-60 yrs. \_\_\_\_\_ %

7. Over 60 yrs. \_\_\_\_\_ %

11. Does your agency charge the client a fee for services or are services paid for in some other way?

1. Client pays fee

2. Fee paid for some other way - SPECIFY \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

12. What is the average amount of time spent with a client serviced by your organization? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

13. How much of this time would be on a one-to-one basis? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

14. Please give a brief summary description of the service mandate of your organization: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

3.

15. Would you say that your organization has satisfactorily met the goals of its mandate?

1. YES - GO TO Q. 17.

2. NO - ANSWER Q. 16.

16. If not, why not? Would you say this is because of: CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY.

- |                            |   |
|----------------------------|---|
| 1. Inadequate funding      | 6. Lack of support among professional peers |
| 2. Poor client access      | 7. Lack of community support                |
| 3. Staff training problems | 8. Lack of support from other agencies      |
| 4. Shortage of personnel   | X. Other (SPECIFY): _____                   |
| 5. Lack of supervision     |   |

16b. Please comment on the answers you gave above at Q. 16.

NOW ANSWER Q. 17.

PLEASE ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS, EVEN IF YOUR ORGANIZATION DOES NOT DEAL SPECIFICALLY WITH PROSTITUTES OR JUVENILES WHO ARE PROCURED FOR SEXUAL PURPOSES.

17. Does your organization provide, as one of its functions, direct front-line services for prostitutes and/or juveniles who are procured for sex?

1. YES - ANSWER Q.18.

2. NO - SKIP TO Q. 19

18. What front line services do you provide for adult prostitutes? \_\_\_\_\_

18b. What front line services do you provide for juveniles who have been sexually procured? \_\_\_\_\_

19. What percentage of your clients are:

a. Adult prostitutes \_\_\_\_\_ %

b. Juveniles who are sexually procured \_\_\_\_\_ %

20. What other services does your organization provide that might be needed at some time by:

a. Adult prostitutes \_\_\_\_\_

b. Juveniles who are procured for sex \_\_\_\_\_

4.

21. What services do you think should be provided for adult prostitutes that are currently not offered in Vancouver - either in your own organization, or in some other organization? \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

22. What services do you think should be offered for sexually procured juveniles that are currently not offered in Vancouver - either in your own organization, or in some other organization? \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

23. What problems, if any, are associated with servicing:

1. Adult prostitutes \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

2. Sexually procured juveniles \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

24. (IF APPLICABLE) Do you find that some, or many of the adult prostitutes that your organization services have at some time been involved in the production of sexually explicit films or magazines?

1. SOME  
 2. MANY  
 0. NONE  
 V. DON'T KNOW

25. Have you encountered any juveniles who have been involved in the production of sexually explicit films or magazines?

1. SOME  
 2. MANY  
 0. NONE  
 V. DONT'T KNOW

26. Have these same juveniles ever been sexually procured?

1. YES                      2. NO                      3. V. DON'T KNOW

27. Do you see anything in the background of some of your clients that might predispose them to resort to selling themselves for sexual purposes? If so, what might that be?

1. JUVENILES: \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

2. ADULTS: \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

28. What percentage of your client population appear to have been sexually abused as a child?  
 \_\_\_\_\_%

29. What percentage of juveniles who have been sexually procured have also been sexually abused by family members or people associated with their family?

\_\_\_\_\_  
%

30. If your organization does not include services to the following types of clients, to who would you refer them? PLEASE ANSWER FOR EACH TYPE OF CLIENT THAT YOUR ORGANIZATION DOES NOT SERVICE.

TYPE OF CLIENT	WOULD REFER THEM TO:
a). Juveniles who have been or are procured for sexual purposes:	_____
b). Juveniles who have drug or alcohol problems:	_____
c). Juveniles who have nowhere to stay:	_____
d). Juveniles who have been or are sexually abused:	_____
e). Adult prostitutes who have drug or alcohol problems:	_____
f). Adult prostitutes who have been raped:	_____

31. If your organization does include services to those types of client, what service would you offer them? PLEASE ANSWER FOR THOSE TYPES OF CLIENT YOUR ORGANIZATION SERVICES.

TYPE OF CLIENT	SERVICE
a). Juveniles who have been or are procured for sexual purposes:	_____ _____ _____
b). Juveniles with drug or alcohol problems:	_____ _____ _____
c). Juveniles who have nowhere to stay:	_____ _____ _____
d). Juveniles who have been or are sexually abused:	_____ _____ _____
e). Adult prostitutes who have drug or alcohol problems:	_____ _____ _____
f). Adult prostitutes who have been raped:	_____ _____ _____



6.

Now a few questions about the situation in British Columbia:

32. Do you think that the prostitution and procuring situation in Vancouver is uniquely different from that in the rest of Canada?

1. YES

2. NO - SKIP TO Q. 35

33. In what way do you think the situation here is different? \_\_\_\_\_

34. What reasons do you see (if any) as the causes of this difference? \_\_\_\_\_

NOW ANSWER Q. 35

35. (IF APPLICABLE) Has your organization seen any change in the number of prostitutes or juveniles who are sexually procured using your services over the past few years? CIRCLE APPLICABLE NUMBER(S) FOR ADULT AND OR JUVENILE.

1. No change in number of adults

2. No change in number of juveniles

3. Increase in number of adults

4. Increase in number of juveniles

5. Decrease in number of adults

6. Decrease in number of juveniles

36. What do you feel are the primary reasons for this change? \_\_\_\_\_

The proposed changes to Law relating to adult prostitution include:

A. Criminalization: Maintenance of criminal laws applying to bawdy houses, procuring and the introduction of a law which prevents street solicitation by both prostitutes and customers.

B. Decriminalization: Removal of all criminal laws relating to adult prostitution. Adult prostitution would be unregulated except for some provision for taxation. Most advocates of decriminalization would wish to retain a law relating to the procurement of juveniles.

C. Legalization: Legalization and regulation of prostitution in bawdy houses/ "red light" districts controlled by the government.

37. Which of these options would you prefer to see implemented in the case of adult prostitution, or would you prefer to see some other alternative?

1. Criminalization

3. Legalization

2. Decriminalization

X. Other (DESCRIBE): \_\_\_\_\_

38. Why would you prefer to see that option in effect? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

39. How would these changes affect the mandate of your organization? (IF APPLICABLE)

1. Criminalization of prostitution: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

2. Decriminalization: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

3. Legalization: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

40. What other types of approaches (ie. non-legal) do you feel Canadians as a society could or should adopt with respect to adult prostitution?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

41. What action would you recommend that legislators take in the case of juveniles who are procured for sexual purposes? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

42. Why would you recommend that course of action? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

43. What other types of approach (ie. non-legal) should be adopted to deal with the problem of juveniles being procured for sexual purposes? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

44. If you feel strongly about some of the issues we have addressed in the questionnaire but did not have the opportunity to describe your feelings fully , please elaborate below:

This image shows a single sheet of white paper with horizontal ruling lines. The lines are evenly spaced and run across the width of the page. There is no text or other markings on the paper.

This image shows a single sheet of white paper with horizontal ruling lines. The lines are evenly spaced and run across the width of the page. There is no handwriting or other markings on the paper.

March 21/1984

John Lowman Ph.D.  
Assistant Professor  
Dept. of Criminology  
Simon Fraser University  
Burnaby, B.C.

Project Mailing Address:  
P.O. Box 82400  
Burnaby, B.C. V5C 5P8

To whom it may concern:

I am an Assistant Professor in the Department of Criminology at Simon Fraser University. For a number of years I have studied prostitution, and as a result have recently been contracted by the Department of Justice to complete the British Columbia section of a National Study on Prostitution (the findings of which will subsequently be made available to the Fraser Committee on Prostitution and Pornography). The research will include sections on legislation, policing, prostitution as an occupation, clients and social services. It is with respect to the last of these that I am contacting you. The purpose is to establish what kind of social services are available for prostitutes and general attitudes towards prostitutes and prostitution. I am thus requesting that you complete the enclosed questionnaire.

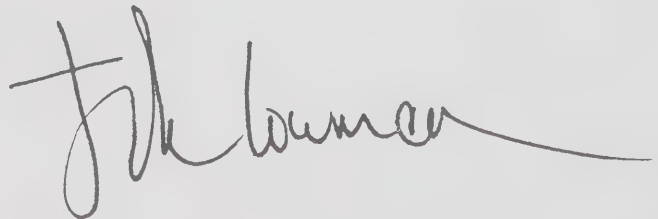
In some cases questionnaire(s) will be sent to specific individuals; others sent to the agency generally. In the latter case please fill in a questionnaire yourself and/or distribute any others to the most appropriate individual(s). We realize that this request is an imposition on your time but it is vitally important that we are assisted by your input as soon as possible (no later than April 6, if that is at all possible).

We have tried to make the questionnaire as general as possible in order to cover a variety of organizations - should you find that some of the questions are irrelevant to your organization simply note that they are "not applicable", and/or give personal comments when appropriate.

If you have any questions about the research, please contact John Lowman at 291-4765 (messages 291-3213) or Laura Fraser at 294-2769.

Thank you for your co-operation,

John Lowman, Ph.D.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'John Lowman', with a long, sweeping horizontal line extending to the right.

## CODESOCIAL

Q3a.

- 1 Downtown east side
- 2 Downtown west end
- 3 Suburban (incl. S. Van area, W. side)
- 4 North Vancouver
- 5 West Vancouver
- 6 Richmond
- 7 Surrey
- 8 Burnaby
- 9 Coquitlam
- 10 Port Coquitlam
- 11 Delta (incl. White Rock & Tsawassen)
- 12 Fort Moody
- 13 Fraser Valley (incl. Haney, Maple Ridge, Mission Abbotsford, Langley, Chilliwack and Matsqui)
- 14 Outside Lower Mainland
- 15 New Westminster



Q4.

- 1 Protection
- 2 Child/Youth Services
- 3 Family Services
- 4 Probation
- 5 Financial Aid
- 6 Medical Counselling (16-18, 21-23)
- 7 Medical Treatment (19, 20, 24)
- 8 Legal Services
- 33 Other services (SPECIFY)

- Q5.
- 1 Federal Gov't only
  - 2 Provincial Gov't only
  - 3 Municipal Gov't only
  - 4 Private only
  - 5 Multi funded Gov't only
  - 6 Multi funded Gov't and Private
  - 7 Volunteer workers
  - 8 Multi-funded-Gov't.,private
  - 9 Gov't.,private,volunteers
  - 10 Federal, volunteers
  - 11 Provincial, volunteers
  - 12 Municipal, volunteers
  - 13 Private, volunteers
  - 88 Don't Know
  - 77 Not stated

- Q6.
- 1 Yes
  - 2 No
  - 88 Don't Know
  - 77 Not stated

Q7,9,10.

0 None

1 1-10%

2 11-20%

3 21-40%

4 41-60%

5 61-80%

6 81-100%

88 Don't Know

77 Not stated

- Q7.
- a) Residential (1.)
  - b) Drop in service (2.)
  - c) By appointment (3.)
  - d) Outreach (4.)
  - e) Crisis-telephone (5.)
  - f) Crisis-emergencies (6.)
  - g) Contract work (7 )
- 33 Other (SPECIFY)
- 88 Don't know
- 77 Not stated

- Q10.
- a) Under 14
  - b) 14-17 yrs.
  - c) 18-20 yrs.
  - d) 21-30 yrs.
  - e) 31-40 yrs.
  - f) 41-60 yrs.
  - g) Over 60 yrs.
- 88 Don't Know
- 77 Not stated

Q11.

- 1 Client pays fee
- 2 Client pays part of fee/rest of fee paid for by gov't., grants, private funding, donations
- 3 Cost covered by govt., grants, private funding, donations
- 33 Other (SPECIFY)
- 88 Don't Know
- 77 Not stated



Q14.

- 1 Legal advice/counselling/information education for community/poor
- 2 Residential program for emotionally disturbed/behavioural problem adolescents
- 3 Enforce MHR/Gov't. policy/Investigate & assist in Family & Child-rens' Services Act/Income assistance/Child protection
- 4 Adult residence for chemically dependant
- 5 Education/counselling program for emotionally troubled children/recreational and social skills program
- 6 Contract/one-to-one/apprehension prevention
- 7 Neighborhood house/community centre serving variety of needs/ services for the community
- 8 Womens' organization/centre for counselling/education/research/ advocacy
- 9 Crisis centre for pregnancy/suicide/rape/medical/family
- 10 Probation supervision/enforce JDA, YOA and Family Relations Act
- 11 Medical services/clinics/community hospitals/Vancouver Health Dep't./medical education/treatment
- 12 Alcohol and Drug Community Teams/outpatient counselling
- 13 General services/counselling/ food/shelter etc. for those in need
- 33 Other (SPECIFY)
- 88 Don't Know
- 77 Not stated

Q15.

- 1 Yes
- 2 No.
- 88 Don't Know
- 77 Not stated

Q16.

- 1 Inadequate funding
- 2 Poor client access
- 3 Staff training problems
- 4 Shortage of personnel
- 5 Lack of supervision
- 6 Lack of support among professional peers
- 7 Lack of community support
- 8 Lack of support from other agencies
- 9 All of the above/all valid
- 33 Other (SPECIFY)
- 88 Don't Know
- 77 Not stated

Q16b.

- 1 Too much demand for service/  
not enough staff
- 2 Cutbacks/hard economic times
- 3 Lack of training/awareness
- 4 Lack of funding
- 33 Other (SPECIFY)
- 88 Don't know
- 77 Not stated

Q17.

1 Yes

2 No

88 Don't Know

77 Not stated

Q18a,18b,  
Q20a,20b.

- 2 Counselling-  
individuals/family/group/addiction  
counselling/self- awareness  
counselling/all  
mentions of counselling
- 3 Education/information/training
- 4 Assessment/referral
- 5 Legal services
- 6 Crisis lines/centre/rape relief etc.
- 7 Medical services/detox
- 8 Nothing specifically for  
prostitutes/same services offered to  
everyone
- 9 Income assistance
- 10 Accomodation/temporary shelter
- 11 Child protection/placement
- 12 Advocacy
- 13 Mental health services
- 14 Probation supervision
- 15 Variety of services (not specified)
- 0 None/No others
- 33 Other (SPECIFY)
- 88 Don't Know
- 77 Not stated

Q19a, 19b.

0. None

1 1-5%

2 6-10%

3 11-20%

4 21-40%

5 41-60%

6 61-80%

7 81-100%

9 Many of them

10 A few

88 Don't Know

77 Not stated



- Q21.
- 2 Economic support/more jobs/more welfare etc
  - 3 Job training/counselling/education
  - 4 Health clinics/medical services
  - 5 Legalized brothels/protection from pimps
  - 6 Public education/awareness
  - 7 Drug/alcohol counselling
  - 8 Safe shelters
  - 9 Emotional counselling/group/family/individual
  - 10 Stricter legal enforcement against soliciting
  - 11 Spiritual counselling
  - 12 Services to deal with sexual/physical abuse
  - 0 None/can't think of any
  - 33 Other (SPECIFY)
  - 88 Don't Know
  - 77 Not stated

- 3      Q22.
- 1 Safe shelter with trained professionals
  - 2 More street workers
  - 3 Better/m ore treatment centres to deal with sexual/ physical abuse/better trained counsellors dealing with sexual/physical abuse/generally better facilities to deal with sexual/physical abuse
  - 4 General counselling individuals/group/family
  - 5 Stiffer penalties for consumers
  - 6 Training/education/information/employment programs/ vocational/academic training etc.
  - 7 Crisis counselling
  - 8 Realistic alternative lifestyle programs/services directed at prevention/diversion from street
  - 9 Transition houses
  - 10 Drug/alcohol counselling
  - 11 Drop-in centres
  - 12 Stricter law enforcement/removal from street physically
  - 13 Financial assistance
  - 14 Spiritual counselling
  - 0 None/can't think of any
  - 33 Other (SPECIFY)
  - 88 Don't Know
  - 77 Not stated

Q23.

- 2 Client resistance
- 3 Attraction of street/desire to stay on street/like the lifestyle/friends are on the street/drug culture a way of life
- 4 Lack of training in social service field/among social workers/lack of adequate services/alternative services
- 5 Lack of education/training
- 6 Lack of alternatives/no jobs available/no realistic options
- 7 Cutbacks/lack of funds for services
- 8 Need for anonymity/concerns about losing welfare
- 9 Lack family support
- 10 Limited residence accomodation
- 0 None/can't think of any
- 33 Other (SPECIFY)
- 88 Don't Know

Q24,25.

- 1 Some
- 2 Many
- 0 None
- 88 Don't Know
- 77 Not stated

Q26.

1 Yes

2 No

4 Some of them

88 Don't know

77 Not stated

- 1 Sexual abuse by family/family friend/stranger/authority figure
- 2 Physical abuse by family/family friend/stranger/authority figure
- 3 Emotional abuse/neglect
- 4 Economic need/desire/poverty
- 5 Desire for friendship/love and affection/attraction of excitement on street/street people
- 6 Poor or unstable family/family alienation/dysfunctional family
- 7 Lack of viable work or training alternatives
- 8 Substance abuse
- 9 Poor self-image
- 10 Numerous family living arrangements/foster/group homes/ natural parents/relatives
- 11 Learning disabilities
- 12 Promiscuity
- 13 General family violence
- 0 Nothing/no/none
- 33 Other (SPECIFY) 88 Don't Know
- 77 Not stated



Q28,29.

0. None

1 1-5%

2 6-10%

3 11-20%

4 21-30%

5 31-40%

6 41-60%

7 61-80%

8 81-100%

9 Many

10 A few

88 Don't Know

77 Not stated

- Q30.
- 1 Provide this service/service included
  - 2 M.H.R./E.S./Outreach/Financial aid/  
food/shelter
  - 3 Police
  - 4 U.B.C. Health Services
  - 5 Rape relief/rape crisis
  - 6 Senator
  - 7 Mental health services
  - 8 VISACS
  - 9 Private therapists
  - 10 Medical services
  - 11 Family services
  - 12 Alcohol/drug counselling -  
outpatient
  - 13 Alcohol/drug counselling - inpatient
  - 14 Group home/foster home
  - 15 CHIMO
  - 16 First United Church
  - 17 Act II
  - 18 Rehab. Salvation Army
  - 19 WAVAW
  - 20 Women's centres/support groups
  - 21 Lawyer
  - 22 Crisis centre
  - 0 Nowhere/nowhere to refer them
  - 33 Other (SPECIFY)
  - 88 Don't Know
  - 77 Not stated

- Q31.
- 1 Do not provide this service
  - 2 Counselling-individual/group/family
  - 3 Accomodation/temporary shelter
  - 4 Foster home/group home
  - 5 Education/vocation
  - 6 Life skills (unspecified)
  - 7 Supervise probation
  - 8 Advocacy
  - 9 Medical services
  - 10 Mental health services
  - 12 Income Assistance
  - 13 Legal services
  - 0 Nothing
  - 33 Other (SPECIFY)
  - 88 Don't Know
  - 77 Not Stated

- Q32.
- 1 Yes
  - 2 No
  - 88 Don't Know
  - 77 Not stated

- Q33.
- 2 Climate more condusive/warmer climate
  - 3 More visible
  - 4 Linked to drugs/drug traffic
  - 5 More young males/juvenile males
  - 6 Some response to the problem here
  - 7 Diverse population
  - 8 Non-legal/not operational
  - 9 Lack educational services
  - 0 Nothing/nothing in particular
  - 33 Other (SPECIFY)
  - 88 Don't Know
  - 77 Not stated

- Q34.
- 2 Geographical attractions/attractions to runaways
  - 3 Active and vocal womens' movement
  - 4 Media created free advertising
  - 5 Liberal social attitudes
  - 0 Nothing/Nothing in particular
  - 33 Other (SPECIFY)
  - 88 Don't Know
  - 77 Not stated

Q35.

- 1 No change in number of adults
- 2 No change in number of juveniles
- 3 Increase in number of adults
- 4 Increase in number of juveniles
- 5 Decrease in number of adults
- 6 Decrease in number of juveniles
- 88 Don't Know
- 77 Not stated

Q36.

- 2 Economics/people giving up hopes/high unemployment/threatening economic/social environment
- 3 More acceptable to discuss openly now/increased community awareness
- 4 Lack of training opportunities/facilitites
- 5 Lax attitudes towards prostitution/pornography tend to legitimate it
- 6 Sexual abberations in minds of youth
- 7 Inadequate staff training for treatment/counselling sexual abuse
- 8 Access to street life is too easy/remove from street/reduce activity in street
- 9 No control over no. of clients
- 33 Other (SPECIFY)
- 88 Don't Know
- 77 Not stated



- Q37.
- 1 Criminalization
  - 2 Decriminalization
  - 3 Legalization
  - 33 Other (SPECIFY)
  - 88 Don't Know
  - 77 Not stated

Q38.

- 1 Nothing will really work/band-aid solutions/best of three evils
- 2 It's not going to disappear/they'll still work/go somewhere else
- 3 Would provide tax revenue
- 4 Women/prostitutes would have more control/non-sexist practice/stop victimization of prostitutes/women/ let them work in peace/work legally
- 5 Would be safer for prostitutes/safer environment
- 6 Make street soliciting illegal/get them off the streets/prevent harrassment of residents/prevent noise, etc.
- 7 Would help curtail drugs/violence/street/prostitution-related crimes
- 8 Less enforcement needed by police/courts/less work for police/courts/easier to regulate than it is now.
- 9 Current laws are outdated/based on outdated religious/moral judgements/patriarchal judgements
- 10 Would provide health services/mandatory health services/easier to control disease (positive and negative)
- 11 Police/courts would have more power/could act on charges
- 12 Protection of juveniles/prevent vicitmization of juvniles/ redirect high-risk juveniles/prevent of juveniles etc.
- 13 Gov't. should discourage prostitution/customers on moral/religious grounds.
- 14 Give them a place to work/bawdy houses etc.
- 33 Other (SPECIFY)
- 88 Don't Know

- Q39.
- 1 Criminalization
  - 2 Decriminalization
  - 3 Legalization
  - 33 Other (SPECIFY)
  - 77 Not Stated
  - 88 Don't Know

- Q39a,b,c,d.
- 2 Little impact on mandate if children under 19/juveniles protected
  - 3 Reduce demand for our service
  - 4 Increase demand for service
  - 5 Increase legal assistance in courts/legal advice
  - 6 More work for us
  - 7 Less work for us/the least work for us
  - 8 More positive means of control
  - 9 Encourages more prostitution/participation in street life
  - 10 Would have health inspections/Inspector/licenses/(positive)
  - 11 Would have to have Health inspector/Licensing/would cost more money (negative comments)
  - 33 Other (SPECIFY)
  - 88 Don't Know
  - 77 Not stated

Q41-43.

- 1 Stiffer sentences against tricks/pimps  
more legal action/stop adults from  
preying on children/jail/compulsory  
therapy
- 2 Compulsory care/residences/take them  
off streets/involuntary care/residence  
treatment
- 3 Protection of children/protect them  
from the life
- 4 Adequate social services/counselling/  
easy access to services/more street  
workers/more services/adequate  
resources/stop cutting back needed  
services
- 5 Education/training for jobs
- 6 Financial support/welfare for  
juveniles/stop cutbacks in welfare  
for juveniles/
- 7 More effective programs for sexual  
abuse/child abuse/more awareness  
of/education about child abuse/  
abuse programs in school
- 8 More active anti-pornography  
laws/outlaw the use of juveniles  
in pornography/restrict the contents  
of pornography
- 9 Don't punish juveniles/punitive  
action makes it worse/perpetuates  
the cycle/they aren't criminals-  
they are victims/punishment produces  
adult prostitutes
- 10 Public awareness/education/involvement  
understanding
- 11 It might help/(unspec.)
- 12 Make it more difficult to sell/  
solicit juveniles/make it difficult  
for juveniles to sell
- 33 Other
- 77 Not Stated
- 88 Don't Know

Q.40

- 1 Change social attitudes towards equality/power structures/ equal rights for all/for children/non-sexist approaches to education/training/general equality/
- 2 More information/education about sexually transmitted disease/ prevention/treatment
- 3 Recognition/awareness of problem/ public education
- 4 Provide alternatives to prostitution/more organized preventative programs/approaches
- 5 Increase social services
- 6 Prevent sexual/physical abuse
- 7 Tolerance/allow adults to work in bawdy houses/give them places/non-residential places to work/they are consenting adults
- 8 Legalize
- 9 More self-discipline
- 0 None
- 33 Other (SPECIFY)
- 88 Don't Know
- 77 Not stated



APPENDIX C SECTION 3  
SOCIAL SERVICES QUESTIONNAIRE

SINGLE RESPONSE  
FREQUENCY TABLES

Table S.1: LOCATION  
(Q. 3)

LOCAT

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
DOWNTOWN EAST SIDE	1	11	16.7	17.2	17.2
DOWNTOWN WEST END	2	9	13.6	14.1	31.3
SUBURBAN	3	21	31.8	32.8	64.1
NORTH VANCOUVER	4	4	6.1	6.3	70.3
RICHMOND	6	3	4.5	4.7	75.0
SURREY	7	1	1.5	1.6	76.6
BURNABY	8	5	7.6	7.8	84.4
COQUITLAM	9	2	3.0	3.1	87.5
DELTA	11	2	3.0	3.1	90.6
FRASER VALLEY	13	2	3.0	3.1	93.8
NEW WESTMINSTER	15	4	6.1	6.3	100.0
OUT OF RANGE		2	3.0	MISSING	
	TOTAL	66	100.0	100.0	

MODE 3.000

VALID CASES 64 MISSING CASES 2

Table S.2: PROTECTION FUNDING  
(Q. 4-5)

## PROTFUND

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
no service	0	47	71.2	72.3	72.3
fed govt only	1	1	1.5	1.5	73.8
prov govt only	2	10	15.2	15.4	89.2
multi.govt only	5	4	6.1	6.2	95.4
multi.govt & private	6	2	3.0	3.1	98.5
private volunteers	13	1	1.5	1.5	100.0
OUT OF RANGE		1	1.5	MISSING	
		-----	-----	-----	
	TOTAL	66	100.0	100.0	

MODE .000

VALID CASES 65 MISSING CASES 1

Table S.3: CHILD/YOUTH SERVICES FUNDING  
(Q. 4-5)

## CHILFUND

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
no service	0	18	27.3	28.1	28.1
fed govt only	1	1	1.5	1.6	29.7
prov govt only	2	19	28.8	29.7	59.4
municipal only	3	2	3.0	3.1	62.5
private only	4	1	1.5	1.6	64.1
multi.govt only	5	4	6.1	6.3	70.3
multi.govt & private	6	4	6.1	6.3	76.6
multi.govt,volunts	8	1	1.5	1.6	78.1
govt,private,vols	9	8	12.1	12.5	90.6
federal,volunteers	10	1	1.5	1.6	92.2
province,volunts	11	4	6.1	6.3	98.4
private,volunteers	13	1	1.5	1.6	100.0
OUT OF RANGE		2	3.0	MISSING	
		-----	-----	-----	
	TOTAL	66	100.0	100.0	

MODE 2.000

VALID CASES 64 MISSING CASES 2

Table S.4: FAMILY SERVICES FUNDING  
(Q. 4-5)

FAMFUND

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
no service	0	27	40.9	41.5	41.5
prov govt only	2	15	22.7	23.1	64.6
municipal only	3	2	3.0	3.1	67.7
private only	4	1	1.5	1.5	69.2
multi.govt only	5	6	9.1	9.2	78.5
multi.govt & private	6	4	6.1	6.2	84.6
multi.govt,volunts	8	1	1.5	1.5	86.2
govt,private,vols	9	3	4.5	4.6	90.8
federal,volunteers	10	1	1.5	1.5	92.3
province,volunts	11	3	4.5	4.6	96.9
private,volunteers	13	2	3.0	3.1	100.0
OUT OF RANGE		1	1.5	MISSING	
	TOTAL	66	100.0	100.0	

MODE .000

VALID CASES 65 MISSING CASES 1

Table S.5: PROBATION SERVICE FUNDING  
(Q. 4-5)

PROBFUND

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
no service	0	54	81.8	83.1	83.1
fed govt only	1	1	1.5	1.5	84.6
prov govt only	2	8	12.1	12.3	96.9
private only	4	1	1.5	1.5	98.5
multi.govt & private	6	1	1.5	1.5	100.0
OUT OF RANGE		1	1.5	MISSING	
	TOTAL	66	100.0	100.0	

MODE .000

VALID CASES 65 MISSING CASES 1

Table S.6: FINANCIAL AID FUNDING  
(Q. 4-5)

## FINFUND

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
no service	0	42	63.6	65.6	65.6
prov govt only	2	7	10.6	10.9	76.6
multi.govt only	5	7	10.6	10.9	87.5
multi.govt & private	6	2	3.0	3.1	90.6
govt,private,vols	9	1	1.5	1.6	92.2
province,volunts	11	2	3.0	3.1	95.3
private,volunteers	13	3	4.5	4.7	100.0
OUT OF RANGE		2	3.0	MISSING	
	TOTAL	66	100.0	100.0	

MODE .000

VALID CASES 64 MISSING CASES 2

Table S.7: FUNDING FOR MEDICAL COUNSELLING  
(Q. 4-5)

## MEDFUND

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
no service	0	34	51.5	53.1	53.1
prov govt only	2	13	19.7	20.3	73.4
municipal only	3	2	3.0	3.1	76.6
private only	4	1	1.5	1.6	78.1
multi.govt only	5	3	4.5	4.7	82.8
multi.govt & private	6	3	4.5	4.7	87.5
volunteers only	7	1	1.5	1.6	89.1
multi.govt,volunts	8	1	1.5	1.6	90.6
govt,private,vols	9	3	4.5	4.7	95.3
federal,volunteers	10	1	1.5	1.6	96.9
private,volunteers	13	2	3.0	3.1	100.0
OUT OF RANGE		2	3.0	MISSING	
		-----			
TOTAL		66	100.0	100.0	

MODE .000

VALID CASES 64 MISSING CASES 2

Table S.9: MEDICAL TREATMENT FUNDING  
(Q. 4-5)

## MDTRFND

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
no service	0	54	81.8	81.8	81.8
prov govt only	2	7	10.6	10.6	92.4
multi.govt only	5	1	1.5	1.5	93.9
multi.govt & private	6	1	1.5	1.5	95.5
multi.govt,volunts	8	1	1.5	1.5	97.0
federal,volunteers	10	1	1.5	1.5	98.5
private,volunteers	13	1	1.5	1.5	100.0
		-----			
TOTAL		66	100.0	100.0	

MODE .000

VALID CASES 66 MISSING CASES 0



Table S.10: LEGAL SERVICE FUNDING  
(Q. 4-5)

## LEGFUND

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
no service	0	47	71.2	73.4	73.4
prov govt only	2	6	9.1	9.4	82.8
multi.govt only	5	1	1.5	1.6	84.4
multi.govt & private	6	4	6.1	6.3	90.6
volunteers only	7	1	1.5	1.6	92.2
multi.govt,volunts	8	1	1.5	1.6	93.8
govt,private,vols	9	3	4.5	4.7	98.4
private,volunteers	13	1	1.5	1.6	100.0
OUT OF RANGE		2	3.0	MISSING	
		-----	-----	-----	
	TOTAL	66	100.0	100.0	

MODE .000

VALID CASES 64 MISSING CASES 2

Table S.11: OTHER SERVICE FUNDING  
(Q. 4-5)

## SFUND

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
no service	0	53	80.3	80.3	80.3
prov govt only	2	3	4.5	4.5	84.8
municipal only	3	1	1.5	1.5	86.4
multi.govt only	5	2	3.0	3.0	89.4
multi.govt & private	6	3	4.5	4.5	93.9
multi.govt,volunts	8	1	1.5	1.5	95.5
govt,private,vols	9	1	1.5	1.5	97.0
municipal,vols	12	1	1.5	1.5	98.5
private,volunteers	13	1	1.5	1.5	100.0
		-----	-----	-----	
	TOTAL	66	100.0	100.0	

MODE .000

VALID CASES 66 MISSING CASES 0

Table S.12: PROFIT OR NON PROFIT AGENCY  
(Q. 7)

## PROFIT

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
profit	1	1	1.5	1.6	1.6
non-profit	2	63	95.5	98.4	100.0
NOT STATED		2	3.0	MISSING	
		-----	-----	-----	
	TOTAL	66	100.0	100.0	
MODE	2.000				
VALID CASES	64	MISSING CASES	2		

Table S.13: RESIDENT: PERCENTAGE OF SERVICE RESIDENTIAL  
(Q. 7)

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
none	0	40	60.6	65.6	65.6
1 to 10 %	1	4	6.1	6.6	72.1
11 to 20 %	2	2	3.0	3.3	75.4
21 to 40 %	3	3	4.5	4.9	80.3
41 to 60 %	4	1	1.5	1.6	82.0
81 to 100 %	6	11	16.7	18.0	100.0
NOT STATED	77	4	6.1	MISSING	
OUT OF RANGE		1	1.5	MISSING	
		-----	-----	-----	
	TOTAL	66	100.0	100.0	
MODE	.000				
VALID CASES	61	MISSING CASES	5		

Table S.14: DROPIN: PERCENTAGE OF SERVICE DROPIN  
(Q. 7)

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
none	0	20	30.3	32.8	32.8
1 to 10 %	1	12	18.2	19.7	52.5
11 to 20 %	2	9	13.6	14.8	67.2
21 to 40 %	3	6	9.1	9.8	77.0
41 to 60 %	4	7	10.6	11.5	88.5
61 to 80 %	5	2	3.0	3.3	91.8
81 to 100 %	6	5	7.6	8.2	100.0
NOT STATED	77	4	6.1	MISSING	
OUT OF RANGE		1	1.5	MISSING	
		-----	-----	-----	
	TOTAL	66	100.0	100.0	

MODE .000

VALID CASES 61 MISSING CASES 5

Table S. 15: APPT: PERCENTAGE OF SERVICE BY APPOINTMENT  
(Q. 7)

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
none	0	22	33.3	36.1	36.1
1 to 10 %	1	7	10.6	11.5	47.5
11 to 20 %	2	4	6.1	6.6	54.1
21 to 40 %	3	6	9.1	9.8	63.9
41 to 60 %	4	8	12.1	13.1	77.0
61 to 80 %	5	5	7.6	8.2	85.2
81 to 100 %	6	9	13.6	14.8	100.0
NOT STATED	77	4	6.1	MISSING	
OUT OF RANGE		1	1.5	MISSING	
		-----	-----	-----	
	TOTAL	66	100.0	100.0	

MODE .000

VALID CASES 61 MISSING CASES 5

Table S.16: OUTRCH: PERCENTAGE OF SERVICE OUTREACH  
(Q. 7)

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
none	0	36	54.5	59.0	59.0
1 to 10 %	1	11	16.7	18.0	77.0
11 to 20 %	2	4	6.1	6.6	83.6
21 to 40 %	3	6	9.1	9.8	93.4
41 to 60 %	4	1	1.5	1.6	95.1
61 to 80 %	5	2	3.0	3.3	98.4
81 to 100 %	6	1	1.5	1.6	100.0
NOT STATED	77	4	6.1	MISSING	
OUT OF RANGE		1	1.5	MISSING	
		-----	-----	-----	
	TOTAL	66	100.0	100.0	

MODE .000

VALID CASES 61 MISSING CASES 5

Table S.17: PHONE: PERCENTAGE OF SERVICE CRISIS-PHONE  
(Q. 7)

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
none	0	56	84.8	91.8	91.8
1 to 10 %	1	1	1.5	1.6	93.4
21 to 40 %	3	2	3.0	3.3	96.7
61 to 80 %	5	1	1.5	1.6	98.4
81 to 100 %	6	1	1.5	1.6	100.0
NOT STATED	77	4	6.1	MISSING	
OUT OF RANGE		1	1.5	MISSING	
		-----	-----	-----	
	TOTAL	66	100.0	100.0	

MODE .000

VALID CASES 61 MISSING CASES 5

Table S.18: EMERG: PERCENT SERVICE CRISIS-EMERGENCY  
(Q. 7)

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
none	0	59	89.4	96.7	96.7
11 to 20 %	2	1	1.5	1.6	98.4
81 to 100 %	6	1	1.5	1.6	100.0
NOT STATED	77	4	6.1	MISSING	
OUT OF RANGE		1	1.5	MISSING	
	TOTAL	66	100.0	100.0	
MODE	.000				
VALID CASES	61	MISSING CASES	5		

Table S.19: CONTRACT: PERCENTAGE SERVICE BY CONTRACT  
(Q. 7)

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
none	0	59	89.4	96.7	96.7
1 to 10 %	1	1	1.5	1.6	98.4
81 to 100 %	6	1	1.5	1.6	100.0
NOT STATED	77	4	6.1	MISSING	
OUT OF RANGE		1	1.5	MISSING	
	TOTAL	66	100.0	100.0	
MODE	.000				
VALID CASES	61	MISSING CASES	5		



Table S.20: DIFSERV: PERCENTAGE OF SERVICE--OTHER  
(Q. 7)

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
none	0	56	84.8	91.8	91.8
1 to 10 %	1	1	1.5	1.6	93.4
21 to 40 %	3	3	4.5	4.9	98.4
81 to 100 %	6	1	1.5	1.6	100.0
NOT STATED	77	4	6.1	MISSING	
OUT OF RANGE		1	1.5	MISSING	
		-----	-----	-----	
	TOTAL	66	100.0	100.0	

MODE .000

VALID CASES 61 MISSING CASES 5

Table S.21: CLIENRES: PERCENTAGE OF CLIENTS RESIDENTIAL  
(Q. 9)

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
none	0	42	63.6	71.2	71.2
1 to 10 %	1	4	6.1	6.8	78.0
41 to 60 %	4	1	1.5	1.7	79.7
61 to 80 %	5	1	1.5	1.7	81.4
81 to 100 %	6	11	16.7	18.6	100.0
NOT STATED	77	6	9.1	MISSING	
OUT OF RANGE		1	1.5	MISSING	
		-----	-----	-----	
	TOTAL	66	100.0	100.0	

MODE .000

VALID CASES 59 MISSING CASES 7

Table S.22: AGE: UNDER 14  
(Q. 22)

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
none	0	17	25.8	36.2	36.2
1 to 10 %	1	20	30.3	42.6	78.7
11 to 20 %	2	3	4.5	6.4	85.1
21 to 40 %	3	2	3.0	4.3	89.4
41 to 60 %	4	2	3.0	4.3	93.6
61 to 80 %	5	1	1.5	2.1	95.7
81 to 100 %	6	1	1.5	2.1	97.9
NOT STATED	77	12	18.2	MISSING	
OUT OF RANGE		8	12.1	MISSING	
		-----	-----	-----	
	TOTAL	66	100.0	100.0	

MODE 1.000

VALID CASES 47 MISSING CASES 19

Table S.23: A14T017: PERCENTAGE OF CLIENTS AGE 14 TO 17  
(Q. 10)

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
none	0	7	10.6	15.2	15.2
1 to 10 %	1	18	27.3	39.1	54.3
11 to 20 %	2	4	6.1	8.7	63.0
21 to 40 %	3	5	7.6	10.9	73.9
41 to 60 %	4	5	7.6	10.9	84.8
61 to 80 %	5	4	6.1	8.7	93.5
81 to 100 %	6	3	4.5	6.5	100.0
NOT STATED	77	12	18.2	MISSING	
OUT OF RANGE		8	12.1	MISSING	
		-----	-----	-----	
	TOTAL	66	100.0	100.0	

MODE 1.000

VALID CASES 46 MISSING CASES 20

Table S.24: A18T020: PERCENTAGE OF CLIENTS AGE 18 TO 20  
(Q. 10)

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
none	0	9	13.6	20.0	20.0
1 to 10 %	1	19	28.8	42.2	62.2
11 to 20 %	2	9	13.6	20.0	82.2
21 to 40 %	3	6	9.1	13.3	95.6
41 to 60 %	4	1	1.5	2.2	97.8
61 to 80 %	5	1	1.5	2.2	100.0
NOT STATED	77	13	19.7	MISSING	
OUT OF RANGE		8	12.1	MISSING	
	TOTAL	66	100.0	100.0	

MODE 1.000

VALID CASES 45 MISSING CASES 21

Table S.25: A21T030: PERCENTAGE OF CLIENTS AGE 21 TO 30  
(Q. 10)

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
none	0	14	21.2	31.1	31.1
1 to 10 %	1	4	6.1	8.9	40.0
11 to 20 %	2	9	13.6	20.0	60.0
21 to 40 %	3	17	25.8	37.8	97.8
41 to 60 %	4	1	1.5	2.2	100.0
NOT STATED	77	13	19.7	MISSING	
OUT OF RANGE		8	12.1	MISSING	
	TOTAL	66	100.0	100.0	

MODE 3.000

VALID CASES 45 MISSING CASES 21

Table S.26: A31T040: PERCENTAGE OF CLIENTS AGE 31 TO 40  
(Q. 10)

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
none	0	14	21.2	31.1	31.1
1 to 10 %	1	7	10.6	15.6	46.7
11 to 20 %	2	7	10.6	15.6	62.2
21 to 40 %	3	15	22.7	33.3	95.6
41 to 60 %	4	1	1.5	2.2	97.8
61 to 80 %	5	1	1.5	2.2	100.0
NOT STATED	77	13	19.7	MISSING	
OUT OF RANGE		8	12.1	MISSING	
		-----	-----	-----	
	TOTAL	66	100.0	100.0	

MODE 3.000

VALID CASES 45 MISSING CASES 21

Table S.27: A41T060: PERCENTAGE OF CLIENTS AGE 41 TO 60  
(Q. 10)

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
none	0	16	24.2	35.6	35.6
1 to 10 %	1	14	21.2	31.1	66.7
11 to 20 %	2	8	12.1	17.8	84.4
21 to 40 %	3	6	9.1	13.3	97.8
41 to 60 %	4	1	1.5	2.2	100.0
NOT STATED	77	13	19.7	MISSING	
OUT OF RANGE		8	12.1	MISSING	
		-----	-----	-----	
	TOTAL	66	100.0	100.0	

MODE .000

VALID CASES 45 MISSING CASES 21

Table S.28: OVER60: PERCENTAGE OF CLIENTS AGE OVER 60  
(Q. 10)

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM. PERCENT
none	0	19	28.8	42.2	42.2
1 to 10 %	1	19	28.8	42.2	84.4
11 to 20 %	2	4	6.1	8.9	93.3
21 to 40 %	3	2	3.0	4.4	97.8
41 to 60 %	4	1	1.5	2.2	100.0
NOT STATED	77	13	19.7	MISSING	
OUT OF RANGE		8	12.1	MISSING	
		-----	-----	-----	
	TOTAL	66	100.0	100.0	

MODE .000

VALID CASES 45 MISSING CASES 21

Table S.29: FEE: FEE CHARGED FOR SERVICE ?  
(Q. 11)

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
client pays fee	1	1	1.5	1.6	1.6
Client user fee	2	15	22.7	23.8	25.4
no client fee	3	47	71.2	74.6	100.0
OUT OF RANGE		3	4.5	MISSING	
		-----	-----	-----	
	TOTAL	66	100.0	100.0	

MODE 3.000

VALID CASES 63 MISSING CASES 3



Table S.30: GOALS: HAS THE AGENCY MET THE GOALS OF ITS MANDATE  
(Q. 15)

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Yes	1	38	57.6	60.3	60.3
No	2	25	37.9	39.7	100.0
OUT OF RANGE		3	4.5	MISSING	
	TOTAL	66	100.0	100.0	
MODE	1.000				
VALID CASES	63	MISSING CASES	3		

Table S.31: FRNTLINE: FRONTLINE SERVICES FOR PROSTITUTES  
(Q. 17)

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Yes	1	36	54.5	55.4	55.4
No	2	29	43.9	44.6	100.0
OUT OF RANGE		1	1.5	MISSING	
	TOTAL	66	100.0	100.0	
MODE	1.000				
VALID CASES	65	MISSING CASES	1		

Table S.32: PCNTADLT: % OF CLIENTS THAT ARE ADULT PROSTITUTES  
(Q. 19a)

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
None	0	13	19.7	33.3	33.3
1-5%	1	19	28.8	48.7	82.1
6-10%	2	1	1.5	2.6	84.6
21-40%	4	1	1.5	2.6	87.2
41-60%	5	1	1.5	2.6	89.7
81-100%	7	2	3.0	5.1	94.9
NOT STATED	77	9	13.6	MISSING	
OUT OF RANGE		20	30.3	MISSING	
		-----	-----	-----	
	TOTAL	66	100.0	100.0	

MODE 1.000

VALID CASES 39 MISSING CASES 27

Table S.33: PCNTJUV: % OF SEXUALLY PROCURED JUVENILES  
(Q. 19b)

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
None	0	9	13.6	23.7	23.7
1-5%	1	16	24.2	42.1	65.8
6-10%	2	4	6.1	10.5	76.3
11-20%	3	5	7.6	13.2	89.5
21-40%	4	2	3.0	5.3	94.7
61-80%	6	1	1.5	2.6	97.4
NOT STATED	77	7	10.6	MISSING	
OUT OF RANGE		22	33.3	MISSING	
		-----	-----	-----	
	TOTAL	66	100.0	100.0	

MODE 1.000

VALID CASES 38 MISSING CASES 28

Table S.34: PORNAD: PROSTITUTES INVOLVEMENT IN PORNOGRAPHY  
(Q. 24)

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
None	0	4	6.1	28.6	28.6
Some	1	8	12.1	57.1	85.7
Many	2	2	3.0	14.3	100.0
NOT STATED	77	15	22.7	MISSING	
OUT OF RANGE		37	56.1	MISSING	
		-----	-----		
	TOTAL	66	100.0	100.0	

MODE 1.000

VALID CASES 14 MISSING CASES 52

Table S.35: PORNJUV: JUVENILES INVOLVEMENT IN PORNOGRAPHY  
(Q. 25)

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
None	0	11	16.7	39.3	39.3
Some	1	15	22.7	53.6	92.9
Many	2	2	3.0	7.1	100.0
NOT STATED	77	8	12.1	MISSING	
OUT OF RANGE		30	45.5	MISSING	
		-----	-----		
	TOTAL	66	100.0	100.0	

MODE 1.000

VALID CASES 28 MISSING CASES 38

Table S.36: PROCJUV: JUVENILES IN FILMS THAT ARE SEXUALLY PROCURED  
(Q. 26)

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Yes	1	15	22.7	100.0	100.0
NOT STATED	77	50	75.8	MISSING	
OUT OF RANGE		1	1.5	MISSING	
		-----	-----	-----	
	TOTAL	66	100.0	100.0	
MODE	1.000				
VALID CASES	15	MISSING CASES	51		

Table S. 37: GENABUSE: SEXUAL ABUSE  
(Q. 28)

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
1-5%	1	3	4.5	8.1	8.1
6-10%	2	4	6.1	10.8	18.9
11-20%	3	6	9.1	16.2	35.1
21-30%	4	1	1.5	2.7	37.8
31-40%	5	2	3.0	5.4	43.2
41-60%	6	7	10.6	18.9	62.2
81-100%	7	5	7.6	13.5	75.7
81-100%	8	3	4.5	8.1	83.8
Many of them	9	6	9.1	16.2	100.0
NOT STATED	77	12	18.2	MISSING	
OUT OF RANGE		17	25.8	MISSING	
		-----	-----	-----	
	TOTAL	66	100.0	100.0	
MODE	6.000				
VALID CASES	37	MISSING CASES	29		

Table 5.38: JUVABUSE: JUVENILE PROCUREMENT AND SEXUAL ABUSE  
(Q. 29)

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
None	0	1	1.5	3.3	3.3
1-5%	1	1	1.5	3.3	6.7
11-20%	3	2	3.0	6.7	13.3
21-30%	4	2	3.0	6.7	20.0
41-60%	6	3	4.5	10.0	30.0
61-80%	7	4	6.1	13.3	43.3
81-100%	8	12	18.2	40.0	83.3
Many of them	9	5	7.6	16.7	100.0
NOT STATED	77	17	25.8	MISSING	
OUT OF RANGE		19	28.8	MISSING	
		-----	-----	-----	
	TOTAL	66	100.0	100.0	
MODE	8.000				
VALID CASES	30	MISSING CASES	36		

Table 5. 39: VANDIF: VANCOUVER DIFFERENT FROM OTHER PLACES?  
(Q. 32)

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Yes	1	20	30.3	37.7	37.7
No	2	33	50.0	62.3	100.0
NOT STATED	77	6	9.1	MISSING	
OUT OF RANGE		7	10.6	MISSING	
		-----	-----	-----	
	TOTAL	66	100.0	100.0	
MODE	2.000				
VALID CASES	53	MISSING CASES	13		



APPENDIX C SECTION 4  
SOCIAL SERVICES QUESTIONNAIRE

MULTIPLE RESPONSE  
FREQUENCY TABLES

MULTIPLE DICHOTOMIES TABLES

CROSSTABS

Table M.1: AGENCY MANDATE  
(Q. 14)

GROUP MANDS

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
legal advice	1	8	10.4	12.1
Juv Res Prog	2	3	3.9	4.5
Enforce MHR policy	3	16	20.8	24.2
Detox	4	4	5.2	6.1
Juvenile outpt.	5	5	6.5	7.6
1-1/appreh/prev	6	3	3.9	4.5
Neighborhood house	7	7	9.1	10.6
Womens' Centre	8	4	5.2	6.1
Crisis centre	9	3	3.9	4.5
Probation(youth)	10	6	7.8	9.1
Medical services	11	5	6.5	7.6
Alcohol and Drug	12	3	3.9	4.5
Food/shelter	13	3	3.9	4.5
Other	33	7	9.1	10.6
		-----	-----	-----
	TOTAL RESPONSES	77	100.0	116.7
MISSING CASES	66 VALID CASES			

Table M.2 - WHY MANDATE NOT MET  
(Q. 16)

## GROUP WHYN

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Inadequate funding	1	19	33.3	86.4
Poor client access	2	4	7.0	18.2
Staff training probs	3	4	7.0	18.2
Personnel shortage	4	16	28.1	72.7
No peer support	6	5	8.8	22.7
No community support	7	2	3.5	9.1
No agency support	8	4	7.0	18.2
All of the above	9	1	1.8	4.5
Other	33	2	3.5	9.1
		-----	-----	-----
TOTAL RESPONSES		57	100.0	259.1
44 MISSING CASES	22 VALID CASES			

Table M.3: ADULT PROSTITUTE FRONTLINE SERVICES  
(Q. 18)

## GROUP ADFRONT

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Counselling	2	10	25.6	41.7
Education	3	1	2.6	4.2
Assess/referral	4	3	7.7	12.5
Legal services	5	2	5.1	8.3
Crisis lines	6	2	5.1	8.3
Medical services	7	3	7.7	12.5
Not just for pros.	8	7	17.9	29.2
Income assistance	9	6	15.4	25.0
Shelter	10	1	2.6	4.2
Child protect.	11	1	2.6	4.2
Advocacy	12	1	2.6	4.2
Probation sup.	14	2	5.1	8.3
		-----	-----	-----
TOTAL RESPONSES		39	100.0	162.5
42 MISSING CASES	24 VALID CASES			

Table M.4 - JUVENILE PROST. FRONTLINE SERVICES  
(Q. 18b)

## GROUP JUVFNT

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
	1	1	1.5	3.0
Counselling	2	17	26.2	51.5
Education	3	4	6.2	12.1
Assess/referral	4	10	15.4	30.3
Legal services	5	2	3.1	6.1
Crisis lines	6	2	3.1	6.1
Medical services	7	3	4.6	9.1
Not just for pros.	8	8	12.3	24.2
Income assistance	9	5	7.7	15.2
Child protect.	11	11	16.9	33.3
Probation sup.	14	1	1.5	3.0
Other	33	1	1.5	3.0
		-----	-----	-----
	TOTAL RESPONSES	65	100.0	197.0
33 MISSING CASES	33 VALID CASES			

Table M.5 - OTHER SERVICES USED BY PROSTITUTES  
(Q. 20a)

## GROUP OTHADLT

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
	1	1	1.8	3.0
Counselling	2	9	16.4	27.3
Education	3	3	5.5	9.1
Assess/referral	4	3	5.5	9.1
Legal services	5	6	10.9	18.2
Crisis lines	6	1	1.8	3.0
Medical services	7	10	18.2	30.3
Not just for pros.	8	4	7.3	12.1
Income assistance	9	2	3.6	6.1
Shelter	10	5	9.1	15.2
Child protect.	11	1	1.8	3.0
Advocacy	12	2	3.6	6.1
Mental health	13	4	7.3	12.1
Probation sup.	14	1	1.8	3.0
Other	33	3	5.5	9.1
		-----	-----	-----
	TOTAL RESPONSES	55	100.0	166.7
33 MISSING CASES	33 VALID CASES			

Table M.6: OTHER SERVICES USED BY JUVENILES  
(Q. 20b)

## GROUP OTHJUV

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
	1	1	1.9	3.0
Counselling	2	11	21.2	33.3
Education	3	3	5.8	9.1
Assess/referral	4	3	5.8	9.1
Legal services	5	3	5.8	9.1
Crisis lines	6	1	1.9	3.0
Medical services	7	10	19.2	30.3
Not just for pros.	8	3	5.8	9.1
Income assistance	9	1	1.9	3.0
Shelter	10	4	7.7	12.1
Child protect.	11	1	1.9	3.0
Advocacy	12	2	3.8	6.1
Mental health	13	6	11.5	18.2
Variety	15	1	1.9	3.0
Other	33	2	3.8	6.1
		-----	-----	-----
	TOTAL RESPONSES	52	100.0	157.6
33 MISSING CASES	33 VALID CASES			

Table M.7: NEW SERVICES NEEDED-ADULT  
(Q. 21)

## GROUP NEWSVAD

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Transition houses	1	6	7.1	15.0
Economic support	2	7	8.3	17.5
Job training	3	17	20.2	42.5
Medical services	4	6	7.1	15.0
Legalized brothels	5	4	4.8	10.0
Public education	6	2	2.4	5.0
Drug/alcohol	7	3	3.6	7.5
Safe shelters	8	5	6.0	12.5
Emotional counsel	9	18	21.4	45.0
Stricter legal	10	2	2.4	5.0
Spiritual counsel	11	1	1.2	2.5
Abuse services	12	7	8.3	17.5
Other	33	6	7.1	15.0
		-----	-----	-----
	TOTAL RESPONSES	84	100.0	210.0
26 MISSING CASES	40 VALID CASES			

Table M.8: NEW SERVICES NEEDED-JUVENILE  
(Q. 22)

## GROUP NWSVJUV

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Safe shelter	1	18	16.7	36.7
Street workers	2	7	6.5	14.3
Abuse services	3	14	13.0	28.6
Counselling	4	15	13.9	30.6
Trick penalties	5	3	2.8	6.1
Training	6	15	13.9	30.6
Crisis counselling	7	2	1.9	4.1
Alt. lifestyle	8	12	11.1	24.5
Transition houses	9	2	1.9	4.1
Drug/alcohol	10	2	1.9	4.1
Drop-in centres	11	1	0.9	2.0
Juv. law enforce.	12	4	3.7	8.2
Financial assist.	13	1	0.9	2.0
Spiritual	14	1	0.9	2.0
Other	33	11	10.2	22.4
		-----	-----	-----
		TOTAL RESPONSES	108	100.0
17 MISSING CASES	49 VALID CASES			220.4

Table M.9: PROBLEMS SERVING ADULT PROSTITUTES  
(Q. 23.1)

## GROUP PROBSAD

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Client resistance	2	11	26.8	42.3
Like streetlife	3	6	14.6	23.1
No staff training	4	4	9.8	15.4
No jobs	6	7	17.1	26.9
Cutbacks	7	1	2.4	3.8
Confidentiality	8	6	14.6	23.1
Limited residence	10	2	4.9	7.7
Other	33	4	9.8	15.4
		-----	-----	-----
		TOTAL RESPONSES	41	100.0
40 MISSING CASES	26 VALID CASES			157.7



Table M.10: PROBLEMS SERVING PROCURED JUVENILES  
(Q. 23.2)

## GROUP PROBJUV

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Client resistance	2	19	27.1	45.2
Like streetlife	3	15	21.4	35.7
No staff training	4	10	14.3	23.8
Lack of education	5	1	1.4	2.4
No jobs	6	9	12.9	21.4
Cutbacks	7	1	1.4	2.4
Confidentiality	8	5	7.1	11.9
No family support	9	2	2.9	4.8
Limited residence	10	2	2.9	4.8
Other	33	6	8.6	14.3
		-----	-----	-----
		TOTAL RESPONSES	70	100.0
24 MISSING CASES	42 VALID CASES			166.7

Table M.11: PREDISPOSITION -JUVENILES-PROSTITUTION  
(Q. 27.1)

## GROUP PREDJUV

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Sexual abuse	1	36	30.0	75.0
Physical abuse	2	12	10.0	25.0
Emotional abuse	3	14	11.7	29.2
Economic need	4	12	10.0	25.0
Excitement of street	5	4	3.3	8.3
Unstable family	6	14	11.7	29.2
No work	7	6	5.0	12.5
Substance abuse	8	7	5.8	14.6
Poor self-image	9	7	5.8	14.6
Numerous homes	10	3	2.5	6.3
Learning dis.	11	2	1.7	4.2
Promiscuity	12	2	1.7	4.2
Other	33	1	0.8	2.1
		-----	-----	-----
		TOTAL RESPONSES	120	100.0
18 MISSING CASES	48 VALID CASES			250.0

Table M.12: PREDISPOSITION OF ADULTS TO PROSTITUTION  
(Q. 27.2)

## GROUP PREDAD

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Sexual abuse	1	25	25.5	69.4
Physical abuse	2	10	10.2	27.8
Emotional abuse	3	9	9.2	25.0
Economic need	4	16	16.3	44.4
Excitement of street	5	2	2.0	5.6
Unstable family	6	5	5.1	13.9
No work	7	8	8.2	22.2
Substance abuse	8	9	9.2	25.0
Poor self-image	9	11	11.2	30.6
Numerous homes	10	1	1.0	2.8
Learning dis.	11	1	1.0	2.8
Other	33	1	1.0	2.8
		-----	-----	-----
	TOTAL RESPONSES	98	100.0	272.2
30 MISSING CASES	36 VALID CASES			

Table M.13: REFER PROCURED JUVENILES TO:  
(Q. 30a)

## GROUP REFJVSX

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Service included	1	15	20.8	25.9
M H R /ES	2	35	48.6	60.3
Police	3	4	5.6	6.9
U B C Health	4	1	1.4	1.7
Rape relief	5	2	2.8	3.4
Senator	6	2	2.8	3.4
Mental health	7	2	2.8	3.4
VISACS	8	2	2.8	3.4
Private therapy	9	2	2.8	3.4
Medical services	10	2	2.8	3.4
Family services	11	3	4.2	5.2
Church	16	1	1.4	1.7
Women's centres	20	1	1.4	1.7
		-----	-----	-----
	TOTAL RESPONSES	72	100.0	124.1
8 MISSING CASES	58 VALID CASES			

Table M.14: REFER JUVENILES:NO PLACE TO STAY  
(Q. 30c)

GROUP REFJVAG REFER JUVENILES:NO PLACE TO STAY				
CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Service included	1	13	20.3	22.4
M H R /ES	2	44	68.8	75.9
Police	3	1	1.6	1.7
Family services	11	1	1.6	1.7
Group home	14	2	3.1	3.4
CHIMO	15	1	1.6	1.7
Church	16	1	1.6	1.7
Crisis centre	22	1	1.6	1.7
		-----	-----	-----
		TOTAL RESPONSES	64	100.0
8 MISSING CASES	58 VALID CASES			110.3

Table M.15: REFER PROSTITUTES:ALCOHOL,DRUG PROBS  
(Q. 30e)

GROUP REFDRUG				
CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Service included	1	10	17.9	20.0
M H R /ES	2	3	5.4	6.0
Police	3	1	1.8	2.0
Family services	11	1	1.8	2.0
Alc/drug outpt.	12	35	62.5	70.0
Alc/drug inpt.	13	5	8.9	10.0
Rehab Sallyann	18	1	1.8	2.0
		-----	-----	-----
		TOTAL RESPONSES	56	100.0
16 MISSING CASES	50 VALID CASES			112.0

Table M.16: REFER ADULT PROSTITUTES:RAPE  
(Q. 30f)

## GROUP REFRAPE

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Service included	1	6	8.0	11.5
M H R /ES	2	5	6.7	9.6
Police	3	13	17.3	25.0
Rape relief	5	28	37.3	53.8
Mental health	7	3	4.0	5.8
VISACS	8	1	1.3	1.9
Private therapy	9	1	1.3	1.9
Medical services	10	3	4.0	5.8
Alc/drug outpt.	12	1	1.3	1.9
Wawva	19	6	8.0	11.5
Women's centres	20	5	6.7	9.6
Lawyer	21	1	1.3	1.9
Crisis centre	22	2	2.7	3.8
		-----	-----	-----
		TOTAL RESPONSES	75	100.0
14 MISSING CASES	52 VALID CASES			144.2

Table M.17: SERVICES FOR PROCURED JUVENILES  
(Q.31a)

## GROUP SERJVSX

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
No service	1	32	40.5	55.2
Counselling	2	22	27.8	37.9
Shelter	3	4	5.1	6.9
Foster home	4	9	11.4	15.5
Education	5	5	6.3	8.6
Life skills	6	3	3.8	5.2
Sup. probation	7	1	1.3	1.7
Advocacy	8	1	1.3	1.7
Medical services	9	1	1.3	1.7
Other	33	1	1.3	1.7
		-----	-----	-----
		TOTAL RESPONSES	79	100.0
8 MISSING CASES	58 VALID CASES			136.2

Table M.18: SERVICES:JUVENILES-NOWHERE TO STAY  
(Q. 31c)

GROUP SERJVA6

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
No service	1	41	50.6	70.7
Counselling	2	8	9.9	13.8
Shelter	3	6	7.4	10.3
Foster home	4	11	13.6	19.0
Education	5	3	3.7	5.2
Life skills	6	2	2.5	3.4
Sup. probation	7	1	1.2	1.7
Advocacy	8	1	1.2	1.7
Medical services	9	2	2.5	3.4
Income Assist	12	5	6.2	8.6
Other	33	1	1.2	1.7
		-----	-----	-----
	TOTAL RESPONSES	81	100.0	139.7
8 MISSING CASES	58 VALID CASES			



Table M.19: SERVICES:ADULT PROSTITUTES ALCOHOL,DRUG  
(Q. 30e)

## GROUP SERDRUG

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
No service	1	42	66.7	73.7
Counselling	2	9	14.3	15.8
Shelter	3	1	1.6	1.8
Sup. probation	7	1	1.6	1.8
Advocacy	8	1	1.6	1.8
Medical services	9	3	4.8	5.3
Income Assist	12	6	9.5	10.5
		-----	-----	-----
		TOTAL RESPONSES	63	100.0
9 MISSING CASES	57 VALID CASES			110.5

Table M.20: SERVICES:ADULT PROSTITUTES-RAPE  
(Q. 30f)

## GROUP SERAPE

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
No service	1	45	65.2	78.9
Counselling	2	8	11.6	14.0
Sup. probation	7	1	1.4	1.8
Advocacy	8	4	5.8	7.0
Medical services	9	3	4.3	5.3
Income Assist	12	7	10.1	12.3
Legal services	13	1	1.4	1.8
		-----	-----	-----
		TOTAL RESPONSES	69	100.0
9 MISSING CASES	57 VALID CASES			121.1

Table M.21: HOW IS VANCOUVER DIFFERENT?  
(Q. 33)

## GROUP HOWDIF

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Good climate	2	6	18.8	28.6
More visible	3	11	34.4	52.4
Linked to drugs	4	2	6.3	9.5
More young males	5	2	6.3	9.5
Public response	6	1	3.1	4.8
Diverse populat.	7	4	12.5	19.0
Non-legal	8	2	6.3	9.5
No educational svcs.	9	1	3.1	4.8
Other	33	3	9.4	14.3
		-----	-----	-----
		TOTAL RESPONSES	32	100.0
46 MISSING CASES	20 VALID CASES			152.4

Table M.22: CAUSES OF DIFFERENCE-VANCOUVER  
(Q. 34)

## GROUP WHYDIF

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Good location	2	8	42.1	57.1
Womens' movement	3	1	5.3	7.1
Media advertising	4	2	10.5	14.3
Liberal society	5	4	21.1	28.6
Other	33	4	21.1	28.6
		-----	-----	-----
		TOTAL RESPONSES	19	100.0
52 MISSING CASES	14 VALID CASES			135.7

Table M.23: WHY PREFERRED LEGAL OPTION  
(Q. 38)

## GROUP WHYLAW

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Least of evils	1	2	1.9	4.2
Wont disappear	2	13	12.4	27.1
Tax revenue	3	3	2.9	6.3
Less sexist alt.	4	11	10.5	22.9
Safer for pros.	5	7	6.7	14.6
Get off streets	6	14	13.3	29.2
Curtail crime	7	10	9.5	20.8
Less work	8	15	14.3	31.3
Outdated laws	9	6	5.7	12.5
Control disease	10	8	7.6	16.7
More police power	11	1	1.0	2.1
Protect juveniles	12	8	7.6	16.7
Prost is immoral	13	4	3.8	8.3
Legal workplaces	14	1	1.0	2.1
Other	33	2	1.9	4.2
		-----	-----	-----
		TOTAL RESPONSES	105	100.0
18 MISSING CASES	48 VALID CASES			218.8

Table M.24: CRIMINALIZATION:EFFECT ON MANDATE  
(Q. 39)

## GROUP CRIMCH6

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
No change	1	30	69.8	78.9
Less svce demand	3	1	2.3	2.6
More svce demand	4	1	2.3	2.6
More legal assist	5	1	2.3	2.6
More work for us	6	2	4.7	5.3
More positive	8	2	4.7	5.3
Cost more money	11	1	2.3	2.6
Other	33	5	11.6	13.2
		-----	-----	-----
		TOTAL RESPONSES	43	100.0
28 MISSING CASES	38 VALID CASES			113.2

Table M.25: DECRM>:EFFECT ON MANDATE  
(Q. 39)

## GROUP DECRCH6

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
No change	1	28	68.3	77.8
Little impact	2	1	2.4	2.8
Less svce demand	3	2	4.9	5.6
More work for us	6	2	4.9	5.6
Less work for us	7	1	2.4	2.8
More positive	8	2	4.9	5.6
Encourages prost	9	1	2.4	2.8
Cost more money	11	1	2.4	2.8
Other	33	3	7.3	8.3
		-----	-----	-----
TOTAL RESPONSES		41	100.0	113.9
30 MISSING CASES	36 VALID CASES			

Table M.26: LEGALIZATION:EFFECT ON MANDATE  
(Q. 39)

## GROUP LEGCH6E

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
No change	1	26	63.4	72.2
Less svce demand	3	1	2.4	2.8
More svce demand	4	2	4.9	5.6
Less work for us	7	2	4.9	5.6
More positive	8	2	4.9	5.6
Encourages prost	9	1	2.4	2.8
Control disease	10	1	2.4	2.8
Other	33	6	14.6	16.7
		-----	-----	-----
TOTAL RESPONSES		41	100.0	113.9
30 MISSING CASES	36 VALID CASES			

Table M.27: NON-LEGAL ALTERNATIVES  
(Q. 40)

## GROUP ALTADLT

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Change power struc.	1	16	30.2	44.4
More abuse info	2	2	3.8	5.6
Recognize problem	3	6	11.3	16.7
Need alt. lifestyle	4	9	17.0	25.0
More soc. svcs.	5	2	3.8	5.6
Prevent abuse	6	3	5.7	8.3
Tolerance	7	5	9.4	13.9
Legalize	8	3	5.7	8.3
More self-discipline	9	1	1.9	2.8
Other	33	6	11.3	16.7
		-----	-----	-----
		TOTAL RESPONSES	53	100.0
30 MISSING CASES			36 VALID CASES	147.2

Table M.28: RECOMMENDED ALTERNATIVES: JUVENILES  
(Q. 41)

## GROUP ALTJUV

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Stiffer laws	1	43	23.0	84.3
Compulsory care	2	6	3.2	11.8
Child protection	3	12	6.4	23.5
Adequate services	4	35	18.7	68.6
Education/training	5	18	9.6	35.3
Financial support	6	4	2.1	7.8
Deal with abuse	7	17	9.1	33.3
Anti-porn bills	8	5	2.7	9.8
No punishment	9	15	8.0	29.4
Public awareness	10	13	7.0	25.5
General reform	11	5	2.7	9.8
Hinder soliciting	12	8	4.3	15.7
Other	33	6	3.2	11.8
		-----	-----	-----
		TOTAL RESPONSES	187	100.0
15 MISSING CASES			51 VALID CASES	366.7



Table M.29: MULTDICHOT  
(Q. 80)

GROUP SERVICES AGENCY SERVICES PROVIDED  
(VALUE TABULATED = 1)

DICHOTOMY LABEL	NAME	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
protection services provided	PROTECT	18	8.3	27.3
child services provided	CHILD	48	22.1	72.7
family services provided	FAMILY	40	18.4	60.6
probation services provided	PROBATN	12	5.5	18.2
financial services provided	FINAN	24	11.1	36.4
medical counselling provided	MEDCOUNS	32	14.7	48.5
medical treatment provided	MEDTREAT	12	5.5	18.2
legal services provided	LEGAL	19	8.8	28.8
other services provided	XSERV	12	5.5	18.2
		-----	-----	-----
	TOTAL RESPONSES	217	100.0	328.8
0 MISSING CASES	66 VALID CASES			

Table M.30  
(Q. 37-38)

## \*\*\* C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N \*\*\*

WHYLAW (GROUP) WHY PREFERRED LEGAL OPTION  
BY LAWCHGE

WHYLAW	LAWCHGE						ROW TOTAL
	COUNT	Criminal Decrimin			Legaliza		
	ROW PCT	ization	alization	tion			
	COL PCT	n					
	TAB PCT	1	2	3			
	1	0	2	0		2	
Least of evils		0.0	100.0	0.0		4.4	
		0.0	11.1	0.0			
		0.0	4.4	0.0			
		-----					
Wont disappear	2	0	5	7		12	
		0.0	41.7	58.3		26.7	
		0.0	27.8	41.2			
		0.0	11.1	15.6			
	-----						
Tax revenue	3	0	1	2		3	
		0.0	33.3	66.7		6.7	
		0.0	5.6	11.8			
		0.0	2.2	4.4			
	-----						
Less sexist alt.	4	1	6	3		10	
		10.0	60.0	30.0		22.2	
		10.0	33.3	17.6			
		2.2	13.3	6.7			
	-----						
Safer for pros.	5	0	1	6		7	
		0.0	14.3	85.7		15.6	
		0.0	5.6	35.3			
		0.0	2.2	13.3			
	-----						
Get off streets	6	4	3	7		14	
		28.6	21.4	50.0		31.1	
		40.0	16.7	41.2			
		8.9	6.7	15.6			
	-----						
Curtail crime	7	2	3	5		10	
		20.0	30.0	50.0		22.2	
		20.0	16.7	29.4			
		4.4	6.7	11.1			
	-----						

## WHYLAW (GROUP) WHY PREFERRED LEGAL OPTION

WHYLAW	LAWCHGE						ROW TOTAL
	COUNT	Criminal	Decrimin	Legaliza			
	ROW PCT	ization	alization	tion			
	COL PCT	n					
	TAB PCT	1	2	3			
		-----+	-----+	-----+			
Less work	8	0	4	10	14		
		0.0	28.6	71.4	31.1		
		0.0	22.2	58.8			
		0.0	8.9	22.2			
		-----+	-----+	-----+			
Outdated laws	9	1	3	1	5		
		20.0	60.0	20.0	11.1		
		10.0	16.7	5.9			
		2.2	6.7	2.2			
		-----+	-----+	-----+			
Control disease	10	0	1	7	8		
		0.0	12.5	87.5	17.8		
		0.0	5.6	41.2			
		0.0	2.2	15.6			
		-----+	-----+	-----+			
More police power	11	1	0	0	1		
		100.0	0.0	0.0	2.2		
		10.0	0.0	0.0			
		2.2	0.0	0.0			
		-----+	-----+	-----+			
Protect juveniles	12	2	3	2	7		
		28.6	42.9	28.6	15.6		
		20.0	16.7	11.8			
		4.4	6.7	4.4			
		-----+	-----+	-----+			
Prost is immoral	13	4	0	0	4		
		100.0	0.0	0.0	8.9		
		40.0	0.0	0.0			
		8.9	0.0	0.0			
		-----+	-----+	-----+			
Legal workplaces	14	0	1	0	1		
		0.0	100.0	0.0	2.2		
		0.0	5.6	0.0			
		0.0	2.2	0.0			
		-----+	-----+	-----+			
	COLUMN	10	18	17	45		
	TOTAL	22.2	40.0	37.8	100.0		
PERCENTS AND TOTALS BASED ON RESPONDENTS							
45 VALID CASES                      21 MISSING CASES							

APPENDIX C SECTION 5  
SOCIAL SERVICES QUESTIONNAIRE

HAND TABULATIONS

Table H.1: REFERRAL OF JUVENILES WITH DRUG/ALCOHOL PROBLEMS  
(Q. 30b)

Provide this service	16
Refer to M.H.R./E.S./Outreach, etc.	15
Mental Health Services	2
Family services	2
Outpatient D & A counselling	34
Inpatient D & A counselling	6
Not Stated	6

Table H.2: REFER SEXUALLY ABUSED JUVENILES  
(Q. 30d)

We provide this service	17
M.H.R./Outreach/E.S., etc.	38
Police	1
Mental Health Services	1
VISACS	10
Private therapy	3
Medical services	5
Family services	4
Act II	1
Women's centres/support groups	1
Not stated	6

Table H.3: SERVICES FOR JUVENILES WITH D & A PROBLEMS  
(Q. 31b)

Don't provide this service	35
Counselling individual/family, etc.	17
Accommodation/temp.shelter	1
Fost/group home	4
Education/vocation training	4
Life skills	2
Supervise probation	1
Advocacy	1
Medical services	2
Mental health services	1
Income assistance	1
Not stated	9
Don't know	1

Table H.4: SERVICES FOR SEXUALLY ABUSED JUVENILES  
(Q. 31d)

Do not provide	34
Counselling/individual/group/family	18
Accommodation/temp.shelter	1
Foster/group home	4
Education/vocation	2
Life skills	1
Supervise probation	1
Advocacy	3
Legal services	1
Not stated	8



Table H.5: CHANGE IN NUMBER OF PROSTITUTES  
(Q. 35)

No change - adults	17
Increase - adults	11
Decrease - adults	0
No change - juveniles	20
Increase - juveniles	19
Decrease - juveniles	0

Table H.6: REASONS FOR CHANGE  
(Q. 36)

Economics/high unemployment, etc.	5
Increased community awareness/openness	9
Lack of training opportunities	4
Lax attitudes "legitimate" it	3
Sexual aberration in youth	1
Inadequate staff for abuse treatment/ counselling	2
Access to street is too easy	3
No control over # of clients	1

APPENDIX D  
INTERVIEW SCHEDULES, CODELISTS AND TABLES FOR CHAPTER VI  
(HOOKER STUDY)



NAME: \_\_\_\_\_

DATE OF INTERVIEW \_\_\_\_\_

TIME STARTED \_\_\_\_\_

TIME FINISHED \_\_\_\_\_

NAME OF INTERVIEWER \_\_\_\_\_

I. SPECIFIC LOCATION:

1. In what kind(s) of location do you usually work? (READ LIST)

- |                    |                                |
|--------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Street          | 6. Ads in magazines/newspapers |
| 2. Hotel           | 7. Phone business              |
| 3. Bar             | 8. Escort Agency               |
| 4. Massage Parlour | 9. Trick Pad                   |
| 5. Own Apartment   | X. Other (SPECIFY): _____      |

1a. Why do you work in that/those locations? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

.....

IF "STREET" MENTIONED AT Q. 1., ASK: 2, 2a.

2. Which of the following areas do you work in? (READ LIST)

- |                          |                 |
|--------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Davie Street area     | 5. Robson       |
| 2. Georgia/Hornby area   | 6. Hastings St. |
| 3. Granville Street      | 7. Broadway     |
| 4. East Side             | 8. Commercial   |
| 5. Other (SPECIFY) _____ |                 |

2a. Why that/ those street areas? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

.....

3. Did you ever work in any of the other locations mentioned above (AT Q. 1 - REPEAT LIST IF NECESSARY)?

1. YES                      2. NO - SKIP TO Q. 4

3a. Which other locations? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_



3b. Why did you change locations - was there any particular reason? \_\_\_\_\_

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II. VANCOUVER AS A LOCATION: (ASK ALL RESPONDENTS)

4. Did you start working in Vancouver ? 1. YES 2. NO - SKIP TO 6.

5. Have you worked in other cities or towns? 1. YES 2. NO - SKIP TO 10.

6. What other places have you worked? (LIST) \_\_\_\_\_

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7. Do you still work in other places on occasion? 1. YES 2. NO

8. What <sup>were/</sup>are your reasons for changing location(s)? \_\_\_\_\_

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9. How is Vancouver as a place to work compared with other places? \_\_\_\_\_

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9a. Why is that? \_\_\_\_\_

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10. Did you come to Vancouver specifically to work in this business?

1. YES 2. NO

III: WORKING MILIEU:

11. What relationships do you have with other people in the business in terms of:

11a. Competition for tricks? \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

11b. Safety measures - for example, getting others to watch out for you when you leave with a trick? \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

11c. How do you establish a territory? \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

11d. Do you share your earnings with anyone else 1. YES 2. NO

11e. Who do you share your money with? (LIST) \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

11f. What does this person do in return for your money? \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

11g. Does anyone else help you by introducing customers to you? \_\_\_\_\_

11f. Who is that? \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

.....  
 THIS SECTION IS FOR THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO WORK IN HOTELS, BARS, MASSAGE  
 PARLOURS OR ANY OTHER PLACE WHERE THEY WORK INSIDE A BUSINESS ESTABLISHMENT.  
 IF RESPONDENT ONLY WORKS ON THE STREET OR OFF THE PHONE IN THEIR OWN  
 APARTMENT, SKIP TO NEXT SECTION.

12. If you work in hotels, bars, etc., what kind of relationship do you have  
 with the following:

12a.                   Managers? \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

12b.                   Bartenders? \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

12c.                   Doormen? \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

12d.                   Security Guards? \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

12e.                   Waiters/Waitresses? \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

## IV: POLICE:

13. What kind of a relationship do you have with the police

14a. Have you ever been beaten by the police?      1 YES      2. NO  
(IF YES) Describe:

14b. Have the police ever asked you for money?      1. YES      2. NO  
(IF YES)Describe:

14c. Have you ever been asked for sexual favours by the police?

1. YES                      2. NO

(IF YES) Describe:

14d. Have you ever been robbed by the police?      1. YES      2. NO  
(IF YES) Describe;

14e. Have the police ever asked you for I.D.?      1. YES      2. NO  
(IF YES) Describe:

14f. Have the police ever forcibly taken your picture?

1. YES                      2. NO

(IF YES) Describe:

15. Do the police ever hassle you when you're not at work?

1. YES 2. NO

(IF YES) Describe:



16. Have the police ever picked you up? 1. YES 2. NO

16a. What for, and what was the result? \_\_\_\_\_

17. What are the criminal laws relating to prostitution, that you know of?

V. RESIDENTS:

18. Have any of the residents in this area ever been physically or verbally  
abus towards you?

1. YES

2. NO - SKIP TO 19

18a. Describe incident(s) \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

19. To your knowledge, do the residents in the area you work in complain to  
the police about your work activity?

1. YES

2. NO

V. DK.

| \_\_\_\_\_ | \_\_\_\_\_ SKIP TO Q. 20

19a. How do the police respond to complaints? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

20. What about businesses - do they complain to the police about your work  
activity?

1. YES

2. NO

V. DK

| \_\_\_\_\_ | \_\_\_\_\_ SKIP TO NEXT  
SECTION

20a. What kinds of business complain about your work activity? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

20b. What kinds of things happen? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

VI TRICKS:

21. What time of the day/evening produces the most tricks? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

22. Which day(s) of the week is the busiest? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

23. Do you have many regulars ? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

24. What are your prices? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

24b. Under what circumstances, if any, would you negotiate your prices?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

25. Has a trick ever asked you to procure (get) a child for them? (ie a juvenile)

1. YES                      2. NO

Describe: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

26. In your own words, how would you describe your customers in general?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

27. Have you ever had a female customer?                      1. YES                      2. NO

Comments: \_\_\_\_\_

28. Why do you think men buy sex? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

37. Have you ever refused a potential trick?      1. YES                      2. NO  
(IF YES)Why? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
38. What kind of customer do you prefer? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
- 38a. Why? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
- 39a.What do you consider a good day in terms of number of tricks? \_\_\_\_\_
- 39b. What do you consider a bad day in terms of number of tricks? \_\_\_\_\_
- 39c. How many days a week do you work? \_\_\_\_\_
40. What kinds of problems (if any) have you had with tricks (eg. not paying, robbing you, violence, etc.)? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

VII . OVERHEAD :

41 . What are your work expenses - in other words, what do you have to buy or pay for in order to work? (READ LIST - CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)

1. Apartment
2. Advertising
3. Pager
4. Drugs/alcohol consumed while working
5. Birth control
6. Condoms
7. K.Y.
8. Cabs
9. Tipping
10. Clothes/Cosmetics
11. Food consumed while working
12. Hotel rooms
13. Daycare/Babysitter
14. Rent
15. Trick Pad
16. Lawyers/Legal fees
17. Medical expenses
18. Police
- X. Other (SPECIFY): \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
- V. Don't Know/Not Stated



VIII QUESTIONS ABOUT THE LIFE:

42. What circumstances first led to your becoming a prostitute? \_\_\_\_\_

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43. Did you get into the life on your own, or did someone else get you going?  
(PROBE: Who?): \_\_\_\_\_

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44a. Do you think being a prostitute makes you feel any different about  
yourself than you would if you had a square job? \_\_\_\_\_

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44b. Is that because of other peoples' attitudes, or is it the job itself?

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45. Have you ever helped to turn someone else out? 1. YES 2. NO

45b. How?  \_\_\_\_\_

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45c. Why? \_\_\_\_\_

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46a. How long have you been involved in prostitution? \_\_\_\_\_

46b. Do you have access to any viable job alternatives(such as job training etc.)?

1. YES

2. NO

46c. Comments; \_\_\_\_\_

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47. Have you ever been involved in the production of sexually explicit films or magazines? 1. YES 2. NO - SKIP TO Q. 48

47a. Give details \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

47b. Did you feel that this was an extension of your work? \_\_\_\_\_

47c. Why? \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

48. If you were offered a square job that paid well, would you give up prostitution as a profession? \_\_\_\_\_

.....  
 IF RESPONDENT HAS LEFT THE PROFESSION, ASK THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS:

49. What were your reasons for leaving the business? \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

49a. How long ago did you leave the business? \_\_\_\_\_

49b. What do you do for a living now? \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

49c. What circumstances, if any, would get you back into prostitution?  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

IX OCCUPATIONAL HAZARDS:

50. What do you see as the hazards of your work? \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

50a. Have you ever had a crime committed against you while working (eg.: robbery, rape, assault, abduction)? 1. YES 2. NO

50b. (IF YES) Describe: \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

50c. What did you do about it- specifically, who, if anyone, did you report the crime to (for example, police, rape relief, social worker etc)?

\_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

50d. What kind of response did you get from them ? \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

50e. Do you carry a weapon or some other means of self-defense while working?

1. YES 2. NO

50f. (IF YES) What do you carry? \_\_\_\_\_

51a. Do you use drugs and/or alcohol while working?

1. YES 2. NO

51b. Why/why not (do you use/not use drugs) \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

51c. Would you say that drugs and/or alcohol are a means of alleviating stress while working?

1. YES                      2. NO

52. What medical hazards are there specifically associated with prostitution, that you are aware of? \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

53. Have you ever suffered from medical problems because of your work?

1. YES                      2. NO

54. What medical problems have you suffered as a result of your work?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

55. Where do you usually go for treatment of medical problems? \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

56. How do people treat you at hospitals, medical centres, etc. - if they know you're a prostitute, do doctors, nurses, hospital staff etc. treat you differently than they would if you were not a prostitute? How? \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

57. Do you have medical insurance?                      1. YES                      2. NO

58. (IF NOT) Why not? \_\_\_\_\_

X. SOCIAL SERVICES:

59. What kinds of social services are there in this area that you are aware of, that you might need at some time in your line of work?(READ OUT)

59.	60a.
1. Medical Centres	1.
2. Counselling (General)	2.
3. Help Lines	3.
4. Food	4.
5. Shelter	5.
6. Financial Aid	6.
7. Emergency Services (Drake/Water St.)	7.
8. Drug Treatment Centres	8.
9. Rape Crisis Centre	9.
10. A.S.P.	10.
11. Group Homes	11.
12. Youth Services	12.
13. Educational Services	13.
14. Job Training Services	14.
15. Child Abuse Counselling	15.
0. None	0.
X. Other (SPECIFY): _____	X.

V, Don't Know

V.

60a. Which of those services have you ever used ? \_\_\_\_\_

60b. What social services are lacking in this area that prostitutes need?

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60c (IF HAS USED SOME SERVICE(S)): What kind of help did you receive at each of the services you have gone to for help?(TRY TO FIND OUT FOR EACH SERVICE):

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60d. If you can remember, which of the services you contacted charged a fee?

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60e. Which of those services refused you help (if any) \_\_\_\_\_

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60f. Which of those services referred you somewhere else? \_\_\_\_\_

---

60g. Which of those services gave you adequate help? \_\_\_\_\_

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60h. What was the general attitude of the people at each of the service agencies you have contacted? \_\_\_\_\_

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60i. What services should be available for juveniles who are sexually procured?

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# XI. ATTITUDES TO LEGAL CHANGE:

The government is considering certain changes in the law relating to prostitution: The proposed changes to the law include:

- A. Criminalization: Maintenance of criminal laws applying to bawdy houses, procuring and the introduction of a law which prevents street solicitation by both prostitutes and customers.
- B. Decriminalization: Removal of all criminal laws relating to adult prostitution. Adult prostitution would be unregulated except for some provision for taxation. Most advocates of decriminalization would wish to retain a law relating to the procuring of juveniles.
- C. Legalization: Legalization and regulation of prostitution in bawdy houses/ "red light" districts, controlled by the government.

61. Which of these options would you like to see implemented in the case of adult prostitution, or would you prefer some other alternative?

- 1. Criminalization
- 2. Decriminalization
- 3. Legalization
- X. Other (DESCRIBE): \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

61a. Why would you prefer to see that option in effect? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

62. Under what circumstances, if any, do you think criminal sanctions should be used with regard to prostitution? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

62a. Why? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

63. If street soliciting were to be made illegal, (for both customers and prostitutes) where would street prostitutes meet customers? \_\_\_\_\_

What should be done, if anything, about juveniles being procured for sex?

64b. Were you a juvenile when you turned out?

1. YES

2. NO

64c. How old were you ? \_\_\_\_\_

## XII. BACKGROUND INFORMATION:

65. Where were you born? \_\_\_\_\_

66. And in what year? \_\_\_\_\_

67. Who did you spend your childhood with - either, or both of your parents,  
or someone else?

1. With Both Parents
2. With Mother Only
3. With Father Only
4. With Someone Else (SPECIFY) \_\_\_\_\_

68. How many brothers and sisters do you have? 1. Brothers

## 2. Sisters

68a. What are your brothers' current occupations?

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68b. What are your sisters' present occupations? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

69. What was/is your father's occupation?

\_\_\_\_\_

70 What was/is your mother's occupation? \_\_\_\_\_

71. As a child, what kind of financial situation was your family in ? (READ OUT)

1. Well-off
2. Comfortable
3. Needy

72. How would you describe your relationship with your mother over the years?

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72a. And with your father? 

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72b. With your brothers? 

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72c. With your sisters? 

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73. What about violence in your family relationships - did it happen: (READ)

1. Never
2. Sometimes
3. Often

73a. What family members were involved? (PROBE: DESCRIBE INCIDENTS) 

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74. What about sexual abuse in your family - did it happen: (READ)

1. Never
2. Sometimes
3. Often

74a. What family members were involved (PROBE: DESCRIBE INCIDENTS) 

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74b. Were any non-family members involved?

1. YES

NO.

74c (IF YES) Who? 

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74d. How old were you when it started? 

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74e. How long did it go on? 

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74f. (IF RESPONDENT WAS PERSONALLY INVOLVED IN ABUSE) Do you think that this might have been instrumental in your becoming a prostitute? If so, how? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

75 . Which members of your family are aware of your involvement in prostitution? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

75a. How do they feel about your work? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

76. What level of education have you completed?

1. Less than grade 8

2. Grade 8

3. Grade 9

4. Grade 10

5. Grade 11

6. Grade 12

7. Grade 13

8. Some University/College

9. Completed University Degree/  
College Diploma

X. Other (SPECIFY) \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

V. REFUSED/NOT STATED

77. What other kinds of work have you done? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

78. Who do you live with, if anyone? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

79. Do you have any children? \_\_\_\_\_

Finally, two general questions about the life itself.

80. What would your advice be to someone who had just turned out, or who was considering turning out? \_\_\_\_\_

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81. If there is anything that we haven't covered in the questionnaire relating to prostitution, that you feel strongly about or would like to comment on, please feel free to talk about it here. (RESPONDENT CAN WRITE HIS/HER OWN ANSWERS HERE IF THEY WOULD LIKE)

## JUVENILE INTERVIEW OUTLINE

### A) BACKGROUND

#### 1) Personal Information

- name
- age
- where were you born
- where do you live
- where do you come from
- how long have you lived there
- how often have you moved

#### 2) School

- historical information
- grade level
- like/dislike school

#### 3) Family

- how many in your family
- how many sisters, how many brothers
- extended family
- who do you live with
- does your whole family live together
- if native ask whether status or not
- what does mom and dad do

#### 4) Personal

- like brothers and sisters
- were you happy
- are you happy now
- like mom and dad
- got any pets

#### 5) Social services (discuss how, # of times, when, where, impressions)

- police
- social workers
- probation officers
- group homes
- foster homes
- juvenile court
- family court
- criminal court

- lockups
- Willingdon
- Containment
- House of Concord
- Maples
- VGH Psych
- have you ever run away
- how many times
- how many placements

#### 6) Medical

- do you use clinics
- do you have a family doctor; do you see family doctor
- last medical
- ever been really sick, with what
- ever been pregnant
- abortion
- last time to dentist

#### 7) Family history of alcohol and drugs

- how much do you drink
- what drugs
- been to a drug and alcohol clinic
- parents drink
- any alcoholism history in family

#### 8) Family history suicide

- have you ever attempted suicide
- did you get counselling
- anyone else in your family committed suicide or attempted

#### 9) Family violence

- parents argue
- did they hit each other, the kids
- ever been scared in your home
- check perception of violence

#### 10) Sexual abuse

- extent
- frequency
- how old were you when you were first sexually abused
- how many times
- who
- abuse in home/outside home
- how many people did you tell about abuse
- bribed, coercion

- has an adult lied about your abuse (mom, dad, social worker, teacher)
- could you talk to adults, peers, family, social worker, etc.
- who did you tell
- when
- what happened

## B) WORKING LIFE

### 1) Home and street life

- where do you live
- how long have you lived there
- how often do you move
- do you live with someone, who
- how much time a day do you spend on the street
- when you go to the street do you go to work, see friends, etc.
- who do you spend most of your time with friends, family, customers
- do you spend most of your time in the street, restaurants, pool halls, etc.
- do spend all your time with street people
- have you ever been scared on the street

### 2) Resources

- do you have a social worker, or someone you rely on when in trouble
- what do you think of the police
- what about the community people like in the West End
- do you see yourself staying on the street, why
- do you see yourself leaving the street, how and why
- who will help you leave the street, police, social workers, family, friends
- how long have you been on the street
- anyone else in your family on the street now and before

### 3) Street work/customers

- how long have you been working the street
- how often do you work
- have you ever left the street and returned, what happened
- where do you work, what streets, bars, boats, etc.
- have you tried working different locations
- have you tried working different cities
- do your friends work the street
- what do you do other than work



- did you spend time on the street before you worked
- who do you work for
- where and how did you turn out
- what time day/evening do you work
- when do you get most of your customers
- are most customers, tourists, business people from out of town, locals, suburbs
- what's your busiest day
- what's your slowest day
- how do you meet customers
- do you have any regulars

#### 4) Prices

- how do you set prices
- what are your prices
- do you barter your prices
- does anyone set their prices really low, undercut your prices
- if business is slow do you lower your prices

#### 5) Customer requests and impressions

- how do you feel about your customers
- ever had a female customer
- what kind of sex do your customers ask for most
- what do you prefer to do and why
- where do you go with your customers
- how long do you spend with your customers
- have you ever had more than one customer at once, if yes what circumstances
- ever become friends with a customer, if yes, explain

#### 6) Customer description

- out of every 10 customers, how many would be your age, young adults, middle age (30-40), older (over 50)
- are your customers very well to do, well to do, not well to do, don't know
- customers mostly East Indian, Native Indian, Chinese, Black, White
- do your customers ever have pornographic material around
- do they ever want to take pictures or movies of you

#### 7) Descriptive impressions

- have you ever refused a customer, why
- have you ever been scared by a customer, how
- what kind of customers do you like the most, why
- what kind of customers do you dislike the most, why
- what problems have you experienced with customers, refusal to pay, assault, threats, robberies

- how many customers do you get on an active day
- how many customers do you get on a slow day
- how many days a week do you work
- how many hours a day

#### 8) Money

- what do you spend your money on: clothes, drugs, booze, movies, rent, food, video games, pinball
- who do you give your money to: people in bars, hotels, friends, roommates, boyfriend/girlfriend

#### D) PRESENT AND FUTURE

- who protects you
- legal improvements, impressions, positive and negative
- social services, impressions, improvements, positive and negative
- how long are you going to continue to work
- how are you going to get out, friends, family, social services, education, training, pregnancy, marriage
- what do you want to be

## CODEPRO

Q1.

- 1 "Street"
- 2 "Hotel"
- 3 "Bar"
- 4 "Massage parlour"
- 5 "Own Apartment"
- 6 "Ads mag/news"
- 7 "Phone business"
- 8 "Escort agency"
- 9 "Trick pad"
- 10 "All"
- 33 "Other"
- 77 "Not stated"

Q1a.

- 1 "I turned out there"
- 2 "Pimp orders"
- 3 "Easier to pull tricks"
- 4 "Faster tunover"
- 5 "Safer place to work"
- 6 "Better clientele"
- 7 "No pimps"
- 8 "More discreet"
- 9 "Less police hassles"
- 77 "Not stated"
- 88 " Don't Know"
- 33 "Other"

- Q2.
- 1 "Davie Street area"
  - 2 "Georgia/Hornby area"
  - 3 "Granville St"
  - 4 "East Side"
  - 5 "Robson St "
  - 6 "Hastings St"
  - 7 "Broadway"
  - 8 "Commercial"
  - 33 "Other"
  - 77 "Not stated"

- Q2a.
- 1 "I turned out there"
  - 2 "Pimp told me to work there/was turned out there by pimp"
  - 3 "Easier to pick up dates/tricks"
  - 4 "Faster turnover"
  - 5 "Friendlier place to work/know everyone/don't get hassled by other street"
  - 6 "More tricks/make good money here"
  - 7 "Media exposure provides free advertising/tricks know where you are"
  - 8 "Lower class area so prices are lower/some men can't afford to pay much"
  - 9 "Don't need a pimp/no pimps here"
  - 10 "Less hassles from police"
  - 33 "Other"
  - 77 "Not stated"

Q9.

- 1 "Good (unspecified)"
- 2 "Not as good (unspecified)"
- 3 "Not as many pimps here"
- 4 "Girls are closer here/less fighting here"
- 5 "More bad dates here"
- 6 "Less involvement with underworld/  
drug traffic here"
- 7 "More tricks here/good lifestyle  
make good money here"
- 8 "Lower prices here"
- 9 "Transsexuals can work here"
- 10 "Good geographic/climatic location/  
port city/warm winters"
- 11 - "Less tricks/more competition"
- 12 "Less police hassles here"
- 33 "Other"
- 88 "Don't Know"
- 77 "Not stated"



- Q11a.
- 1 "Lots of competition/everyone's starving"
  - 2 "Open hostility /violence/murder"
  - 3 "Competition with transsexuals/transvestites"
  - 4 "Healthy competition"
  - 5 "Not a problem"
  - 6 "I don't work around others/work on my own"
  - 7 "I work with friends/around friends"
  - 8 "Competition with younger girls/boys/tricks are into youth"
  - 9 "Lots of undercutting"
  - 33 "Other"
  - 77 "Not stated"
- Q11b.
- 1 "No-one/nothing"
  - 2 "Other prostitutes watch out for you"
  - 3 "Friend/other prostitute takes license number/notes car"
  - 4 "Pimp/pimp's main lady would know where I was"
  - 5 "Boyfriend was always around"
  - 6 "Don't get in cars/trick's place/only use my place"
  - 33 "Other"
  - 77 "Not stated"

- Q11c
- 1 "Stand your ground/you become accepted in time/people will make you leave at first/have to be accepted by the group"
  - 2 "Go to prime areas/hotels/bars"
  - 3 "Get there first"
  - 4 "Seniority/depends on how long you've been working"
  - 5 "Kickbacks to senior prostitute in area"
  - 6 "Don't work around others"
  - 7 "Passed out "business" cards"
  - 8 "Just stand there/stand wherever you want"
  - 33 "Other"
  - 77 "Not stated"

- Q11e.
- 1 "Friends"
  - 2 "Girlfriend/boyfriend/spouse"
  - 3 "Pimp"
  - 4 "Family"
  - 5 "Waiters/give big tips to waiters"
  - 6 "Agency"
  - 7 "Pimp acting as boyfriend"
  - 8 "Trick pimped me"
  - 33 "Other"
  - 77 "Not stated"

Q11f.

- 1 "Nothing/supposed  
to but does nothing"
- 2 "Nothing/we share/share  
share with friends/lover"
- 3 "Look after you when you're  
sick/in trouble"
- 4 "Buys presents"
- 5 "Security"
- 6 "Protection"
- 7 "Get me dates"
- 33 "Other"
- 77 "Not stated"

Q11h.

- 1 "Waiters"
- 2 "Other prostitutes/girls"
- 3 "Taxi drivers"
- 4 "Pimp"
- 5 "Family members"
- 6 "Tricks"
- 33 "Other"
- 77 "Not stated"

Q13.

- 1 "Pretty good/generally no hassles/don't usually bother you"
- 2 "Some are understanding/helpful/friendly"
- 3 "Some of them are assholes/hassle you/set you up"
- 4 "Bad relationship/get hassled all the time"
- 5 "No relationship at all"
- 33 "Other"
- 77 "Not Stated"
- 33 "Don't Know"

Q16a.

- 1 "Bawdy house charge"
- 2 "Drug-related charge"
- 3 "B&E/theft/robbery/possession of stolen goods"
- 4 "General Harrassment"
- 5 "Not convicted/released/not guilty"
- 6 "Soliciting charge"
- 7 "Probation"
- 8 "Vag C"
- 9 "Gross indecency"
- 10 "Drunk & disorderly/disturb the peace"
- 11 "Homicide investigation"
- 77 "Not stated"
- 88 "Don't know"
- 33 "Other"

Q17.

- 1 "Soliciting is illegal"
- 2 "Have to be pressing and persistent"
- 3 "Bawdy house illegal/to keep/to work in"
- 4 "Prostitution is legal"
- 5 "Enforcement of local by-laws/loitering/littering/seatbelts etc"
- 6 "Fines or jail"
- 7 "Living off avails"
- 8 "Procuring"
- 9 "Have to mention price"
- 77 "Not stated"
- 88 "Don't Know"
- 33 "Other"/

Q18.

- 1 "Throw things at us/eggs/  
water balloons/bottles/ice"
- 2 "Insults/verbal abuse"
- 3 "Instigate violence/physical abuse  
against prostitutes/pushing pros.  
around physically"
- 4 "People in cars threaten you/chase  
You"
- 33 "Other"
- 77 "Not Stated"



Q18a.

- 1 "Monday"
- 2 "Tuesday"
- 3 "Wednesday"
- 4 "Thursday"
- 5 "Friday"
- 6 "Saturday"
- 7 "Sunday"
- 8 "All the same/none in particular"
- 77 "Not stated"

Q23.

- 1 "1-2"
- 2 "3-4"
- 3 "5-6"
- 4 "7-8"
- 5 "8-9"
- 6 "9 and over"
- 7 "Lots"
- 8 "It takes a long time"  
to establish"
- 9 "Don't want them/too much trouble/  
They expect too much"
- 33 "Other"
- 77 "Not stated"

- Q25.
- 1 "Never/never undercut/never go below minimum"
  - 2 "Always/good business practice/can get more money"
  - 3 "Under tough circumstances/if business is slow"
  - 4 "For a regular/potential regular/if he is a nice guy/someone I know"
  - 5 "If trick pays for room/food etc"
  - 6 "Sometimes/just depends (unspecified)"
  - 33 "Other"
  - 77 "Not Stated"
- Q26.
- 1 "Older men/40'2-50'2/mostly older men"
  - 2 "Businessmen/doctors/lawyers"
  - 3 "Married"
  - 4 "Just normal guys/some of them are nice guys/most of them are alright"
  - 5 "Fat slobs/drunkards/sick/sons of bitches/I hate them/would like to kill them"
  - 6 "Lonely/confused/inadequate"
  - 7 "Varied/no one type"
  - 33 "Other"
  - 77 "Not Stated"

Q27.

- 1 "Couples/man and wife/man watches"
- 2 "Propositioned but refused"
- 3 "Get paid more for this service"
- 4 "Non-couple female trick"
- 33 "Other"
- 77 "Not Stated"

Q28.

- 1 "Variety/change/want a change but don't want an affair"
- 2 "Wives are frigid/pregnant/won't do certain things"
- 3 "Peer pressure/pressure to lose virginity/taught to do this"
- 4 "Sexual gratification/men have stronger sex drives than women"
- 5 "Unattractive/loney/shy"
- 6 "Make demands and get what they want/a sure thing/own you for the time/don't have to risk wasting time on a date"
- 7 "Travelling on business/away from wife/lover"
- 8 "Can't get sex any other way"
- 33 "Other"
- 77 "Not Stated"
- 88 "Don't Know"

Q29.

- 1 "Straight lay"
- 2 "Oral sex/B.J."
- 3 "Half and Half/oral sex and intercourse"
- 4 "Kink/s&m/fantasy"
- 5 "Doubles/two prostitutes"
- 6 "Nothing in particular"
- 33 "Other"
- 77 "Not Stated"

Q30.

- 1 "Trick pad"
- 2 "Own apartment"
- 3 "Trick's home"
- 4 "Trick's hotel room"
- 5 "Hotel room rented by prostitute"
- 6 "Car"
- 7 "Alley/parking lot"
- 33 "Other"
- 77 "Not Stated"

Q31.                   1 "15 minutes"  
                      2 "30 minutes"  
                      3 "45 minutes"  
                      4 "1 hour"  
                      5 "more than one hour"  
                      6 "As much as he pays for/  
                          all night if he pays for it"  
                      7 "No time limit/until they get off"  
33 "Other"  
77 "Not stated"

Q33.                   1 "B J /oral sex"  
                      2 "Straight lay"  
                      3 "1/2 & 1/2"  
                      4 "None and get paid"  
                      5 "Fantasy/play acting"  
                      6 "Domination"  
33 "Other"  
77 "Not stated"



Q33b.

- 1 "Fastest"
- 2 "Easiest/less tiring/don't have  
to do as much"
- 3 "Less intimate/don't feel so used  
/less personal"
- 4 "Safest"
- 5 "Don't have to take clothes off"
- 33 "Other"
- 77 "Not Stated"

Q34a.

- 1 "No/never"
- 2 "Fell in love/lived with him/  
he became my lover"
- 3 "Became friends/social friends"
- 4 "Offered to keep me"
- 5 "Offered to marry me"
- 6 "If he's generous"
- 7 "Yes (unspecified)"
- 33 "Other"
- 77 "Not Stated"

Q36.

- 1 "Upper income"
- 2 "Middle income"
- 3 "Lower Income"
- 4 "Varied"
- 5 "Middle/upper income"
- 6 "Middle/lower income"
- 77 "Not Stated"
- 88 "Don't Know"

Q37.

- 1 "Looks wierd/gives me a funny feeling"
- 2 "Has been drinking/looks stoned"
- 3 "Don't service blacks/  
black men are pimps"
- 4 "Recognise as a former bad trick"
- 5 "Request service I don't provide"
- 6 "Don't service teenagers/young men"
- 7 "Don't service East Indians"
- 8 "Cheap/don't offer enough"
- 9 "Disabled"
- 10 "Too old"
- 11 "Looks like a cop"
- 12 "Rude/arrogant/pushy"
- 33 "Other"
- 77 "Not stated"
- 88 "Don't Know"

Q38.

- 1 "Pleasant/ gentle/ friendly/  
no hassles"
- 2 "Physically attractive"
- 3 "Young"
- 4 "Orientals"
- 5 "Rich men/ men that pay well/  
give presents"
- 6 "Older men"
- 7 "Mid thirties"
- 8 "Fast/easy/don't want to  
spend a lot of time"
- 9 "Masochists"
- 10 "White"
- 33 "Other"
- 77 "Not stated"
- 88 "Don't Know"

Q39c.

- 1 "One"
- 2 "Two"
- 3 "Three"
- 4 "Four"
- 5 "Five"
- 6 "Six"
- 7 "Seven"
- 77 "Not Stated"

Q40.

- 1 "Assault/assault with weapon/  
attempted murder"
- 2 "Sexual assault/rape"
- 3 "Robbery"
- 4 "Trick didn't pay"
- 5 "None"
- 33 "Other"
- 77 "Not stated"
- 88 "Don't Know"

Q42.

- 1 "Financial need/no job/no other  
source of income"
- 2 "Sexual abuse at home"
- 3 ""Turned out by trick/trick just  
picked me up"
- 4 "Transsexuals/transvestites can't  
get square jobs"
- 5 "Needed money for sex change"
- 6 "Friends (non-pimp) introduced me  
to the business"
- 7 "To support drug habit"
- 8 "Excitement of lifestyle"
- 9 "Physical abuse at home"
- 10 "Stupidity"
- 11 "Pimp conned me/turned me out after  
dating me"
- 12 "Ran away from home"
- 77 "Not stated"
- 88 "Don't Know"
- 33 "Other"

Q43.

- 1 "On my own"
- 2 "Friend helped"
- 3 "Pimp turned me out"
- 4 "By accident"
- 33 "Other"
- 77 "Not stated"
- 88 "Don't Know"

Q44a.

- 1 "Loss of pride/self esteem"
- 2 "Not always/only sometimes"
- 3 "Would feel better about self in square job"
- 4 "Causes me a lot of grief"
- 5 "Makes personal relationships difficult"
- 6 "No different"
- 7 "Yes (unspecified)"
- 8 "Makes me feel superior/more aware"
- 33 "Other"
- 77 "Not Stated"
- 88 "Don't Know"



Q44b.

- 1 "Job itself"
- 2 "Peoples' attitudes"
- 3 "Both"
- 33 "Other"
- 77 "Not stated"
- 88 "Don't Know"

Q45b,c.

- 1 "Help a friend"
- 2 "Someone who wanted to/never force"
- 3 "Show them the ropes/dangers of the life"
- 4 "Pimp told me to"
- 5 "Give advice only"
- 6 "Keep them away from pimps"
- 33 "Other"
- 77 "Not stated"
- 88 "Don't Know"

Q46a.

- 1 "Less than 6 months"
- 2 "Less than 1 - year"
- 3 "1-2 years"
- 4 "3-4 yrs"
- 5 "5-9 years"
- 6 "10-20 yrs"
- 7 Over 20 years"
- 77 "Not stated"
- 88 Don't Know"

Q48.

- 1 "Yes"
- 2 "No"
- 3 "Have left business"
- 77 "Not stated"

Q49a.

- 1 "Less than 6 months ago"
- 2 "Less than a year"
- 3 "1-2 years"
- 4 "3-4 years"
- 5 "5-9 years"
- 6 "10-20 years"
- 7 "Over 20 years"
- 77 "Not stated"
- 88 "Don't Know"

Q49b.

- 1 "Business Management"
- 2 "White collar labour"
- 3 "Industrial Labour"
- 4 "Natural resources labour (mining/forestry/  
farming etc)"
- 5 "Military"
- 6 "Social worker"
- 7 "Artist"
- 8 "Service labour--traditional (waitress/waiter/  
hairdresser etc)"
- 9 "Service labour - housewife"
- 10 "Service labour - prostitute"
- 11 - "Student"
- 12 "Unemployed/on welfare"
- 77 "Not stted"
- 88 "Don't Know"
- 33 "Other"

Q49c.

- 1 "Never under any circumstances"
- 2 "Under serious financial difficulties"
- 3 "Still turn the occasional trick"
- 77 "Not stated"
- 88 "Don't Know"
- 33 "Other"

Q50.

- 1 "Beatings/violence"
- 2 "Beatings/violence from tricks"
- 3 "Beatings violence form pimps"
- 4 "Ripped off by trick"
- 5 "Ripped off by pimp/pimps take everything"
- 6 "Bad trick (unspecified why)"
- 7 "Robbed (Unspecified)"
- 8 "Verbal abuse/general harrassment"
- 9 "Other people/residents looking for trouble/"hooker-bashing"
- 10 "Rape"
- 11 "Disease"
- 12 "Emotional stress"
- 13 "Substance abuse/drugs/alcoholism"
- 14 "Getting busted"
- 77 "Not stated"
- 88 "Don't Know"
- 33 "Other"



Q50b.

- 1 "Robbery"
- 2 "Rape"
- 3 "Assault/beating/violence/stabbing"
- 4 "Abduction"
- 5 "Threats"
- 77 "Not stated"
- 88 "Don't Know"
- 33 "Other"

Q50c.

- 1 "Nobody"
- 2 "Police"
- 3 "Social worker"
- 4 "Hospital/doctor"
- 5 "Rape relief"
- 6 "Talked to friends/family"
- 77 "Not stated"
- 88 "Don't Know"
- 33 "Other"

Q504.

- 1 "Knife"
- 2 "Trust senses/good judgement"
- 3 "Hair spray"
- 4 "Bic lighter"
- 5 "Belt"
- 6 "Baseball bat"
- 7 "Nail file"
- 77 "Not stated"
- 33 "Other"

Q51b.           1 "To escape the reality of the job/to  
                  face the job/the people/so I don't  
                  feel anything"

                  2 "To relax/enjoy myself/social use"

                  3 "Don't like to be out of control"

77 "Not stated"

88 "Don't Know"

33 "Other"

Q52.           1 "Catching diseases"

                  2 "Substance abuse/alcohol/drugs"

                  3 "Poor health/lack of sleep/poor diet"

                  4 "Beatings"

77 "Not stated"

88 "Don't Know"

33 "Other"

Q54.           1 "Infection/yeast infection"  
              2 "V.D."  
              3 "P.I.D."  
              4 "Emotional stress"  
              5 Miscarriage/Hysterectomy"  
              6 "Physical stress/bruises etc."  
              33 "Other"  
              77 "Not Stated"

Q55.           1 "Family doctor"  
              2 "Clinic/public clinic/medical centre/  
                  public doctor"  
              3 "V D clinic"  
              4 "Emergency Services"  
              5 "Hospital"  
              6 "Free clinic"  
              77 "Not stated"  
              88 "Don't Know"  
              33 "Other"

Q56.                   1 "Treat you the same as anyone else"  
                      2 "Treat you differently"  
77 "Not stated"  
88 "Don't Know"  
33 "Other"

Q70.                   1 "Not enough services"  
                      2 "Don't need any more services"  
77 "Not stated"  
88 "Don't Know"

Q60c.                  1 "Inadequate help"  
                      2 "Adequate help"  
77 "Not stated"  
88 "Don't Know"  
33 "Other"



Q60i.

- 1 "Safe/pleasant/adequate foster/  
group homes"
- 2 "Safe hostels/shelters/places to get  
food/clothing"
- 3 "Adequate/more counselling for drug/  
alcohol abuse/family abuse"
- 4 "Crisis centres/help lines/hot lines"
- 5 "Education/training/job alternatives  
training"
- 6 "Properly trained social workers/  
street workers/understanding/non-  
judgemental social workers"
- 7 "Financial aid/welfare general)"
- 8 "More social services (general"
- 9 "None/none needed"
- 77 "Not stated"
- 88 "Don't Know"
- 33 "Other"

Q61a.

- 1 "Would promote autonomy of women/  
working people/allow us to run our  
own lives"
- 2 "Don't want the government to be my  
pimp/legalization=government pimp/  
would allow them to tell us when to/  
where to work/how to work"
- 3 "Prostitution will never stop so make  
it a legitimate business/service"
- 4 "We could be licensed/taxed like any  
business"
- 5 "Woulnd't make us feel like second-class  
citizens"
- 6 "Would help prevent further victimization  
of women/children"
- 7 "Would allow for adequate services/  
medical services/social services"
- 8 "It's a nautral act between consenting  
adults/not a crime"
- 77 "Not stated"
- 88 "Don't Know"
- 33 "Other"

Q62

- 1 "Customers of juveniles/  
procuring of juveniles"
- 2 "None/under no circumstances"
- 3 "Violent customers"
- 77 "Not stated"
- 88 "Don't Know"
- 33 "Other"

Q62a.

- 1 "It's statutory rape"
- 2 "It's exploitation/catering to baser instincts/power imbalance"
- 3 "It affects a child for life/you never get over it"
- 4 "It's connected to the drug trade/drugs"
- 77 "Not stated"
- 88 "Don't Know"
- 33 "Other"

Q63.

- 1 "Hotels/bars"
- 2 "Ads"
- 3 "Over the 'phone"
- 4 "Street"
- 5 "Escort Agency/house"
- 77 "Not Stated"
- 88 "Don't Know"
- 33 "Other"

Q64a.

- 1 "Charge the john/stiffer penalties  
against the john/
- 2 "It's morally wrong to use juveniles  
sexually"
- 3 "Juveniles need help/counselling/  
financial aid"
- 4 "Juveniles need lifestyle alternatives/  
education"
- 5 "Police need more power to get them off  
the street"
- 6 "Nothing-they chose the life"
- 33 "Other"
- 77 "Not stated"
- 88 "Don't Know"

Q64c.

- 1 "8-10 yrs. old"
- 2 "11-12 yrs. old"
- 3 "13-14 yrs. old"
- 4 "15-16 yrs. old"
- 5 "17-18 yrs. old"
- 6 "19-20 yrs. old"
- 7 "21-25 yrs. old"
- 33 "Other"
- 77 "Not Stated"

- Q65.
- 1 "Maritimes"
  - 2 "Quebec"
  - 3 "Ontario"
  - 4 "Manitoba/Saskatchewan"
  - 5 "Alberta"
  - 6 "B.C."
  - 7 "Vancouver"
  - 33 "Other"
  - 77 "Not Stated"
  - 88 "Don't Know"
- Q66.
- Age-coded in number of years
- Q67.
- 1 "With both parents"
  - 2 "With mother only"
  - 3 "With father only"
  - 4 "With someone else"
  - 5 "Foster home/group home"
  - 77 "Not Stated"



Q68.

- 0 "Only child"
- 1 "Had siblings"
- 77 "Not Stated"

Q68a,b  
Q69-70

- 1 "Business Management"
- 2 "White collar labour"
- 3 "Industrial labour"
- 4 "Natural resource labour (Farmer, mining, etc.)"
- 5 "Military/police"
- 6 "Social work"
- 7 "Artist/the Arts"
- 8 "Service labour - traditional (waitress, hairdressing, etc.)"
- 9 "Service labour - housewife"
- 10 "Service labour - prostitute"
- 11 "Student"
- 12 "Unemployed/on welfare"
- 13 "Retired"
- 14 "Deceased"
- 15 "Professional"
- 33 "Other"
- 77 "Not Stated"
- 88 "Don't Know"

Q71.

- 1 "Well off"
- 2 "Comfortable"
- 3 "Needy"
- 4 "Needy/comfortable"
- 5 "Comfortable/well off"
- 77 "Not Stated"

Q72,72a-c

- 1 "Favourable"
- 2 "Unfavourable"
- 3 "Neither favourable nor unfavourable/  
indifferent"
- 77 "Not Stated"

Q73a,74a.

- 1 "Father/mother"
- 2 "Stepfather/mother"
- 3 "Stepmother/father"
- 4 "Father/sibling"
- 5 "Stepfather/sibling"
- 6 "Father/me"
- 7 "Stepfather/me"
- 8 "Mother/sibling"
- 9 "Stepmother/sibling"
- 10 "Mother/me"
- 11 "Stepmother/me"
- 12 "Inter-sibling"
- 13 "Father (unspecified)"
- 14 "Mother (unspecified)"
- 33 "Other"
- 77 "Not stated"

Q74c.

- 1 "Friend of family/neighbour"
- 2 "Authority figure (social worker, doctor, teacher, foster parent, etc.)"
- 3 "Stranger"
- 33 "Other"
- 77 "Not stated"/

Q74d.

- 1 "Under 5 years"
- 2 "5-10 years"
- 3 "11-15 yrs"
- 4 "16-20 yrs old"
- 77 "Not stated"

- Q78.
- 1 "Friend/friends"
  - 2 "Lover"
  - 3 "Spouse"
  - 4 "Child/children"
  - 5 "Grandparent/grandparents"
  - 6 "Parent/parents"
  - 7 "No-one"
  - 33 "Other"
  - 77 "Not stated"

- Q79.
- 1 "No"
  - 2 "Yes, but lost child to custody/  
adoption"
  - 3 "Yes (unspecified)"
  - 4 "Yes, live with me"
  - 5 "Have been pregnant/had abortion/  
miscarriage"
  - 33 "Other"
  - 77 "Not stated"
  - 88 "Don't Know"



Q80.

- 1 "Don't do it/don't do it if you don't have to/don't get involved with the lifestyle/think twice"
- 2 "Be careful/don't take risks/it's dangerous"
- 3 "Know and respect the laws of the street/set time limits/don't undercut/make trick wear safe etc."
- 4 "Prostitution makes you develop a cynical attitude towards relationships/sex/people"
- 5 "It's not worth the hassle/not all it's cracked up to be"
- 6 "Don't waste your money/save it/get serious with your money/no "freebies"
- 7 "The money is good"
- 8 "Stay away from pimps"
- 33 "Other"
- 77 "Not stated"
- 88 "Don't Know"

APPENDIX D SECTION 3  
HOOKER INTERVIEWS

SINGLE RESPONSE  
FREQUENCY TABLES

Table S.1: % WORKING MORE THAN ONE LOCATION  
(Q. 3)

OTHERLOC

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Yes	1	15	31.3	50.0	50.0
No	2	15	31.3	50.0	100.0
OUT OF RANGE		18	37.5	MISSING	
	TOTAL	48	100.0	100.0	
VALID CASES	30	MISSING CASES	18		

Table S.2: % STARTED IN VANCOUVER  
(Q. 4)

STWVKVAN

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Yes	1	35	72.9	72.9	72.9
No	2	13	27.1	27.1	100.0
	TOTAL	48	100.0	100.0	
VALID CASES	48	MISSING CASES	0		

Table S.3: % THAT WORKED IN OTHER CITIES  
(Q. 5)

OTHCCITY

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Yes	1	33	68.8	68.8	68.8
No	2	15	31.3	31.3	100.0
		-----	-----	-----	
	TOTAL	48	100.0	100.0	
VALID CASES	48	MISSING CASES	0		

Table S.4: % COMING TO VANCOUVER TO WORK  
(Q. 10)

COMETOWK

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Yes	1	6	12.5	14.3	14.3
No	2	36	75.0	85.7	100.0
OUT OF RANGE		6	12.5	MISSING	
		-----	-----	-----	
	TOTAL	48	100.0	100.0	
VALID CASES	42	MISSING CASES	6		

Table S.5: % SHARE EARNINGS WITH SOME OTHER PERSON  
(Q. 11d)

SHARMONY

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Yes	1	31	64.6	66.0	66.0
No	2	16	33.3	34.0	100.0
OUT OF RANGE		1	2.1	MISSING	
		-----	-----	-----	
	TOTAL	48	100.0	100.0	
VALID CASES	47	MISSING CASES	1		

Table S.6: % HELPED WITH INTRODUCTION TO TRICKS  
(Q. 11g)

HELPINTR

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Yes	1	31	64.6	75.6	75.6
No	2	10	20.8	24.4	100.0
OUT OF RANGE		7	14.6	MISSING	
		-----	-----	-----	
	TOTAL	48	100.0	100.0	
VALID CASES	41	MISSING CASES	7		

Table S.7: % BEATEN BY POLICE  
(Q. 14a)

COPSBEAT

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Yes	1	17	35.4	43.6	43.6
No	2	22	45.8	56.4	100.0
OUT OF RANGE		9	18.8	MISSING	
	TOTAL	48	100.0	100.0	
VALID CASES	39	MISSING CASES	9		

Table S.8: % POLICE BRIBES  
(Q. 14b)

COPBRIBE

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Yes	1	9	18.8	22.0	22.0
No	2	32	66.7	78.0	100.0
OUT OF RANGE		7	14.6	MISSING	
	TOTAL	48	100.0	100.0	
VALID CASES	41	MISSING CASES	7		



Table S.9: % MENTIONED SEXUAL FAVOURS TO POLICE  
(Q. 14c)

COPSEX

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Yes	1	13	27.1	33.3	33.3
No	2	26	54.2	66.7	100.0
OUT OF RANGE		9	18.8	MISSING	
		-----	-----	-----	
	TOTAL	48	100.0	100.0	
VALID CASES	39	MISSING CASES	9		

Table S.10: % POLICE STOLEN FROM  
(Q. 14d)

COPSR0B

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Yes	1	11	22.9	28.2	28.2
No	2	28	58.3	71.8	100.0
OUT OF RANGE		9	18.8	MISSING	
		-----	-----	-----	
	TOTAL	48	100.0	100.0	
VALID CASES	39	MISSING CASES	9		

Table S.11: % ASKED BY POLICE FOR I.D.  
(Q. 14e)

COPASKID

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Yes	1	37	77.1	92.5	92.5
No	2	3	6.3	7.5	100.0
OUT OF RANGE		8	16.7	MISSING	
	TOTAL	48	100.0	100.0	
VALID CASES	40	MISSING CASES	8		

Table S.12: % PHOTOGRAPHED BY POLICE  
(Q. 14f)

COPTKPIX

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Yes	1	19	39.6	48.7	48.7
No	2	20	41.7	51.3	100.0
OUT OF RANGE		9	18.8	MISSING	
	TOTAL	48	100.0	100.0	
VALID CASES	39	MISSING CASES	9		

Table S. 13: % HASSLED BY POLICE WHEN NOT AT WORK  
(Q. 15)

COPHASL

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Yes	1	25	52.1	65.8	65.8
No	2	13	27.1	34.2	100.0
OUT OF RANGE		10	20.8	MISSING	
		-----	-----	-----	
	TOTAL	48	100.0	100.0	
VALID CASES	38	MISSING CASES	10		

Table M.14: % ARRESTED  
(Q. 16)

COPAREST

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
	1	36	75.0	78.3	78.3
	2	10	20.8	21.7	100.0
OUT OF RANGE		2	4.2	MISSING	
		-----	-----	-----	
	TOTAL	48	100.0	100.0	
VALID CASES	46	MISSING CASES	2		

Table S.15: % HASSLED BY RESIDENTS  
(Q. 18)

RESABUSE

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Yes	1	22	45.8	50.0	50.0
No	2	22	45.8	50.0	100.0
OUT OF RANGE		4	8.3	MISSING	
		-----	-----	-----	
	TOTAL	48	100.0	100.0	
VALID CASES	44	MISSING CASES	4		

Table S. 16: RESIDENT COMPLAINTS TO THE POLICE  
(Q. 19)

RESCOMP

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Yes	1	14	29.2	42.4	42.4
No	2	19	39.6	57.6	100.0
Not Stated	77	14	29.2	MISSING	
OUT OF RANGE		1	2.1	MISSING	
		-----	-----	-----	
	TOTAL	48	100.0	100.0	
VALID CASES	33	MISSING CASES	15		

Table S.17: BUSINESS COMPLAINTS TO THE POLICE  
(Q. 20)

BUSCOMP

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Yes	1	6	12.5	17.6	17.6
No	2	28	58.3	82.4	100.0
Not Stated	77	12	25.0	MISSING	
OUT OF RANGE		2	4.2	MISSING	
	TOTAL	48	100.0	100.0	
VALID CASES	34	MISSING CASES	14		

Table S.18: REQUEST TO PROCURE JUVENILES  
(Q. 25)

PROCJUV

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Yes	1	25	52.1	62.5	62.5
No	2	15	31.3	37.5	100.0
OUT OF RANGE		8	16.7	MISSING	
	TOTAL	48	100.0	100.0	
VALID CASES	40	MISSING CASES	8		



Table S. 19: FEMALE CUSTOMERS  
(Q. 27)

FEMCUST

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Yes	1	18	37.5	38.3	38.3
No	2	29	60.4	61.7	100.0
OUT OF RANGE		1	2.1	MISSING	
		-----	-----	-----	
	TOTAL	48	100.0	100.0	
VALID CASES	47	MISSING CASES	1		

Table S.20: % WORKING STAGS  
(Q. 32)

WKSTAGS

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Yes	1	22	45.8	47.8	47.8
No	2	24	50.0	52.2	100.0
OUT OF RANGE		2	4.2	MISSING	
		-----	-----	-----	
	TOTAL	48	100.0	100.0	
VALID CASES	46	MISSING CASES	2		

Table S.21: TRICK INCOME BRACKET  
(Q. 36)

TRCINCOM

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Upper income	1	6	12.5	13.3	13.3
Middle income	2	22	45.8	48.9	62.2
Varied	4	4	8.3	8.9	71.1
Middle-upper	5	9	18.8	20.0	91.1
Middle-lower	6	4	8.3	8.9	100.0
Not stated	77	1	2.1	MISSING	
OUT OF RANGE		2	4.2	MISSING	
	TOTAL	48	100.0	100.0	
VALID CASES	45	MISSING CASES	3		

Table S.22: % REFUSING TRICKS  
(Q. 37)

REFTRICK

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Yes	1	48	100.0	100.0	100.0
	TOTAL	48	100.0	100.0	
VALID CASES	48	MISSING CASES	0		

Table S.23: LENGTH OF WORK WEEK  
(Q. 39c)

NOOFDAYS

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Two	2	2	4.2	4.4	4.4
Three	3	4	8.3	8.9	13.3
Four	4	8	16.7	17.8	31.1
Five	5	6	12.5	13.3	44.4
Six	6	6	12.5	13.3	57.8
Seven	7	18	37.5	40.0	97.8
Other	33	1	2.1	2.2	100.0
OUT OF RANGE		3	6.3	MISSING	
	TOTAL	48	100.0	100.0	
VALID CASES	45	MISSING CASES	3		

Table S.24: REASONS FOR FEELINGS ABOUT THE JOB  
(Q. 44b)

JOBORATT

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Job itself	1	7	14.6	25.0	25.0
Other people	2	9	18.8	32.1	57.1
Both	3	12	25.0	42.9	100.0
OUT OF RANGE		20	41.7	MISSING	
	TOTAL	48	100.0	100.0	
VALID CASES	28	MISSING CASES	20		

Table S.25: % HELPING OTHERS TURN OUT  
(Q. 45)

## TURNOUT

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Yes	1	15	31.3	37.5	37.5
No	2	25	52.1	62.5	100.0
OUT OF RANGE		8	16.7	MISSING	
		-----	-----	-----	
	TOTAL	48	100.0	100.0	
VALID CASES	40	MISSING CASES	8		

Table S.26: CAREER LENGTH  
(Q. 46a)

## HOWLONG

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Under 6 months	1	3	6.3	6.7	6.7
Under 1 year	2	4	8.3	8.9	15.6
1-2 years	3	10	20.8	22.2	37.8
3-4 years	4	8	16.7	17.8	55.6
5-9 years	5	11	22.9	24.4	80.0
10-20 years	6	8	16.7	17.8	97.8
over 20 years	7	1	2.1	2.2	100.0
OUT OF RANGE		3	6.3	MISSING	
		-----	-----	-----	
	TOTAL	48	100.0	100.0	
VALID CASES	45	MISSING CASES	3		

Table S. 27: ACCESS TO VIABLE JOB ALTERNATIVES  
(Q. 46b)

JOBALT

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Yes	1	18	37.5	43.9	43.9
No	2	23	47.9	56.1	100.0
OUT OF RANGE		7	14.6	MISSING	
		-----	-----	-----	
	TOTAL	48	100.0	100.0	
VALID CASES	41	MISSING CASES	7		

Table S.28: % INVOLVED IN PORNOGRAPHY  
(Q. 47)

INPORN

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Yes	1	7	14.6	14.9	14.9
No	2	40	83.3	85.1	100.0
OUT OF RANGE		1	2.1	MISSING	
		-----	-----	-----	
	TOTAL	48	100.0	100.0	
VALID CASES	47	MISSING CASES	1		



Table S.29: % THAT WOULD QUIT PROSTITUTION FOR A WELL-PAYING JOB  
(Q. 48)

GIVUP

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Yes	1	27	56.3	64.3	64.3
No	2	5	10.4	11.9	76.2
Have left bus.	3	10	20.8	23.8	100.0
Not stated	77	4	8.3	MISSING	
OUT OF RANGE		2	4.2	MISSING	
		-----	-----	-----	
	TOTAL	48	100.0	100.0	
VALID CASES	42	MISSING CASES	6		

Table S.30: LENGTH OF RETIREMENT  
(Q. 49a)

WHENLEFT

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Under 6 months	1	3	6.3	18.8	18.8
1-2 years	3	6	12.5	37.5	56.3
3-4 years	4	4	8.3	25.0	81.3
5-9 years	5	1	2.1	6.3	87.5
10-20 years	6	1	2.1	6.3	93.8
Other	33	1	2.1	6.3	100.0
OUT OF RANGE		32	66.7	MISSING	
		-----	-----	-----	
	TOTAL	48	100.0	100.0	
VALID CASES	16	MISSING CASES	32		

Table S.31: PRESENT OCCUPATIONS  
(Q. 46b)

JOBNOW

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Nat. Res. labour	4	1	2.1	5.6	5.6
Social worker	6	1	2.1	5.6	11.1
Artist	7	2	4.2	11.1	22.2
Service-traditional	8	3	6.3	16.7	38.9
Service-prostitute	10	3	6.3	16.7	55.6
Student	11	4	8.3	22.2	77.8
U.I.C., Welfare	12	3	6.3	16.7	94.4
Other	33	1	2.1	5.6	100.0
OUT OF RANGE		30	62.5	MISSING	
	TOTAL	48	100.0	100.0	
VALID CASES	18	MISSING CASES	30		

Table S.32: CRIMES AGAINST PROSTITUTION  
(Q. 50a)

CRMATWK

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Yes	1	37	77.1	84.1	84.1
No	2	7	14.6	15.9	100.0
OUT OF RANGE		4	8.3	MISSING	
	TOTAL	48	100.0	100.0	
VALID CASES	44	MISSING CASES	4		

Table S.33: % CARRY WEAPONS  
(Q. 50e)

## WEAPON

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Yes	1	25	52.1	62.5	62.5
No	2	15	31.3	37.5	100.0
OUT OF RANGE		8	16.7	MISSING	
	TOTAL	48	100.0	100.0	
VALID CASES	40	MISSING CASES	8		

Table S.34: % USING DRUGS/ALCOHOL WHILE WORKING  
(Q. 51a)

## USED RUG

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Yes	1	35	72.9	72.9	72.9
No	2	13	27.1	27.1	100.0
	TOTAL	48	100.0	100.0	
VALID CASES	48	MISSING CASES	0		

Table S.35: % USING DRUGS/ALCOHOL TO ALLEVIATE STRESS OF JOB  
(Q. 51c)

## STRESS

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Yes	1	26	54.2	61.9	61.9
No	2	16	33.3	38.1	100.0
OUT OF RANGE		6	12.5	MISSING	
	TOTAL	48	100.0	100.0	
VALID CASES	42	MISSING CASES	6		

Table S.36: MEDICAL PROBLEMS  
(Q. 53)

## MEDPROBS

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Yes	1	22	45.8	50.0	50.0
No	2	22	45.8	50.0	100.0
OUT OF RANGE		4	8.3	MISSING	
	TOTAL	48	100.0	100.0	
VALID CASES	44	MISSING CASES	4		

Table S.37: REACTION OF MEDICAL PROFESSION  
(Q. 37)

HOWMED

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
The same	1	17	35.4	63.0	63.0
Differently	2	9	18.8	33.3	96.3
Other	33	1	2.1	3.7	100.0
Not stated	77	16	33.3	MISSING	
OUT OF RANGE		5	10.4	MISSING	
		-----	-----	-----	
	TOTAL	48	100.0	100.0	
VALID CASES	27	MISSING CASES	21		

Table S.38: % WITH MEDICAL INSURANCE  
(Q. 57)

MEDINS

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Yes	1	29	60.4	72.5	72.5
No	2	11	22.9	27.5	100.0
OUT OF RANGE		8	16.7	MISSING	
		-----	-----	-----	
	TOTAL	48	100.0	100.0	
VALID CASES	40	MISSING CASES	8		



Table S.39: SOCIAL SERVICES NEEDED  
(Q. 60b)

LACKSERV

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Not enough svcs.	1	24	50.0	70.6	70.6
Enough svcs.	2	6	12.5	17.6	88.2
	33	4	8.3	11.8	100.0
OUT OF RANGE		14	29.2	MISSING	
		-----	-----	-----	
	TOTAL	48	100.0	100.0	
VALID CASES	34	MISSING CASES	14		

Table S.40: REACTIONS OF SOCIAL SERVICE PERSONNEL  
(Q. 60c)

HELP

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Inadequate help	1	10	20.8	45.5	45.5
Adequate help	2	10	20.8	45.5	90.9
	33	2	4.2	9.1	100.0
OUT OF RANGE		26	54.2	MISSING	
		-----	-----	-----	
	TOTAL	48	100.0	100.0	
VALID CASES	22	MISSING CASES	26		

Table S. 41: RECOMMENDED LAW CHANGE  
(Q. 61)

LAWCHGE

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Decrim.	2	27	56.3	60.0	60.0
Legalize	3	18	37.5	40.0	100.0
OUT OF RANGE		3	6.3	MISSING	
		-----	-----	-----	
	TOTAL	48	100.0	100.0	
VALID CASES	45	MISSING CASES	3		

Table S.42: % WHO TURNED OUT AS JUVENILES  
(Q. 64b)

JUVOUT

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Yes	1	27	56.3	58.7	58.7
No	2	19	39.6	41.3	100.0
OUT OF RANGE		2	4.2	MISSING	
		-----	-----	-----	
	TOTAL	48	100.0	100.0	
VALID CASES	46	MISSING CASES	2		

Table S.43: AGE AT TIME TURNED OUT  
(Q. 64c)

HOWOLD

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
8-10 yrs old	1	1	2.1	2.3	2.3
11-12 yrs old	2	3	6.3	7.0	9.3
13-14 yrs old	3	14	29.2	32.6	41.9
15-16 yrs old	4	8	16.7	18.6	60.5
17-18 yrs old	5	4	8.3	9.3	69.8
18-20 yrs old	6	9	18.8	20.9	90.7
21-25 yrs old	7	4	8.3	9.3	100.0
OUT OF RANGE		5	10.4	MISSING	
		-----	-----	-----	
TOTAL		48	100.0	100.0	
VALID CASES	43	MISSING CASES	5		

Table S.44: BIRTHPLACE  
(Q. 65)

WHERBORN

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Maritimes	1	1	2.1	2.1	2.1
Quebec	2	2	4.2	4.3	6.4
Ontario	3	5	10.4	10.6	17.0
Man., Sask.	4	2	4.2	4.3	21.3
Alberta	5	5	10.4	10.6	31.9
B.C.	6	8	16.7	17.0	48.9
Vancouver	7	15	31.3	31.9	80.9
Europe	8	5	10.4	10.6	91.5
Other	33	4	8.3	8.5	100.0
OUT OF RANGE		1	2.1	MISSING	
		-----	-----	-----	
TOTAL		48	100.0	100.0	
VALID CASES	47	MISSING CASES	1		

Table S.45: PRESENT AGE  
(Q. 66)

WHATAGE

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
	15	2	4.2	4.3	4.3
	16	3	6.3	6.5	10.9
	17	1	2.1	2.2	13.0
	18	7	14.6	15.2	28.3
	19	3	6.3	6.5	34.8
	20	5	10.4	10.9	45.7
	21	5	10.4	10.9	56.5
	22	4	8.3	8.7	65.2
	23	1	2.1	2.2	67.4
	24	1	2.1	2.2	69.6
	26	2	4.2	4.3	73.9
	27	1	2.1	2.2	76.1
	28	4	8.3	8.7	84.8
	29	2	4.2	4.3	89.1
	35	2	4.2	4.3	93.5
	36	1	2.1	2.2	95.7
	39	1	2.1	2.2	97.8
	56	1	2.1	2.2	100.0
OUT OF RANGE		2	4.2	MISSING	
	TOTAL	48	100.0	100.0	
VALID CASES	46	MISSING CASES	2		

Table S.46: % WITH BROTHERS AND SISTERS  
(Q. 68)

## SIBLINGS

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Only child	0	3	6.3	6.4	6.4
Siblings	1	44	91.7	93.6	100.0
OUT OF RANGE		1	2.1	MISSING	
		-----	-----	-----	
	TOTAL	48	100.0	100.0	
VALID CASES	47	MISSING CASES	1		

Table S.47: FAMILY FINANCIAL SITUATION  
(Q. 71)

## FAMFIN

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Well off	1	11	22.9	25.6	25.6
Comfortable	2	23	47.9	53.5	79.1
Needy	3	6	12.5	14.0	93.0
Needy-comft.	4	1	2.1	2.3	95.3
Comft.-well off	5	2	4.2	4.7	100.0
OUT OF RANGE		5	10.4	MISSING	
		-----	-----	-----	
	TOTAL	48	100.0	100.0	
VALID CASES	43	MISSING CASES	5		



Table S.48: RELATIONSHIP WITH MOTHER  
(Q. 72)

RELAMOTH

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Favourable	1	16	33.3	35.6	35.6
Unfavourable	2	22	45.8	48.9	84.4
Neither	3	7	14.6	15.6	100.0
OUT OF RANGE		3	6.3	MISSING	
		-----	-----	-----	
	TOTAL	48	100.0	100.0	
VALID CASES	45	MISSING CASES	3		

Table S.49: RELATIONSHIP WITH FATHER  
(Q. 72a)

RELAFAH

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Favourable	1	11	22.9	28.2	28.2
Unfavourable	2	18	37.5	46.2	74.4
Neither	3	8	16.7	20.5	94.9
	33	2	4.2	5.1	100.0
OUT OF RANGE		9	18.8	MISSING	
		-----	-----	-----	
	TOTAL	48	100.0	100.0	
VALID CASES	39	MISSING CASES	9		

Table S.50: RELATIONSHIP WITH BROTHERS  
(Q. 72b)

RELABROS

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Favourable	1	17	35.4	48.6	48.6
Unfavourable	2	8	16.7	22.9	71.4
Neither	3	10	20.8	28.6	100.0
OUT OF RANGE		13	27.1	MISSING	
	TOTAL	48	100.0	100.0	
VALID CASES	35	MISSING CASES	13		

Table S.51: RELATIONSHIP WITH SISTERS  
(Q. 72c)

RELASIST

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Favourable	1	16	33.3	53.3	53.3
Unfavourable	2	5	10.4	16.7	70.0
Neither	3	9	18.8	30.0	100.0
Not Stated	77	17	35.4	MISSING	
OUT OF RANGE		1	2.1	MISSING	
	TOTAL	48	100.0	100.0	
VALID CASES	30	MISSING CASES	18		

Table S.52: FAMILY VIOLENCE  
(Q. 73)

FAMVIOL

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Never	1	15	31.3	32.6	32.6
Sometimes	2	16	33.3	34.8	67.4
Often	3	15	31.3	32.6	100.0
OUT OF RANGE		2	4.2	MISSING	
		-----	-----	-----	
	TOTAL	48	100.0	100.0	
VALID CASES	46	MISSING CASES	2		

Table S.53: FAMILY SEXUAL ABUSE  
(Q. 74)

FAMABUSE

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Never	1	28	58.3	66.7	66.7
Sometimes	2	9	18.8	21.4	88.1
Often	3	5	10.4	11.9	100.0
Not Stated	77	5	10.4	MISSING	
OUT OF RANGE		1	2.1	MISSING	
		-----	-----	-----	
	TOTAL	48	100.0	100.0	
VALID CASES	42	MISSING CASES	6		

Table S.54: NON-FAMILY SEXUAL ABUSE  
(Q. 74b)

## NONFAMAB

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Yes	1	13	27.1	72.2	72.2
No	2	5	10.4	27.8	100.0
OUT OF RANGE		30	62.5	MISSING	
		-----	-----	-----	
	TOTAL	48	100.0	100.0	
VALID CASES	18	MISSING CASES	30		

Table S.55: RESPONDENT AGE AT TIME OF ABUSE  
(Q. 74d)

## AGEAB

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Under 5 yrs	1	3	6.3	23.1	23.1
5 to 10 yrs	2	8	16.7	61.5	84.6
11 to 15 yrs	3	1	2.1	7.7	92.3
16 to 20 yrs	4	1	2.1	7.7	100.0
Not Stated	77	34	70.8	MISSING	
OUT OF RANGE		1	2.1	MISSING	
		-----	-----	-----	
	TOTAL	48	100.0	100.0	
VALID CASES	13	MISSING CASES	35		

Table S.56: ABUSE AS A CAUSE OF PROSTITUTIN  
(Q. 74f)

CAUSEPRO

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Yes	1	13	27.1	56.5	56.5
No	2	10	20.8	43.5	100.0
Not Stated	77	23	47.9	MISSING	
OUT OF RANGE		2	4.2	MISSING	
		-----	-----	-----	
	TOTAL	48	100.0	100.0	
VALID CASES	23	MISSING CASES	25		

Table S. 57: EDUCATION  
(Q. 76)

EDUCAT

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Less than gr 8	1	8	16.7	17.0	17.0
Grade 8	2	5	10.4	10.6	27.7
Grade 9	3	4	8.3	8.5	36.2
Grade 10	4	12	25.0	25.5	61.7
Grade 11	5	4	8.3	8.5	70.2
Grade 12	6	7	14.6	14.9	85.1
Some univ.,college	8	3	6.3	6.4	91.5
Degree,diploma	9	4	8.3	8.5	100.0
OUT OF RANGE		1	2.1	MISSING	
		-----	-----	-----	
	TOTAL	48	100.0	100.0	
VALID CASES	47	MISSING CASES	1		



Table S.58: CHILDREN  
(Q. 79)

## CHILDREN

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
No	1	21	43.8	50.0	50.0
Lost custody; adopted	2	5	10.4	11.9	61.9
Yes (unspecified)	3	13	27.1	31.0	92.9
Yes, live with me	4	1	2.1	2.4	95.2
Abortion; miscarriage	5	2	4.2	4.8	100.0
OUT OF RANGE		6	12.5	MISSING	
	TOTAL	48	100.0	100.0	
VALID CASES	42	MISSING CASES	6		

Table S.59: SEXUAL IDENTITY  
(Q. 59)

## SEXIDENT

VALUE LABEL	VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Female adult	1	28	58.3	58.3	58.3
Male adult	2	8	16.7	16.7	75.0
Female juvenile	3	5	10.4	10.4	85.4
Male juvenile	4	1	2.1	2.1	87.5
Transvestite	5	2	4.2	4.2	91.7
Transsexual	6	4	8.3	8.3	100.0
	TOTAL	48	100.0	100.0	
VALID CASES	48	MISSING CASES	0		

APPENDIX D SECTION 4  
HOOKER INTERVIEWS

MULTIPLE RESPONSE  
FREQUENCY TABLES

Table M.1: USUAL WORK LOCATION  
(Q. 1)

GROUP WORKLOC

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Street	1	39	37.5	81.3
Hotel	2	11	10.6	22.9
Bar	3	13	12.5	27.1
Massage parlour	4	1	1.0	2.1
Own Apartment	5	11	10.6	22.9
Ads mag/news	6	4	3.8	8.3
Phone business	7	9	8.7	18.8
Escort agency	8	8	7.7	16.7
Trick pad	9	4	3.8	8.3
All locations	10	1	1.0	2.1
Other	33	3	2.9	6.3
		-----	-----	-----
TOTAL RESPONSES		104	100.0	216.7
0 MISSING CASES		48 VALID CASES		

Table M.2: WHY WORK IN USUAL LOCATION  
(Q. 1a)

GROUP WHYLOC

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
I turned out there	1	8	14.3	19.5
Pimp orders	2	4	7.1	9.8
Easier to get tricks	3	17	30.4	41.5
Faster turnover	4	5	8.9	12.2
Safer place to work	5	6	10.7	14.6
Better clientele	6	6	10.7	14.6
No pimps	7	1	1.8	2.4
More discreet	8	5	8.9	12.2
Less police hassles	9	1	1.8	2.4
Other	33	3	5.4	7.3
		-----	-----	-----
TOTAL RESPONSES		56	100.0	136.6
7 MISSING CASES		41 VALID CASES		

Table M.3: STREET WORKED  
(Q. 2)

## GROUP STREET

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Davie Street area	1	31	47.0	75.6
Georgia/Hornby area	2	4	6.1	9.8
Granville St	3	5	7.6	12.2
East End	4	9	13.6	22.0
Robson St	5	2	3.0	4.9
Hastings St	6	8	12.1	19.5
Broadway	7	4	6.1	9.8
Commercial	8	1	1.5	2.4
NOT STATED	77	2	3.0	4.9
		-----	-----	-----
TOTAL RESPONSES		66	100.0	161.0
7 MISSING CASES		41 VALID CASES		

Table M.4: WHY USUAL STREET  
(Q. 2a)

## GROUP WHYST

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
I turned out there	1	2	4.8	6.7
Pimp orders	2	1	2.4	3.3
Easier trick pickups	3	1	2.4	3.3
Faster turnover	4	3	7.1	10.0
Friendly workplace	5	14	33.3	46.7
More tricks,money	6	7	16.7	23.3
Well known location	7	2	4.8	6.7
Lower class area	8	1	2.4	3.3
Don't need a pimp	9	4	9.5	13.3
Less police hassles	10	3	7.1	10.0
Other	33	4	9.5	13.3
		-----	-----	-----
TOTAL RESPONSES		42	100.0	140.0
18 MISSING CASES		30 VALID CASES		

Table M.5: VANCOUVER COMPARED TO OTHER WORK PLACES  
(Q. 9)

## GROUP VANWORK

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Good	1	7	13.2	25.9
Not as good	2	6	11.3	22.2
Not as many pimps	3	3	5.7	11.1
Hoes closer here	4	1	1.9	3.7
More bad dates	5	3	5.7	11.1
Less assoc. crime	6	1	1.9	3.7
More tricks/money	7	7	13.2	25.9
Lower prices here	8	3	5.7	11.1
Trans. can work here	9	2	3.8	7.4
Good climate/env	10	5	9.4	18.5
Less tricks	11	7	13.2	25.9
Less police hassles	12	2	3.8	7.4
Other	33	6	11.3	22.2
		-----	-----	-----
		TOTAL RESPONSES	53	100.0
21 MISSING CASES	27 VALID CASES			196.3

Table M.6: COMPETITION FOR TRICKS  
(Q. 11a)

## GROUP COMPETE

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Lots of competition	1	2	3.8	4.7
Open hostility	2	2	3.8	4.7
Competit. with trans	3	3	5.8	7.0
Healthy competition	4	2	3.8	4.7
Not a problem	5	21	40.4	48.8
Work on my own	6	6	11.5	14.0
I work with friends	7	6	11.5	14.0
Competit. with juvs	8	4	7.7	9.3
Undercutting	9	5	9.6	11.6
Other	33	1	1.9	2.3
		-----	-----	-----
		TOTAL RESPONSES	52	100.0
5 MISSING CASES	43 VALID CASES			120.9

Table M.7: SAFETY MEASURES AT WORK  
(Q. 11b)

## GROUP SAFETY

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
No-one/nothing	1	13	26.0	28.9
Hoes watch out	2	7	14.0	15.6
Hoes take lic. no.	3	19	38.0	42.2
Pimp control	4	3	6.0	6.7
Boyfriend around	5	5	10.0	11.1
Only use my place	6	2	4.0	4.4
Other	33	1	2.0	2.2
		-----	-----	-----
	TOTAL RESPONSES	50	100.0	111.1
3 MISSING CASES	45 VALID CASES			

Table M.8: HOW TERRITORY IS ESTABLISHED  
(Q. 11c)

## GROUP TURF

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Stand your ground	1	8	17.0	20.0
Work best hotel/bars	2	3	6.4	7.5
Get there first	3	1	2.1	2.5
Seniority on street	4	7	14.9	17.5
Payoff to senior hoe	5	1	2.1	2.5
Work alone	6	5	10.6	12.5
Advert./bus. cards	7	1	2.1	2.5
Just stand there	8	20	42.6	50.0
Other	33	1	2.1	2.5
		-----	-----	-----
	TOTAL RESPONSES	47	100.0	117.5
8 MISSING CASES	40 VALID CASES			



Table M.9: SHARE EARNINGS WITH  
(Q. 11e)

## GROUP SHARE

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Friend/friends	1	10	25.0	30.3
Spouse/lover	2	12	30.0	36.4
Pimp	3	8	20.0	24.2
Family	4	5	12.5	15.2
Tips to waiters etc	5	1	2.5	3.0
Agency	6	1	2.5	3.0
Pimp boyfriend	7	1	2.5	3.0
Trick pimped me	8	1	2.5	3.0
Other	33	1	2.5	3.0
		-----	-----	-----
		TOTAL RESPONSES	40	100.0
		33 VALID CASES		121.2
15 MISSING CASES				

Table M.10: WHY SHARE EARNINGS  
(Q. 11f)

## GROUP WHYSHARE

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Nothing	1	5	13.9	17.2
We share	2	13	36.1	44.8
Look after you	3	3	8.3	10.3
Buys gifts etc.	4	5	13.9	17.2
Security	5	1	2.8	3.4
Protection	6	5	13.9	17.2
Gets tricks	7	3	8.3	10.3
Other	33	1	2.8	3.4
		-----	-----	-----
		TOTAL RESPONSES	36	100.0
		29 VALID CASES		124.1
19 MISSING CASES				

Table M.11: WHO HELPS BY INTRODUCING CLIENTS  
(Q. 11g)

GROUP WHOINTR				
CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Waiters	1	3	8.1	10.3
Other hoes	2	20	54.1	69.0
Taxi drivers	3	2	5.4	6.9
Pimp	4	2	5.4	6.9
Tricks	6	8	21.6	27.6
Other	33	2	5.4	6.9
		-----	-----	-----
		TOTAL RESPONSES	37	100.0
19 MISSING CASES	29 VALID CASES			127.6

Table M.12: RELATIONSHIP WITH POLICE  
(Q. 13)

GROUP RELCOPS Relationship With Police				
CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Generally good	1	25	45.5	58.1
Some helpful	2	4	7.3	9.3
Some terrible	3	8	14.5	18.6
Generally bad	4	10	18.2	23.3
No relationship	5	7	12.7	16.3
Other	33	1	1.8	2.3
		-----	-----	-----
		TOTAL RESPONSES	55	100.0
5 MISSING CASES	43 VALID CASES			127.9

Table M.13: RESULT OF PICK-UP BY POLICE  
(Q. 16)

GROUP CHARGES Result Of Pick-up By Police

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Bawdy house charge	1	4	8.7	12.5
Drug charge	2	6	13.0	18.8
Property crime	3	11	23.9	34.4
Just harrassment	4	3	6.5	9.4
Soliciting charge	6	5	10.9	15.6
Probation	7	3	6.5	9.4
Vag C	8	2	4.3	6.3
Gross indecency	9	1	2.2	3.1
D and D,disturbance	10	2	4.3	6.3
Homicide Investig.	11	4	8.7	12.5
Other	33	5	10.9	15.6
		-----	-----	-----
		TOTAL RESPONSES	46	100.0
16 MISSING CASES	32 VALID CASES			143.8

Table M.14: KNOWLEDGE OF PROSTITUTION CRIMINAL LAW  
(Q. 17)

GROUP KNOWLAW

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Solic. illegal	1	13	22.0	39.4
Press and persist	2	6	10.2	18.2
Bawdy house law	3	10	16.9	30.3
Prost. legal	4	5	8.5	15.2
Local by-laws	5	5	8.5	15.2
Fines or jail	6	4	6.8	12.1
Living off avails	7	2	3.4	6.1
Must mention price	9	5	8.5	15.2
Other	33	9	15.3	27.3
		-----	-----	-----
		TOTAL RESPONSES	59	100.0
15 MISSING CASES	33 VALID CASES			178.8

Table M.15: RESIDENTS PHYSICALLY OR VERBALLY ABUSIVE  
(Q. 18)

GROUP ABUSE				
CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Throw things	1	11	32.4	50.0
Verbally Harrass	2	14	41.2	63.6
Instigate violence	3	5	14.7	22.7
Drivers Chase,threat	4	4	11.8	18.2
		-----	-----	-----
	TOTAL RESPONSES	34	100.0	154.5
26 MISSING CASES	22 VALID CASES			

Table M.16: BUSIEST DAYS OF WEEK  
(Q. 22)

GROUP DAYS				
CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Monday	1	12	10.9	26.7
Tuesday	2	9	8.2	20.0
Wednesday	3	8	7.3	17.8
Thursday	4	20	18.2	44.4
Friday	5	21	19.1	46.7
Saturday	6	27	24.5	60.0
Sunday	7	9	8.2	20.0
All the same	8	4	3.6	8.9
		-----	-----	-----
	TOTAL RESPONSES	110	100.0	244.4
3 MISSING CASES	45 VALID CASES			

Table M.17: REGULAR CUSTOMERS

(Q. 23)

## GROUP REGULARS

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
1-2	1	7	15.2	15.9
3-4	2	12	26.1	27.3
5-6	3	4	8.7	9.1
7-8	4	2	4.3	4.5
Lots	7	13	28.3	29.5
Takes a long time	8	2	4.3	4.5
Too much bother	9	3	6.5	6.8
Other	33	3	6.5	6.8
		-----	-----	-----
		TOTAL RESPONSES	46	100.0
		44 VALID CASES		104.5
4 MISSING CASES				

Table M.18: NEGOTIATE PRICES

(Q. 24b)

## GROUP HAGGLE

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Never	1	9	17.6	19.6
Always, good policy	2	3	5.9	6.5
If slow day, if broke	3	20	39.2	43.5
Regulars, nice guy	4	12	23.5	26.1
Trick pays for room	5	1	2.0	2.2
Sometimes, depends	6	4	7.8	8.7
Other	33	2	3.9	4.3
		-----	-----	-----
		TOTAL RESPONSES	51	100.0
		46 VALID CASES		110.9
2 MISSING CASES				



Table M.19: DESCRIBE CUSTOMERS IN GENERAL  
(Q. 26)

## GROUP DESCUST

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Older men	1	4	5.1	8.3
Professional men	2	9	11.4	18.8
Married	3	3	3.8	6.3
Mostly nice guys	4	28	35.4	58.3
Some,all jerks	5	20	25.3	41.7
Lonely,confused	6	5	6.3	10.4
Varied,no one type	7	7	8.9	14.6
Other	33	3	3.8	6.3
		-----	-----	-----
		TOTAL RESPONSES	79	100.0
0 MISSING CASES	48 VALID CASES			164.6

Table M.20: FEMALE CUSTOMERS-COMMENTS  
(Q. 27)

## GROUP FEMCOM

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Couples	1	9	28.1	36.0
Offer-refused	2	7	21.9	28.0
Get paid more	3	6	18.8	24.0
Female trick only	4	9	28.1	36.0
Other	33	1	3.1	4.0
		-----	-----	-----
		TOTAL RESPONSES	32	100.0
23 MISSING CASES	25 VALID CASES			128.0

Table M.21: SERVICES REQUESTED MOST OFTEN  
(Q. 29)

## GROUP PREFER

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Straight lay	1	25	35.7	56.8
Oral sex,B J	2	29	41.4	65.9
Half and Half	3	6	8.6	13.6
Kink,role-playing	4	6	8.6	13.6
Varied	6	1	1.4	2.3
Other	33	3	4.3	6.8
		-----	-----	-----
TOTAL RESPONSES		70	100.0	159.1
4 MISSING CASES	44 VALID CASES			

Table M.22: WHERE TRICKS TAKEN  
(Q. 30)

## GROUP WHERE

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Trick pad	1	12	14.8	26.1
Own apartment	2	12	14.8	26.1
Trick's home	3	12	14.8	26.1
Trick's hotel room	4	9	11.1	19.6
Hotel room	5	16	19.8	34.8
Car	6	14	17.3	30.4
Alley,parking lot	7	6	7.4	13.0
		-----	-----	-----
TOTAL RESPONSES		81	100.0	176.1
2 MISSING CASES	46 VALID CASES			

Table M.23: TIME LIMIT SET  
(Q. 31)

GROUP TIME				
CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
15 minutes	1	17	29.3	37.0
30 minutes	2	18	31.0	39.1
45 minutes	3	2	3.4	4.3
1 hour	4	4	6.9	8.7
Over one hour	5	1	1.7	2.2
What he pays for	6	6	10.3	13.0
No time limit	7	9	15.5	19.6
Other	33	1	1.7	2.2
		-----	-----	-----
		TOTAL RESPONSES	58	100.0
				126.1
2 MISSING CASES	46 VALID CASES			

Table M.24: SERVICES PROSTITUTES PREFER  
(Q. 33)

GROUP IPREFER				
CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
B J ,oral sex	1	16	33.3	38.1
Straight lay	2	16	33.3	38.1
Half and Half	3	1	2.1	2.4
None and get paid	4	7	14.6	16.7
Fantasy	5	1	2.1	2.4
Domination	6	2	4.2	4.8
Other	33	5	10.4	11.9
		-----	-----	-----
		TOTAL RESPONSES	48	100.0
				114.3
6 MISSING CASES	42 VALID CASES			

Table M.25: WHY PREFER SERVICE  
(Q. 33a)

## GROUP WHYLIKE

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Fastest	1	11	22.9	32.4
Easiest	2	19	39.6	55.9
Less intimate	3	10	20.8	29.4
Safest	4	2	4.2	5.9
Don't remove clothes	5	1	2.1	2.9
More Money	6	1	2.1	2.9
Other	33	4	8.3	11.8
		-----	-----	-----
	TOTAL RESPONSES	48	100.0	141.2
14 MISSING CASES	34 VALID CASES			

Table M.26: NON-BUSINESS RELATIONS WITH TRICKS  
(Q. 34)

## GROUP OTHREL

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
No, never	1	17	32.1	35.4
Fell in love	2	7	13.2	14.6
Friends	3	13	24.5	27.1
Offer to keep me	4	3	5.7	6.3
Offer to marry me	5	4	7.5	8.3
If he's generous	6	1	1.9	2.1
Yes (unspec.)	7	7	13.2	14.6
Other	33	1	1.9	2.1
		-----	-----	-----
	TOTAL RESPONSES	53	100.0	110.4
0 MISSING CASES	48 VALID CASES			

Table M.27: EVER REFUSED TRICK  
(Q. 37)

## GROUP WHYREF

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Looks weird	1	33	40.2	68.8
Drunk, on drugs	2	8	9.8	16.7
No black men	3	5	6.1	10.4
Former bad trick	4	1	1.2	2.1
Don't give that svce	5	5	6.1	10.4
No young men, boys	6	3	3.7	6.3
No East Indians	7	4	4.9	8.3
Haggle too much	8	9	11.0	18.8
Too old	10	3	3.7	6.3
Looks like a cop	11	2	2.4	4.2
Rude, pushy	12	3	3.7	6.3
Other	33	6	7.3	12.5
		-----	-----	-----
	TOTAL RESPONSES	82	100.0	170.8
0 MISSING CASES	48 VALID CASES			

Table M.28: PREFERRED CUSTOMERS  
(Q. 38)

## GROUP CUSPREF

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Pleasant	1	8	13.3	17.8
Good-looking	2	5	8.3	11.1
Young	3	4	6.7	8.9
Orientals	4	12	20.0	26.7
Men that pay well	5	9	15.0	20.0
Older men	6	7	11.7	15.6
Mid thirties	7	2	3.3	4.4
Fast, easy	8	5	8.3	11.1
Masochists	9	1	1.7	2.2
White	10	3	5.0	6.7
Other	33	4	6.7	8.9
		-----	-----	-----
	TOTAL RESPONSES	60	100.0	133.3
3 MISSING CASES	45 VALID CASES			



Table M.29: PROBLEMS WITH TRICKS  
(Q. 40)

## GROUP PROBLEMS

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Assault	1	32	38.1	76.2
Sexual assault	2	18	21.4	42.9
Robbery	3	16	19.0	38.1
Trick didn't pay	4	11	13.1	26.2
None	5	4	4.8	9.5
Other	33	3	3.6	7.1
		-----	-----	-----
		TOTAL RESPONSES	84	100.0
6 MISSING CASES	42 VALID CASES			200.0

Table M.30: CIRCUMSTANCES FIRST LED TO PROSTITUTION  
(Q. 42)

## GROUP WHYHO

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Financial need	1	21	27.3	45.7
Sexual abuse	2	4	5.2	8.7
Trick pick-up	3	7	9.1	15.2
No jobs for trans	4	3	3.9	6.5
Friends	6	10	13.0	21.7
Support drug habit	7	5	6.5	10.9
Excitement	8	3	3.9	6.5
Physical abuse	9	2	2.6	4.3
Stupidity	10	2	2.6	4.3
Pimp	11	5	6.5	10.9
Runaway	12	8	10.4	17.4
Other	33	7	9.1	15.2
		-----	-----	-----
		TOTAL RESPONSES	77	100.0
2 MISSING CASES	46 VALID CASES			167.4

Table M.31: ENTERED PROSTITUTION ON OWN OR OTHER  
(Q. 43)

## GROUP DNOWN

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
On my own	1	22	43.1	51.2
Friend helped	2	15	29.4	34.9
Pimp	3	7	13.7	16.3
By accident	4	3	5.9	7.0
Other	33	4	7.8	9.3
		-----	-----	-----
		TOTAL RESPONSES	51	100.0
5 MISSING CASES	43 VALID CASES			118.6

Table M.32: PROSTITUTION: FEEL DIFFERENT ABOUT SELF?  
(Q. 44a)

## GROUP FEELDIF

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Loss of pride	1	7	14.3	16.7
Only sometimes	2	3	6.1	7.1
Square job better	3	2	4.1	4.8
Causes grief	4	2	4.1	4.8
No different	6	15	30.6	35.7
Yes (unspec.)	7	14	28.6	33.3
Feel superior	8	6	12.2	14.3
		-----	-----	-----
		TOTAL RESPONSES	49	100.0
6 MISSING CASES	42 VALID CASES			116.7

Table M.33: WHY HELPED TURN SOMEONE ELSE OUT?  
(Q. 45c)

## GROUP WHYTURN

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Help a friend	1	8	23.5	38.1
If wanted to	2	7	20.6	33.3
Show the ropes	3	8	23.5	38.1
Pimp orders	4	1	2.9	4.8
Give advice only	5	4	11.8	19.0
To avoid pimps	6	3	8.8	14.3
Other	33	3	8.8	14.3
		-----	-----	-----
		TOTAL RESPONSES	34	100.0
27 MISSING CASES			21 VALID CASES	161.9

Table M.34: CIRCUMSTANCES LEAD TO RETURN-PRO  
(Q. 49c)

## GROUP WHYBACK

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Serious money probs.	2	7	46.7	50.0
Hook parttime	3	4	26.7	28.6
Other	33	4	26.7	28.6
		-----	-----	-----
		TOTAL RESPONSES	15	100.0
34 MISSING CASES			14 VALID CASES	107.1

Table M.35: HAZARDS OF WORK  
(Q. 50)

GROUP HAZARD				
CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Violence	1	26	24.3	57.8
Trick violence	2	3	2.8	6.7
Pimp violence	3	8	7.5	17.8
Robbed by trick	4	2	1.9	4.4
Ripped off by pimp	5	2	1.9	4.4
Bad trick	6	15	14.0	33.3
Robbed	7	4	3.7	8.9
Verbal abuse	8	4	3.7	8.9
Breeders, trblmakers	9	4	3.7	8.9
Rape	10	6	5.6	13.3
Disease	11	12	11.2	26.7
Emotional Stress	12	7	6.5	15.6
Substance abuse	13	2	1.9	4.4
Get busted	14	7	6.5	15.6
Other	33	5	4.7	11.1
		-----	-----	-----
		TOTAL RESPONSES	107	100.0
3 MISSING CASES	45 VALID CASES			237.8

Table M.36: CRIMES COMMITTED AGAINST PRO. ON JOB  
(Q. 50a)

GROUP VICTIM				
CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Robbery	1	22	25.9	57.9
Rape	2	21	24.7	55.3
Assault	3	28	32.9	73.7
Abduction	4	5	5.9	13.2
Threats	5	6	7.1	15.8
Other	33	3	3.6	7.9
		-----	-----	-----
		TOTAL RESPONSES	85	100.0
10 MISSING CASES	38 VALID CASES			223.7

Table M.37: WHO WAS TOLD ABOUT THE CRIME  
(Q. 50c)

GROUP WHOTOLD				
CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Nobody	1	18	40.9	50.0
Police	2	11	25.0	30.6
Social worker	3	6	13.6	16.7
Hospital,doctor	4	1	2.3	2.8
Rape relief	5	1	2.3	2.8
Friends,family	6	4	9.1	11.1
Other	33	3	6.8	8.3
		-----	-----	-----
		TOTAL RESPONSES	44	100.0
12 MISSING CASES			36 VALID CASES	122.2

Table M. 38: WEAPONS CARRIED: SELF-DEFENSE ON JOB  
(Q. 50e)

GROUP CARRY				
CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Knife	1	17	44.7	58.6
Trust my senses	2	3	7.9	10.3
Hair spray	3	3	7.9	10.3
Bic lighter	4	3	7.9	10.3
Belt	5	1	2.6	3.4
Baseball bat	6	1	2.6	3.4
Nail file	7	3	7.9	10.3
Other	33	7	18.4	24.1
		-----	-----	-----
		TOTAL RESPONSES	38	100.0
19 MISSING CASES			29 VALID CASES	131.0



Table M.39: WHY DRUGS USED ON JOB  
(Q. 51b)

GROUP WHYDRUG				
CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Escape job reality	1	23	51.1	52.3
To enjoy myself	2	9	20.0	20.5
To be in control	3	11	24.4	25.0
Other	33	2	4.4	4.5
		-----	-----	-----
	TOTAL RESPONSES	45	100.0	102.3
4 MISSING CASES	44 VALID CASES			

Table M.40: MEDICAL HAZARDS OF PROSTITUTION AWARE OF  
(Q. 52)

GROUP MEDHAZ				
CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Catching diseases	1	33	61.1	91.7
Substance abuse	2	3	5.6	8.3
Poor health	3	8	14.8	22.2
Beatings	4	4	7.4	11.1
Other	33	6	11.1	16.7
		-----	-----	-----
	TOTAL RESPONSES	54	100.0	150.0
12 MISSING CASES	36 VALID CASES			

Table M.41: MEDICAL PROBLEMS EVER SUFFERED THRU JOB  
(Q. 54)

## GROUP SUFFER

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Infections	1	5	18.5	21.7
VD	2	5	18.5	21.7
P.I.D.	3	4	14.8	17.4
Emotional Stress	4	2	7.4	8.7
Hysterectomy	5	2	7.4	8.7
Physical stress	6	5	18.5	21.7
Other	33	4	14.8	17.4
		-----	-----	-----
		TOTAL RESPONSES	27	100.0
25 MISSING CASES	23 VALID CASES			117.4

Table M.42: USUAL MEDICAL TREATMENT SOUGHT  
(Q. 55)

## GROUP TREAT

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Personal doctor	1	24	54.5	63.2
Public clinic	2	8	18.2	21.1
V D clinic	3	3	6.8	7.9
Emergency Services	4	3	6.8	7.9
Hospital	5	2	4.5	5.3
Free clinic	6	4	9.1	10.5
		-----	-----	-----
		TOTAL RESPONSES	44	100.0
10 MISSING CASES	38 VALID CASES			115.8

Table M.43: SOCIAL SERVICES USED  
(Q. 60a)

## GROUP USESERV

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
MEDICAL CENTRES	1	19	15.3	52.8
COUNSELLING-gen'l	2	12	9.7	33.3
HELP LINES	3	4	3.2	11.1
FOOD	4	6	4.8	16.7
SHELTER	5	4	3.2	11.1
FINANCIAL AID	6	17	13.7	47.2
EMERGENCY SERVICES	7	12	9.7	33.3
DRUG TREATMENT	8	6	4.8	16.7
RAPE CRISIS	9	4	3.2	11.1
A.S.P.	10	8	6.5	22.2
GROUP HOMES	11	11	8.9	30.6
YOUTH SERVICES	12	3	2.4	8.3
EDUCATION SERVICES	13	6	4.8	16.7
JOB TRAINING	14	3	2.4	8.3
CHILD ABUSE COUNSEL	15	2	1.6	5.6
OTHER	33	7	5.6	19.5
		-----	-----	-----
		TOTAL RESPONSES	124	100.0
12 MISSING CASES	36 VALID CASES			344.4

Table M.44: JUVENILE SERVICES NEEDED: PRO RECS.  
(Q. 60)

## GROUP JUVSERV

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Safe group homes	1	15	19.5	41.7
Safe shelters	2	16	20.8	44.4
Counselling	3	10	13.0	27.8
Crisis centres	4	9	11.7	25.0
Education, training	5	6	7.8	16.7
Good social workers	6	8	10.4	22.2
Fin. aid, welfare	7	2	2.6	5.6
More soc svcs (gen)	8	4	5.2	11.1
None	9	4	5.2	11.1
Other	33	3	3.9	8.3
		-----	-----	-----
		TOTAL RESPONSES	77	100.0
12 MISSING CASES	36 VALID CASES			213.9

Table M.45: WHY PREFERRED LEGAL OPTION  
(Q. 61a)

## GROUP WHYLA

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Womens' autonomy	1	12	20.3	32.4
Leg.= govt'as pimp	2	10	16.9	27.0
Make it legit.	3	10	16.9	27.0
Lic,tax as any bus.	4	4	6.8	10.8
Not 2nd class cit.	5	6	10.2	16.2
Stop victimization	6	6	10.2	16.2
Good med.,soc. svcs.	7	5	8.5	13.5
It's not a crime	8	3	5.1	8.1
Other	33	3	5.1	8.1
		-----	-----	-----
TOTAL RESPONSES		59	100.0	159.5
11 MISSING CASES	37 VALID CASES			

Table M.46: WHEN CRIMINAL SANCTIONS RECOMMENDED  
(Q. 62)

## GROUP CRIME

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Cust. of Juveniles	1	16	42.1	47.1
Never	2	8	21.1	23.5
Violent cust.	3	5	13.2	14.7
Other	33	9	23.7	26.5
		-----	-----	-----
TOTAL RESPONSES		38	100.0	111.8
14 MISSING CASES	34 VALID CASES			

Table M.47: WHY CRIMINAL SANCTION THOSE CONDITIONS  
(Q. 62a)

## GROUP WHYSANC

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
It's statutory rape	1	3	20.0	21.4
Power imbalance	2	3	20.0	21.4
Affects child's life	3	3	20.0	21.4
Assoc. with drugs	4	1	6.7	7.1
Other	33	5	33.3	35.7
		-----	-----	-----
TOTAL RESPONSES		15	100.0	107.1
34 MISSING CASES	14 VALID CASES			

Table M.48: IF SOLICITING ILLEGAL; WHERE MEET TRICKS  
(Q. 63)

## GROUP WHEREGO

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Hotels,bars	1	27	45.0	64.3
Ads	2	5	8.3	11.9
Over the phone	3	6	10.0	14.3
Street	4	8	13.3	19.0
Escort Agency	5	9	15.0	21.4
Other	33	5	8.3	11.9
		-----	-----	-----
TOTAL RESPONSES		60	100.0	142.9
6 MISSING CASES	42 VALID CASES			



Table M.49: RECOMMENDATIONS RE: PROCURED JUVENILES  
(Q. 63b)

## GROUP JUVREC

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Charge the John	1	10	20.0	28.6
It's morally wrong	2	4	8.0	11.4
Juveniles need help	3	8	16.0	22.9
Education, training	4	7	14.0	20.0
More police power	5	10	20.0	28.6
Nothing	6	5	10.0	14.3
Other	33	6	12.0	17.1
		-----	-----	-----
	TOTAL RESPONSES	50	100.0	142.9
13 MISSING CASES	35 VALID CASES			

Table M.50: CHILDHOOD SPENT WITH  
(Q. 67)

## GROUP HOME

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Both Parents	1	21	33.3	44.7
Mother only	2	19	30.2	40.4
Father only	3	8	12.7	17.0
Other person	4	9	14.3	19.1
Foster, group home	5	6	9.5	12.8
		-----	-----	-----
	TOTAL RESPONSES	63	100.0	134.0
1 MISSING CASES	47 VALID CASES			

Table M.51: BROTHERS' OCCUPATIONS  
(Q. 68a)

## GROUP BROJOB

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Business Management	1	5	10.9	15.6
Industrial labour	3	4	8.7	12.5
Nat. Res. labour	4	3	6.5	9.4
Artist, the Arts	7	1	2.2	3.1
Service-traditional	8	5	10.9	15.6
Student	11	13	28.3	40.6
Unemployed	12	7	15.2	21.9
Deceased	14	1	2.2	3.1
Professional	15	3	6.5	9.4
Other	33	4	8.7	12.5
		-----	-----	-----
		TOTAL RESPONSES	46	100.0
16 MISSING CASES	32 VALID CASES			143.8

Table M.52: SISTERS' OCCUPATIONS  
(Q. 68b)

## GROUP SISTJOB

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Business Management	1	2	4.9	7.1
White collar labour	2	4	9.8	14.3
Industrial labour	3	2	4.9	7.1
Artist, the Arts	7	2	4.9	7.1
Service-traditional	8	7	17.1	25.0
Service-housewife	9	10	24.4	35.7
Service-prostitute	10	1	2.4	3.6
Student	11	6	14.6	21.4
Unemployed	12	3	7.3	10.7
Deceased	14	1	2.4	3.6
Professional	15	3	7.3	10.7
		-----	-----	-----
		TOTAL RESPONSES	41	100.0
20 MISSING CASES	28 VALID CASES			146.4

Table M.53: FATHERS' OCCUPATIONS  
(Q. 69)

## GROUP DADJOB

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Business Management	1	8	17.4	19.5
White collar labour	2	2	4.3	4.9
Industrial labour	3	10	21.7	24.4
Nat. Res. labour	4	4	8.7	9.8
Military,police	5	3	6.5	7.3
Service-traditional	8	8	17.4	19.5
Unemployed	12	3	6.5	7.3
Retired	13	2	4.3	4.9
Deceased	14	5	10.9	12.2
Professional	15	1	2.2	2.4
		-----	-----	-----
		TOTAL RESPONSES	46	100.0
7 MISSING CASES	41 VALID CASES			112.2

Table M.54: MOTHERS' OCCUPATIONS

## GROUP MUMJOB

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Business Management	1	2	4.2	4.8
White collar labour	2	6	12.5	14.3
Artist,the Arts	7	1	2.1	2.4
Service-traditional	8	7	14.6	16.7
Service-housewife	9	14	29.2	33.3
Service-prostitute	10	5	10.4	11.9
Student	11	1	2.1	2.4
Unemployed	12	7	14.6	16.7
Retired	13	1	2.1	2.4
Deceased	14	1	2.1	2.4
Professional	15	2	4.2	4.8
Other	33	1	2.1	2.4
		-----	-----	-----
		TOTAL RESPONSES	48	100.0
6 MISSING CASES	42 VALID CASES			114.3

Table M.55: FAMILY VIOLENCE: MEMBERS INVOLVED  
(Q. 73a)

## GROUP WHOVIOL

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Father-mother	1	8	19.0	25.8
Stepfather-mother	2	1	2.4	3.2
Stepmother-father	3	3	7.1	9.7
Father-sibling	4	2	4.8	6.5
Stepfather-sibling	5	1	2.4	3.2
Father-me	6	5	11.9	16.1
Stepfather-me	7	5	11.9	16.1
Mother-sibling	8	2	4.8	6.5
Mother-me	10	9	21.4	29.0
Inter-sibling	12	3	7.1	9.7
Father (unspec)	13	1	2.4	3.2
Other	33	2	4.8	6.5
		-----	-----	-----
		TOTAL RESPONSES	42	100.0
				135.5
17 MISSING CASES	31 VALID CASES			

Table M.56: FAMILY SEXUAL ABUSE-INVOLVED  
(Q. 74a)

## GROUP WHOSEX

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Father-mother	1	1	5.6	7.1
Stepfather-mother	2	1	5.6	7.1
Stepfather-sibling	5	1	5.6	7.1
Father-me	6	4	22.2	28.6
Stepfather-me	7	6	33.3	42.9
Inter-sibling	12	1	5.6	7.1
Other	33	4	22.2	28.6
		-----	-----	-----
		TOTAL RESPONSES	18	100.0
				128.6
34 MISSING CASES	14 VALID CASES			

Table M.57: NON-FAMILY MEMBERS-SEXUAL ABUSE  
(Q. 74c)

## GROUP NONFAM

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Fam. friend,neighb.	1	8	61.5	72.7
Authority figure	2	1	7.7	9.1
Stranger	3	2	15.4	18.2
Other	33	2	15.4	18.2
		-----	-----	-----
		TOTAL RESPONSES	13	100.0
37 MISSING CASES	11 VALID CASES			118.2

Table M.58: OTHER KINDS OF WORK DONE  
(Q. 77)

## GROUP OTHWORK

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Business Management	1	1	1.3	2.2
White Collar labour	2	12	16.0	26.7
Indust. labour	3	7	9.3	15.6
Nat. res. labour	4	2	2.7	4.4
Social Work	6	8	10.7	17.8
Artist	7	3	4.0	6.7
Service-tradit.	8	32	42.7	71.1
Service-Prost.	10	3	4.0	6.7
Student	11	2	2.7	4.4
Unemployed	12	4	5.3	8.9
Other	33	1	1.3	2.2
		-----	-----	-----
		TOTAL RESPONSES	75	100.0
3 MISSING CASES	45 VALID CASES			166.7



Table M.59: WHO LIVE WITH  
(Q. 78)

## GROUP ROOMY

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Friend(s)	1	10	20.4	23.3
Lover	2	15	30.6	34.9
Spouse	3	2	4.1	4.7
Child,children	4	2	4.1	4.7
Grandparent(s)	5	2	4.1	4.7
Parent(s)	6	3	6.1	7.0
No-one	7	15	30.6	34.9
		-----	-----	-----
		TOTAL RESPONSES	49	100.0
5 MISSING CASES			43 VALID CASES	114.0

Table M.60: ADVICE TO THOSE CONSIDERING PROSTITUTION  
(Q. 80)

## GROUP ADVICE

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Don't do it	1	26	36.6	68.4
Don't take risks	2	9	12.7	23.7
Respect street law	3	7	9.9	18.4
Make you cynical	4	4	5.6	10.5
Not worth the hassle	5	7	9.9	18.4
Save your money	6	2	2.8	5.3
Make good money	7	8	11.3	21.1
Avoid pimps	8	5	7.0	13.2
Other	33	3	4.0	7.9
		-----	-----	-----
		TOTAL RESPONSES	71	100.0
10 MISSING CASES			38 VALID CASES	186.8

Table M.61: WHY MEN BUY SEX  
(Q. 28)

## GROUP WHYBUY

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Variety,change	1	11	15.9	28.9
Uncooperative wife	2	17	24.6	44.7
Peer pressure	3	3	4.3	7.9
Sexual gratification	4	9	13.0	23.7
Unattractive,shy	5	8	11.6	21.1
Power,make demands	6	11	15.9	28.9
Away from lover	7	3	4.3	7.9
No other partner	8	7	10.1	18.4
		-----	-----	-----
TOTAL RESPONSES		69	100.0	181.6
10 MISSING CASES	38 VALID CASES			

Table M.62: WORK EXPENSES INCURRED  
(Q. 41)

## GROUP EXPENSES

DICHOTOMY LABEL	NAME	COUNT	PCT OF RESPONSES	PCT OF CASES
Apartment	EXP1	30	10.1	66.7
Advertising	EXP2	9	3.0	20.0
Pager	EXP3	11	3.7	24.4
Alcohol,Drugs on job	EXP4	28	9.4	62.2
Birth Control	EXP5	8	2.7	17.8
Condoms	EXP6	32	10.7	71.1
K.Y.	EXP7	12	4.0	26.7
Cabs	EXP8	26	8.7	57.8
Tips	EXP9	13	4.4	28.9
Clothes,cosmetics	EXP10	34	11.4	75.6
Food on Job	EXP11	29	9.7	64.4
Hotel Rooms	EXP12	17	5.7	37.8
Daycare,Sitter	EXP13	4	1.3	8.9
Rent	EXP14	11	3.7	24.4
Trick Pad	EXP15	10	3.4	22.2
Legal Fees	EXP16	8	2.7	17.8
Medical Expenses	EXP17	12	4.0	26.7
Police Expenses	EXP18	1	0.3	2.2
Other Expenses	EXP19	3	1.0	6.7
		-----	-----	-----
TOTAL RESPONSES		298	100.0	662.2
3 MISSING CASES	45 VALID CASES			



APPENDIX E  
CUSTOMER QUESTIONNAIRE





## FIELD STUDY ON PROSTITUTION

To whom it may concern,

I am an Assistant Professor at Simon Fraser University, conducting a study of prostitution in Vancouver. The study consists of several components, the most difficult of which relates to gathering information about the clients of prostitutes; a group of people about whom a great deal has been said, but not much is actually known. I am thus requesting the customers of prostitutes to fill out the enclosed questionnaire.

The results of this study (funded by the Department of Justice) will subsequently be made available to the Federal Government, which is currently considering various changes in laws relating to prostitution. An informed policy change is most likely to occur in a situation where information exists about all parties involved in the business of prostitution.

I should emphasize that complete confidentiality is guaranteed; no person responding to our questionnaire will be identified in any research report ( a questionnaire mailed to the Post Office box will not be identifiable, in any case).

For any further information, please call John Lowman at 291-4765.

With thanks for your assistance,

John Lowman, Ph.D.

## SECTION 1: INITIAL CONTACT:

To begin with, some questions about your first encounter with a prostitute:

1. How old were you the first time you contacted a prostitute?

-----

2. What motivated you the first time you contacted a prostitute?

-----  
-----  
-----  
-----

3. How did you make contact with this prostitute?

1. On the street

2. Hotel

3. Bar

4. Massage Parlour

5. Ad in magazine/newspaper

6. Escort agency

7. Word of mouth (referral)

8. Other (SPECIFY): \_\_\_\_\_

4. What city was this in? \_\_\_\_\_

5. Did you talk about this experience with anyone else at the time?

1. YES

2.NO - skip to Q.7

6. Who? \_\_\_\_\_

7. How old would you say the first prostitute you contacted was?

-----

8. Did you ever try to contact this prostitute again?

1. YES

2. NO

9. Why/why not? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

10. Generally, how did you feel about this experience?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

## SECTION II: SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR CURRENT USE OF PROSTITUTES

11. What are or have been your main reasons for going to a prostitute?  
CIRCLE THE NUMBER BESIDE ALL ANSWERS THAT APPLY.

1. For sexual pleasure when no other partner  
available.

2. Because your usual partner will not perform  
certain acts.

3. Because prostitutes provide impersonal sex.

4. Because prostitutes provide love and  
affection.

5. For a change.

6. For the feeling of power that it affords.

7. Other reason(s) (SPECIFY): \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

12. How often do you hire a prostitute? \_\_\_\_\_

13. In what city do you live? \_\_\_\_\_

14. Do you usually visit prostitutes in your home town, or do you usually visit prostitutes in some other city?

1. Usually in home town.

2. Some other city.

3. Both.

15. What are the prices for various services offered by prostitutes in your home town?

-----  
 -----  
 -----

16. Which services do you prefer? \_\_\_\_\_

-----

17. Do you visit prostitutes when travelling on business (or have you ever)?

1. YES

2. NO - skip to Q.20

18. Under what circumstances do you visit prostitutes while travelling on business?

-----  
 -----  
 -----

19. Do prices differ by area (ie. in other cities/countries) \_\_\_\_\_

19a. If so, how do they differ? \_\_\_\_\_

-----  
 -----

20. In what way(s) do you contact prostitutes (or have in the past)?  
CIRCLE THE NUMBER BESIDE ALL ANSWERS THAT APPLY>

- 1. Street.
- 2. Hotel.
- 3. Bar
- 4. Massage Parlour.
- 5. Ad in magazine/newspaper.
- 6. Escort Service.
- 7. Word of mouth (referral).
- X. Other (SPECIFY): \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

21. Generally, how much time would you spend with a prostitute?

\_\_\_\_\_

22. Do you prefer to visit the same prostitute on a regular basis, or do you generally prefer to contact different prostitutes each time?

- 1. Prefer to visit one person on a regular basis
- 2. Prefer to contact different person each time

23. Why? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

24. What age of prostitute do you prefer? \_\_\_\_\_

25. What sex of prostitute do you prefer? \_\_\_\_\_

26. Do you prefer prostitutes with certain clothing styles?

- 1. YES
- 2. NO - skip to Q.28

27. What clothing styles do you prefer? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_



28. Have you ever developed anything other than a business relationship with a prostitute?

1. YES

2. NO - skip to Q.30

29. Under what circumstances? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

30. Under what circumstances would you turn a prostitute down?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

31. Where do you usually go when you are with a prostitute?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

32. Have you ever paid a prostitute in some way other than money?

1. YES

2. NO - skip to Q.34

33. How did you pay? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

34. Do you know other people who visit prostitutes?

1. None

2. A few

3. Many

35. Do you discuss visiting prostitutes with anyone else?

1. YES

2. NO - skip to Q.37

36. Who with? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

37. Do you prefer visiting a prostitute when you are under the influence of alcohol or some other drug?

1. YES

2. NO - skip to Q.39

38. Is this an important part of the situation? \_\_\_\_\_

38a. If so, why? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

39. Do you ever use (read, watch) sexually explicit films or magazines?

1. YES

2. NO - skip to Q.40

39a. Are such films/magazines ever part of an encounter with a prostitute?

1. YES

2. NO - skip to Q.40

39b. In what way? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

40. Have you ever encountered any problems (eg. legal, medical, personal, etc.) with a prostitute, or as a result of visiting a prostitute?

1. YES

2. NO - skip to Q.42

41. What happened (describe incident)? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

42. Have you ever been robbed by a prostitute?

1. YES

2. NO

43. Do you take any precautions to avoid trouble when you visit a prostitute?

1. YES

2. NO

44. What precautions do you take? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

## SECTION III: SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT THE LEGAL ASPECTS OF PROSTITUTION:

The government is considering certain changes in the laws relating to prostitution. These proposed changes include:

- A. Criminalization: Maintenance of all criminal laws applying to bawdy houses, procuring and the introduction of a law which prevents street solicitation by both prostitutes and customers.
- B. Decriminalization: Removal of all criminal laws relating to adult prostitution. Adult prostitution would be unregulated except for some provision for taxation. Most advocates of decriminalization would wish to retain a law relating to the procurement of juveniles.
- C. Legalization: Legalization and regulation of prostitution in bawdy houses/"red light" districts, controlled by the government.

45. Which of the above options would you prefer to see implemented in the case of adult prostitution, or would you prefer to see some other alternative?

1. Criminalization

2. Decriminalization

3. Legalization

X. Other (DESCRIBE): \_\_\_\_\_

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46. Why would you prefer that kind of law? \_\_\_\_\_

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47. In what circumstances, if any, should criminal sanctions ever be used with regard to prostitution?

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48. If street solicitation were to be made illegal for both prostitutes and their customers, how would this affect the way in which you contact prostitutes?

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49. What are the present laws relating to prostitution, that you are aware of?

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50. What effect, if any, do the present laws have on the way you contact a prostitute?

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51. And what effect do they have on where you go with a prostitute?

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52. If prostitution were to be made totally illegal (ie. for both prostitutes and their customers) would you still contact prostitutes?

1. YES

2. NO - skip to next section

53. How would you contact them? \_\_\_\_\_

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## SECTION IV: PERSONAL DATA:

54. In what year were you born? \_\_\_\_\_

55. Where were you born? \_\_\_\_\_

56. What is your profession? \_\_\_\_\_

57. Into which of the following categories does your annual income fall?  
CIRCLE THE APPROPRIATE NUMBER.

1. Under \$10,000 per year

2. \$10,000 - \$14,999

3. \$15,000 - \$19,999

4. \$20,000 - \$24,999

5. \$25,000 - \$29,999

6. \$30,000 - \$39,999

7. \$40,000 - \$49,999

8. \$50,000 and over

58. What level of education have you completed?

1. Less than grade 8

6. Grade 12

2. Grade 8

7. Grade 13

3. Grade 9

8. Some University/College

4. Grade 10

9. Completed degree/diploma

5. Grade 11

10. Post-graduate degree

X. Other (SPECIFY) \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

59. What is your ethnic background? \_\_\_\_\_

60. What is your marital status?

- |                          |             |
|--------------------------|-------------|
| 1. Single, never married | 5. Divorced |
| 2. Married               | 6. Widowed  |
| 3. Living common-law     |             |
| 4. Separated             |             |

61. If you have children:

- a. Number of male children \_\_\_\_\_
- b. Number of female children \_\_\_\_\_
- c. Age of oldest child \_\_\_\_\_
- d. Age of youngest child \_\_\_\_\_

62. IF you reside with a spouse or common-law spouse, would you say the relationship is a good one?

- |        |       |
|--------|-------|
| 1. YES | 2. No |
|--------|-------|

62a Why/why not? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

63. What is your spouse's occupation? \_\_\_\_\_

## SECTION V:

In conclusion, we would like to ask you some questions about your views on prostitutes and prostitution:

64. How important do you think the following factors are in a person's becoming a prostitute? [Circle number]

	very	fairly	not very	not at all
a. Need for money	1	2	3	4
b. Enjoyment of sex	1	2	3	4
c. The potential glamour of some aspects of prostitution	1	2	3	4
d. Lack of education or training	1	2	3	4
e. To provide money for a friend, lover, pimp	1	2	3	4
f. Other person's using force or threats	1	2	3	4
g. Family background	1	2	3	4
h. Sexual abuse as a child	1	2	3	4
i. Lack of other jobs	1	2	3	4
j. The desire to make lots of money, fast	1	2	3	4

65. What other factors do you think are important in a person's becoming a prostitute?

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66. In your own words, how would you describe prostitutes in general?

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67. How would you agree with the following descriptions of adult prostitutes? [Circle number]

	agree strongly	agree somewhat	disagree somewhat	disagree strongly
PROSTITUTES ARE:				
a. Poor	1	2	3	4
b. Rich	1	2	3	4
c. Hard-working	1	2	3	4
d. Helping to prevent rape	1	2	3	4
e. Immoral	1	2	3	4
f. "Sleazy"	1	2	3	4
g. Carriers of venereal disease	1	2	3	4
h. Lazy	1	2	3	4
i. Alcoholics	1	2	3	4
j. Drug addicts	1	2	3	4
k. Lesbians	1	2	3	4
l. Victims of a sexist society	1	2	3	4
m. People doing just another job	1	2	3	4
n. Providing a valuable service to society	1	2	3	4

68. How would you describe customers who rob, assault or rape hookers?

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69. How do you agree with the following descriptions of men who purchase the sexual services of juveniles (under 18)? Are they:

	agree strongly	agree somewhat	disagree somewhat	disagree strongly
ARE THEY:				
a. despicable people who should be severely punished	1	2	3	4
b. Just doing what is socia- lly acceptable for men	1	2	3	4
c. In need of psychiatric help	1	2	3	4
d. Just acting out what most men secretly want to do	1	2	3	4
e. Helping poor kids survive	1	2	3	4
f. Child abusers	1	2	3	4
g. Just buying another hooker	1	2	3	4

70. To end, we would like you to make any additional comments about prostitution that you feel we have not addressed in the questions we have asked:

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THANKYOU FOR YOUR CO-OPERATION, YOUR ABSOLUTE ANONYMITY IS ASSURED





APPENDIX F  
TABLES FOR CHAPTER VIII  
(COUNTS OF STREET PROSTITUTES)

WEST END	MARCH 30th	APRIL 18th	MAY 11th
8am	\	\	\
9	1	0	0
10	\	\	\
11	6	1	1
12	17	7	\
1pm	\	\	14
2	25	18	16
3	\	14	\
4	15	\	13
5	13	17	13
6	\	\	\
7	19	\	17
8	\	46	43
9	32	\	\
10	\	31	42
11	33	\	\
12	36	39	\
1am	\	\	36
2	21	23	\

(\ = no count).

Table 1. WEST END - Hourly Prostitute and Sexually Procured Juvenile Activity Profiles.

GEORGIA ST.	MARCH 30th	APRIL 18th	MAY 11th
8am	\	\	\
9	0	0	0
10	\	\	\
11	0	0	0
12	0	0	\
1pm	\	\	0
2	0	0	0
3	\	0	\
4	0	\	0
5	0	0	0
6	0	\	\
7	\	\	0
8	2	12	\
9	\	\	3
10	\	26	\
11	19	\	18
12	24	20	\
1am	\	\	\
2	16	17	17

(\ = no count).

Table 2. GEORGIA STREET - Hourly Prostitute and Sexually Procured Juvenile Activity Profiles.

EAST END	MARCH 30th	APRIL 18th	MAY 11th
8am	\	\	\
9	0	0	1
10	\	\	\
11	0	0	1
12	1	4	\
1pm	\	\	6
2	3	7	7
3	6	7	\
4	\	\	4
5	4	5	7
6	2	\	\
7	\	\	6
8	2	7	1
9	\	\	\
10	\	9	\
11	3	\	13
12	5	5	\
1am	\	\	\
2	0	12	10

(\ = no count).

Table 3. EAST END - Hourly Prostitute and Sexually Procured Juvenile Activity Profiles.



	WEST END	GEORGIA STREET	EAST END
8am - 9.59	0	0	0
10 - 11.59	3	0	0
12 - 1.59	13	0	4
2pm - 3.59	19	0	6
4 - 5.59	15	0	5
6 - 7.59	18	0	4
8 - 9.59	40	6	4
10 - 11.59	35	21	8
12 - 1.59	38	22	5
2am - 3.59	27	17	7

Table 4. Average Prostitute and Sexually Procured Juvenile Activity Profile by Area (bi-hourly averages).

	MARCH 30th	APRIL 18th	MAY 11th
8am - 9.59	0	0	0
10 - 11.59	2	0	1
12 - 1.59	6	4	7
2pm - 3.59	10	8	8
4 - 5.59	16	7	6
6 - 7.59	7	\	8
8 - 9.59	12	22	16
10 - 11.59	18	22	24
12 - 1.59	22	21	\
2am - 3.59	12	17	21

(\ = no count).

Table 5. Average Prostitute and Sexually Procured Juvenile Activity Profile by Count (bi-hourly averages).

## MARCH 30th

	am					pm										am				
	8	9	10	11	12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1	2	
AF	\	1	\	4	4	\	8	\	2	5	\	2	\	9	\	12	20	\	8	
JF	\	0	\	0	7	\	13	\	12	7	\	6	\	12	\	14	1	\	0	
M	\	0	\	2	2	\	2	\	1	0	\	10	\	8	\	5	13	\	9	
T	\	0	\	0	4	\	2	\	0	1	\	1	\	5	\	2	2	\	4	

## APRIL 18th

	am					pm										am				
	8	9	10	11	12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1	2	
AF	\	0	\	0	2	\	4	6	\	3	\	\	29	\	14	\	11	\	5	
JF	\	0	\	0	4	\	4	3	\	5	\	\	7	\	4	\	12	\	6	
M	\	0	\	1	1	\	5	3	\	6	\	\	6	\	6	\	11	\	9	
T	\	0	\	0	0	\	5	2	\	3	\	\	4	\	7	\	5	\	3	

## MAY 11th

	am					pm										am				
	8	9	10	11	12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1	2	
AF	\	0	\	1	\	6	8	\	5	5	\	11	29	\	27	\	\	\	15	
JF	\	0	\	0	\	6	6	\	7	4	\	2	7	\	4	\	\	\	5	
M	\	0	\	0	\	0	0	\	0	3	\	2	3	\	8	\	\	\	9	
T	\	0	\	0	\	2	2	\	1	1	\	2	4	\	3	\	\	\	7	

## AVERAGE (bi-hourly)

	AF	JF	M	T
8am - 9.59	0	0	0	0
10 - 11.59	2	0	1	0
12 - 1.59	4	6	1	2
2pm - 3.59	7	8	2	3
4 - 5.59	4	7	3	2
6 - 7.59	4	4	6	2
8 - 9.59	22	9	6	4
10 - 11.59	18	7	6	4
12 - 1.59	16	7	12	4
2am - 3.59	9	4	9	5

AF = Adult Females      JF = Juvenile Females      M = males  
 T = Transvestites/Trans-Sexuals      \ = No Count

Table 6. WEST END - Prostitute and Sexually Procured Juvenile Activity Profiles by Gender.

DATE	TIME	AF	JF	AM	JM	T	TOTAL
Mar 6	10.30	43	\	12	\	3	58
Mar 8	11.45	14	3	5	1	0	23
Mar 10	10.15	22	7	17	3	6	56
Mar 12	10.38	15	5	5	5	6	36
Mar 15	10.45	23	7	5	4	3	42
Mar 16	11.00	15	1	21	0	5	42
Mar 17	12.30	7	3	0	9	5	24
Mar 18	9.30	6	0	2	0	0	8
Mar 22	1.45	19	3	5	2	1	30
Mar 26	10.30	9	7	11	1	3	31
Mar 27	10.00	8	7	0	5	5	25
Mar 29	12.30	9	3	2	0	0	14
Mar 30	8.10	7	12	3	5	5	32
Mar 30	10.25	12	14	0	5	2	33
Mar 30	12.00	20	1	6	7	2	36
Mar 31	2.00	8	0	1	8	4	21
Apr 18	8.00	29	7	4	2	4	46
Apr 18	9.45	14	4	1	5	7	39
Apr 18	11.45	11	12	4	7	5	37
Apr 18	1.45	5	6	8	1	3	23
Apr 24	10.47	2	7	0	0	3	12
May 2	10.00	19	9	5	33	5	71
May 11	8.15	29	7	3	0	4	43
May 11	10.00	27	4	8	0	3	42
May 12	1.40	15	5	9	0	7	36
May 18	10.00	10	9	2	6	5	32
May 20	9.30	6	4	1	9	7	27
May 22	9.00	5	1	3	4	6	19
May 23	10.00	11	5	9	5	8	38
May 26	9.30	35	4	8	5	6	58
May 30	11.00	11	8	1	0	1	21
May 31	10.00	15	7	0	0	4	26
Jun 2	8.00	11	2	2	0	0	15
Jun 5	9.45	8	5	2	13	7	35
Jun 7	8.00	14	0	2	0	0	16
Jun 8	10.00	24	3	4	0	5	36
Jun 8	11.30	17	5	3	1	4	30
Jun 9	1.05	14	0	3	0	5	22
Jun 9	2.00	8	0	14	0	5	27
Jun 15	9.00	15	10	3	1	4	33
Jun 15	11.00	18	10	1	6	12	47
Jun 16	9.00	8	2	2	9	2	23
Jun 16	11.00	16	10	0	10	11	47

Table 7. WEST END: Counts of Prostitutes and Sexually Procured Juveniles between 8pm and 2am (all times refer to the start of each count).

DATE	TIME	AF	JF	AM	JM	T	TOTAL
Mar 6	10.30	12	0	0	0	0	12
Mar 8	11.45	13	0	0	0	0	13
Mar 9	10.00	16	0	0	0	0	16
Mar 10	10.15	20	0	0	0	0	20
Mar 12	10.38	20	0	0	0	0	20
Mar 13	8.00	8	0	0	0	0	8
Mar 15	10.45	22	0	0	0	0	22
Mar 16	11.00	12	0	0	0	0	12
Mar 17	12.30	16	0	0	0	0	16
Mar 18	9.30	4	0	0	0	0	4
Mar 22	1.45	8	0	0	0	0	8
Mar 26	10.30	7	0	0	0	0	7
Mar 27	10.00	22	0	0	0	0	22
Mar 29	12.30	14	0	0	0	0	14
Mar 30	8.10	2	0	0	0	0	2
Mar 30	10.25	19	0	0	0	0	19
Mar 30	12.00	24	0	0	0	0	24
Mar 31	2.00	16	0	0	0	0	16
Apr 18	8.00	12	0	0	0	0	46
Apr 18	9.45	26	0	0	0	0	26
Apr 18	11.45	20	0	0	0	0	20
Apr 18	1.45	17	0	0	0	0	17
Apr 24	10.47	14	0	0	0	0	14
May 2	10.00	15	0	0	0	0	15
May 11	8.15	3	0	0	0	0	3
May 11	10.00	18	0	0	0	0	18
May 12	1.40	16	1	0	0	0	17
May 18	10.00	15	0	0	0	0	15
May 20	9.30	15	0	0	0	0	15
May 22	9.00	11	2	0	0	0	13
May 23	10.00	18	0	0	0	0	18
May 26	9.30	12	0	0	0	0	12
May 30	11.00	15	0	0	0	0	15
May 31	10.00	19	0	0	0	0	19
Jun 2	8.00	3	0	0	0	0	3
Jun 5	9.45	10	0	0	0	0	10
Jun 7	8.00	6	0	0	0	0	6
Jun 8	10.00	17	0	0	0	0	17
Jun 8	11.30	15	0	0	0	0	15
Jun 9	1.05	15	0	0	0	0	15
Jun 9	2.00	12	0	0	0	0	12
Jun 15	9.00	11	0	0	0	0	11
Jun 15	11.00	16	0	0	0	0	16
Jun 16	9.00	10	0	0	0	0	10
Jun 16	11.00	15	0	0	0	0	15

Table 8. GEORGIA STREET: Counts of Prostitutes and Sexually Procured Juveniles between 8pm and 2am (all times refer to the start of each count).

DATE	TIME	AF	JF	AM	JM	T	TOTAL
Mar 6	10.30	1	0	0	0	0	1
Mar 8	11.45	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mar 9	10.00	9	0	0	0	0	9
Mar 10	10.15	8	0	1	0	0	9
Mar 12	10.38	11	2	0	0	0	13
Mar 15	10.45	11	1	0	0	0	12
Mar 16	11.00	4	0	0	0	0	4
Mar 17	12.30	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mar 18	9.30	5	0	0	0	0	5
Mar 22	1.45	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mar 26	10.30	8	0	0	0	0	8
Mar 27	10.00	4	0	0	0	0	4
Mar 29	12.30	3	0	0	0	0	3
Mar 30	8.10	2	0	0	0	0	2
Mar 30	10.25	3	0	0	0	0	3
Mar 30	12.00	4	1	0	0	0	5
Mar 31	2.00	0	0	0	0	0	0
Apr 18	8.00	7	0	0	0	0	7
Apr 18	9.45	6	3	0	0	0	9
Apr 18	11.45	3	2	0	0	0	5
Apr 18	1.45	10	1	0	0	1	12
Apr 24	10.47	8	3	0	0	0	11
May 2	10.00	10	0	0	0	0	10
May 11	8.15	0	1	0	0	0	1
May 11	10.00	11	2	0	0	0	13
May 12	1.40	9	1	0	0	0	10
May 18	10.00	5	2	0	0	0	7
May 20	9.30	1	2	0	0	0	3
May 22	9.00	14	0	0	0	0	14
May 23	10.00	23	5	0	0	0	28
May 26	9.30	12	3	0	0	0	15
May 30	11.00	4	1	0	0	0	5
May 31	10.00	6	0	0	0	0	6
Jun 2	8.00	3	0	0	0	0	3
Jun 5	9.45	9	0	0	0	0	9
Jun 7	8.00	12	0	0	0	0	12
Jun 8	10.00	11	0	0	0	0	11
Jun 9	11.30	9	0	0	0	0	9
Jun 9	1.05	2	0	0	0	0	2
Jun 9	2.00	10	0	0	0	0	10
Jun 15	9.00	9	0	0	0	0	9
Jun 15	11.00	10	0	0	0	0	10
Jun 16	9.00	2	0	0	0	0	2
Jun 16	11.00	8	2	0	0	0	10

Table 9. EAST END: Counts of Prostitutes and Sexually Procured Juveniles between 8pm and 2am (all times refer to the start of each count).



	WEST END			GEORGIA STREET			EAST END	
	TOTAL	AVE		TOTAL	AVE		TOTAL	AVE
MARCH	510	32		255	14		78	5
(n=17)			(n=18)			(n=17)		
APRIL	151	30		89	18		44	9
(n=5)								
MAY	413	38		160	14		112	10
(n=11)								
JUNE	331	30		130	12		87	8
(n=11)								
TOTAL/ AVE	1405	33		634	14		321	7
	(n=43)			(n=45)			(n=44)	

Table 10. Average Number of Prostitutes and Sexually Procured Juveniles Observed between 8pm and 2am, March to June, 1984 (by area and by month).

## WEST END

	MARCH (n=16)		APRIL (n=5)		MAY (n=11)		JUNE (n=11)		OVERALL (n=43)	
	TOTAL AVE		TOTAL AVE		TOTAL AVE		TOTAL AVE		TOTAL AVE	
AF	241	15.1	61	12.2	183	16.6	153	13.9	638	14.8
JF	73	4.6	36	7.2	63	5.7	47	4.3	219	5.1
M	150	9.4	32	6.4	111	10.1	76	6.9	369	8.6
T	46	2.9	22	4.4	56	5.1	55	5.0	179	4.2
<hr/>										
TOTAL/ AVE	510	32.0	151	30.2	413	37.5	331	30.1	1405	32.7

## GEORGIA STREET

	MARCH (n=18)		APRIL (n=5)		MAY (n=11)		JUNE (n=11)		OVERALL (n=45)	
	TOTAL AVE		TOTAL AVE		TOTAL AVE		TOTAL AVE		TOTAL AVE	
AF	255	14.2	89	17.8	157	13.2	130	11.8	631	14.0
JF	0		0		3	0.3	0		3	0.1
M	0		0		0		0		0	
T	0		0		0		0		0	
<hr/>										
TOTAL/ AVE	255	14.2	89	17.8	160	13.5	130	11.8	634	14.1

## EAST END

	MARCH (n=17)		APRIL (n=5)		MAY (n=11)		JUNE (n=11)		OVERALL (n=44)	
	TOTAL AVE		TOTAL AVE		TOTAL AVE		TOTAL AVE		TOTAL AVE	
AF	73	4.3	34	6.8	95	8.6	85	7.7	287	6.50
JF	4	0.2	9	1.8	17	1.6	2	0.2	32	0.70
M	1	0.1	0		0		0		1	0.02
T	0		1	0.2	0		0		1	0.02
<hr/>										
TOTAL/ AVE	78	4.6	44	8.8	112	10.2	87	7.9	321	7.24

AF = Adult Females      JF = Juvenile Females      M = males  
T = Transvestites/Trans-Sexuals

Table 11. Total and Average Number of Prostitutes and Sexually Procured Juveniles in each Gender Category: Observed between 8pm - 2am, March to June, 1984.

YEAR	MONTH	WEST END	GEORGIA STREET	EAST END
1982	Nov (n=2)	25	21	6
	Dec (n=11)	24	16	5 (n=12)
1983	Jan (n=13)	21	22	7
	Feb (n=16)	22	21	6
	Mar (n=10)	30	25 (n=12)	8 (n=10)
	Apr (n=9)	21	25 (n=10)	9 (n=10)
	May (n=13)	29	25 (n=14)	10 (n=13)
	Jun (n=17)	34	23 (n=17)	9 (n=16)
	Jul (n=12)	34	23	8
	Aug (n=13)	36	27 (n=14)	9 (n=14)
	Sep (n=17)	33	20	9
	Oct (n=11)	30	19 (n=12)	8 (n=12)
	Nov (n=14)	28	22 (n=16)	6 (n=15)
	Dec (n=9)	24	18 (n=9)	6 (n=8)
1984	Jan (n=3)	30	24 (n=5)	9 (n=3)
	Feb (n=1)	35	21 (n=2)	8 (n=1)
	Mar (n=4)	21	15	5

Table 12. Average Number of Prostitutes and Sexually Procured Juveniles Observed per Month: November 1982 - March 1984.  
Source: General Vice Squad, Vancouver.

DATE	TIME	WEST END	GEORGIA STREET	EAST END
March 6	10.30	43	12	1
March 9	10.00	\	16	9
March 10	10.15	55	20	9
March 12	10.38	36	20	13
March 15	10.45	42	22	12
March 18	9.30	8	4	5
March 26	10.30	31	7	8
March 27	10.00	25	22	4
March 30	10.25	33	19	3
April 18	9.45	31	26	9
April 24	10.47	12	14	11
May 2	10.00	70	15	10
May 11	10.00	42	18	13
May 18	10.00	32	15	7
May 20	9.30	27	15	3
May 22	9.00	19	13	14
May 23	10.00	38	18	28
May 26	9.30	58	12	15
May 31	10.00	26	19	6
June 5	9.45	35	10	9
June 8	10.00	37	17	11
June 15	9.00	33	11	9
June 16	9.00	23	15	2

(\ = No Count)

Note: see tables 7-9 for data for each gender category.  
All times refer to the start of each count.

Table 13. Total Number of Prostitutes and Sexually Procured Juveniles Observed between 9pm and 11pm, March to June, 1984.

DATE	TIME	AF	JF	AM	JM	T	TOTAL
Mar 6	10.30	2	0	0	0	0	2
Mar 10	10.15	5	0	0	0	0	5
Mar 12	10.38	4	0	0	0	0	4
Mar 15	10.45	4	0	0	0	0	4
Mar 16	11.00	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mar 17	12.30	3	0	0	0	0	3
Mar 18	9.30	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mar 22	1.45	1	0	0	0	0	1
Mar 26	10.30	1	0	0	0	0	1
Mar 27	10.00	3	0	0	0	0	3
Mar 29	12.30	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mar 30	8.10	2	0	0	0	0	2
Mar 30	10.25	1	0	0	0	0	1
Mar 30	12.00	5	0	0	0	0	5
Mar 31	2.00	1	0	0	0	0	1
Apr 18	8.00	8	0	0	0	0	8
Apr 18	9.45	4	2	0	0	0	6
Apr 18	11.45	4	6	0	0	0	10
Apr 18	1.45	1	5	0	0	0	6
Apr 24	10.47	2	1	0	0	0	3
May 2	10.00	0	0	0	0	0	0
May 11	8.15	9	0	0	0	0	9
May 11	10.00	3	0	0	0	0	3
May 12	1.40	3	3	0	0	0	6
May 18	10.00	5	0	0	0	0	5
May 20	9.30	2	2	0	0	0	4
May 22	9.00	3	0	0	0	0	3
May 23	10.00	3	0	0	0	0	3
May 26	9.30	6	0	0	0	0	6
May 30	11.00	3	3	0	0	0	6
May 31	10.00	4	0	0	0	0	4
Jun 2	8.00	2	2	0	0	0	4
Jun 5	9.45	5	0	0	0	0	5
Jun 7	8.00	5	0	0	0	0	5
Jun 8	10.00	10	0	0	0	0	10
Jun 8	11.30	5	0	0	0	0	5
Jun 9	1.05	4	0	0	0	0	4
Jun 9	2.00	5	0	0	0	0	5
Jun 15	9.00	3	0	0	0	0	3
Jun 15	11.00	7	0	0	0	0	7
Jun 16	9.00	4	0	0	0	0	4
Jun 16	11.00	4	0	0	0	0	4
Jun 20	10.20	11	0	5	2	4	22
Jun 20	2.00	7	0	4	0	8	19
Jun 22	10.00	16	0	4	0	6	26
Jun 22	12.00	18	0	16	0	13	47
Jun 22	2.00	14	0	9	0	7	30
Jun 23	2.00	6	0	16	1	7	30
Jun 24	8.45	2	0	4	0	2	8
Jun 24	12.15	10	0	13	0	3	26

Table 14. GRANVILLE/BURRARD : Counts of Prostitutes and Sexually Procured Juveniles between 8pm and 2am (all times refer to the start of each count).

	MARCH (n=15)		APRIL (n=5)		MAY (n=11)		JUNE (n=19)		OVERALL (n=50)	
	TOTAL AVE		TOTAL AVE		TOTAL AVE		TOTAL AVE		TOTAL AVE	
AF	32	2.1	19	3.8	41	3.7	138	7.3	230	4.6
JF	0		14	2.8	8	0.7	2	0.1	24	0.5
M	0		0		0		74	3.9	74	1.5
T	0		0		0		50	2.6	50	1.0
TOTAL/ AVE	32	2.1	33	6.6	49	4.5	264	13.9	378	7.6

	JUNE 2 - 16 (n = 11)		JUNE 20 - 24 (n = 8)	
	TOTAL AVE		TOTAL AVE	
AF	54	4.9	84	10.5
JF	2	0.2	0	
M	0		74	8.9
T	0		50	6.3
TOTAL/AVE	56	5.1	208	25.7

Table 15. GRANVILLE/BURRARD: Total and Average Number of Prostitutes and Sexually Procured Juveniles Observed between 8pm - 2am, March to June, 1984.



APPENDIX G  
TABLES FOR CHAPTER IX  
(ADVERTISED SEXUAL SERVICES)



YEAR	ESCORT SERVICES	YEAR	ESCORT SERVICES
1960	0	1972	1
1961	0	1973	0
1962	0	1974	3
1963	0	1975	2
1964	0	1976	1
1965	0	1977	1
1966	0	1978	1
1967	0	1979	2
1968	0	1980	2
1969	1	1981	3
1970	1	1982	6
1971	0	1983	15

Table 1. YELLOW PAGES: Escort Services Advertised.

DATE	ESCORTS	MASSAGE	DATING	TOTAL
1/02/70	1	0	6	7
2/06/70	1	0	8	9
	* On strike 2/21/70 - 4/30/70 *			
5/15/70	0	0	7	7
6/05/70	1	0	9	10
7/03/70	0	0	9	9
8/07/70	1	0	7	8
9/04/70	1	0	7	8
10/02/70	0	0	7	8
11/06/70	0	0	8	8
12/04/70	0	0	13	13
TOTAL	5	0	81	86
AVERAGE (n = 10)	0.5	0	8.1	8.6
1/08/71	0	0	10	10
2/05/71	0	0	7	7
3/05/71	0	1	8	9
4/02/71	0	1	6	7
5/07/71	0	0	6	6
6/04/71	0	0	6	6
7/02/71	0	0	6	6
8/06/71	0	1	7	8
9/03/71	0	1	6	7
10/01/71	0	3	6	9
11/05/71	1	1	7	9
12/03/71	1	1	6	8
TOTAL	2	9	81	92
AVERAGE (n = 12)	0.2	0.8	6.8	7.8
1/07/72	0	1	7	8
2/04/72	0	3	7	10
3/03/72	0	3	6	9
4/07/72	0	1	6	7
5/05/72	0	2	6	8
6/02/72	0	2	6	8
7/07/72	0	2	7	9
8/04/72	0	0	9	9
9/01/72	0	1	8	9
10/06/72	0	1	8	9
11/03/72	0	0	8	8
12/01/72	0	0	7	7
TOTAL	0	16	85	101
AVERAGE (n = 12)	0	1.3	7.1	8.4

Table 2. The VANCOUVER SUN 1970 - 1972: Escort, Massage and Dating Services Advertised on the First Friday of each Month.

DATE	ESCORTS	MASSAGE	DATING	TOTAL
1/05/73	0	1	7	8
2/02/73	0	1	7	8
3/02/73	0	4	8	12
4/06/73	0	1	7	8
5/04/73	0	1	7	8
6/01/73	0	1	9	10
7/06/73	0	1	10	11
8/03/73	1	1	9	11
9/07/73	0	0	8	8
10/05/73	1	0	8	9
11/02/73	2	0	8	10
12/03/73	2	0	7	9
TOTAL	6	11	95	112
AVERAGE (n = 12)	0.5	0.9	7.9	9.3
1/04/74	2	0	8	10
2/01/74	3	0	7	10
3/01/74	2	1	8	11
4/05/74	1	2	9	12
5/03/74	1	2	9	12
6/07/74	1	2	8	11
7/05/74	1	1	9	11
8/02/74	1	2	9	12
9/06/74	1	1	7	9
10/04/74	1	3	7	11
11/01/74	1	0	8	9
12/06/74	1	3	6	10
TOTAL	16	17	95	128
AVERAGE (n = 12)	1.3	1.4	7.9	10.6
1/03/75	1	0	6	7
2/07/75	0	1	7	8
3/07/75	1	1	6	8
4/04/75	0	1	7	8
5/02/75	1	1	7	9
6/06/75	0	2	8	10
7/04/75	0	2	6	8
8/01/75	1	1	5	7
9/05/75	1	2	6	9
10/03/75	0	2	6	8
11/07/75	0	3	6	9
12/05/75	1	3	5	9
TOTAL	6	19	75	100
AVERAGE (n = 12)	0.5	1.6	6.3	8.4

Table 3. The VANCOUVER SUN 1973 - 1975: Escort, Massage and Dating Services Advertised on the First Friday of each Month.

DATE	ESCORTS	MASSAGE	DATING	TOTAL
1/02/76	0	2	6	8
2/06/76	1	3	6	10
3/05/76	1	2	7	10
4/02/76	1	2	7	10
5/07/76	2	2	5	9
6/04/76	2	3	6	11
7/02/76	2	3	6	11
8/06/76	0	1	4	5
9/03/76	2	2	4	8
10/01/76	1	3	5	9
11/05/76	1	1	5	7
12/03/76	1	0	5	6
<hr/>				
TOTAL	14	24	66	104
AVERAGE (n = 12)	1.2	2.0	5.5	8.7
<hr/>				
1/07/77	0	0	5	5
2/04/77	0	0	5	5
3/04/77	0	2	4	6
4/01/77	0	2	5	7
5/06/77	0	2	4	6
6/03/77	0	2	4	6
7/08/77	0	3	4	7
8/05/77	0	2	4	6
9/02/77	0	2	4	6
10/07/77	0	2	4	6
11/04/77	0	3	4	7
12/03/77	0	3	4	7
<hr/>				
TOTAL	0	23	51	74
AVERAGE (n = 12)	0	1.9	4.3	6.2
<hr/>				
1/06/78	0	2	4	6
2/03/78	1	1	4	6
3/03/78	0	1	4	5
4/07/78	0	1	6	7
5/05/78	0	1	5	6
6/02/78	0	0	5	5
7/07/78	0	0	4	4
8/04/78	0	0	4	4
9/01/78	0	0	4	4
10/63/78	1	1	5	7
* On strike 11/78 - 6/28/79 *				
<hr/>				
TOTAL	2	7	45	54
AVERAGE (n = 10)	0.2	0.7	4.5	5.4

Table 4. The VANCOUVER SUN 1976 - 1978: Escort, Massage and Dating Services Advertised on the First Friday of each Month.



DATE	ESCORTS	MASSAGE	DATING	TOTAL
* On strike 11/78 - 6/28/79 *				
7/06/79	0	0	4	4
8/03/79	0	1	5	6
9/07/79	0	1	5	6
10/05/79	0	2	7	9
11/02/79	0	2	7	9
12/07/79	0	3	5	8
TOTAL	0	9	33	42
AVERAGE (n = 6)	0	1.5	5.5	7.0
1/04/80	0	2	5	7
2/01/80	0	2	5	7
3/07/80	0	2	3	5
4/11/80	0	2	4	6
5/02/80	0	2	4	6
6/06/80	0	2	5	7
7/04/80	0	1	4	5
8/01/80	0	1	3	4
9/05/80	0	3	6	9
10/03/80	0	3	6	9
11/07/80	0	3	5	8
12/05/80	0	3	4	7
TOTAL	0	26	54	80
AVERAGE (n = 12)	0	2.2	4.5	6.7
1/02/81	0	3	2	5
2/06/81	0	3	3	6
3/06/81	0	3	3	6
4/03/81	0	4	3	7
5/01/81	0	4	3	7
6/05/81	0	4	3	7
7/03/81	0	4	3	7
8/07/81	1	4	3	8
9/04/81	0	4	4	8
10/02/81	0	4	4	8
11/06/81	1	5	6	12
12/03/81	0	5	4	9
TOTAL	2	47	41	90
AVERAGE (n = 12)	0.2	3.9	3.4	7.5

Table 5. The VANCOUVER SUN 1979 - 1981: Escort, Massage and Dating Services Advertised on the First Friday of each Month.

DATE	ESCORTS	MASSAGE	DATING	TOTAL
1/08/82	0	4	3	7
2/05/82	0	5	3	8
3/05/82	0	4	6	10
4/02/82	1	4	6	11
5/08/82	1	3	6	10
6/04/82	1	3	4	8
7/02/82	2	3	5	10
8/06/82	4	3	4	11
9/03/82	4	3	4	11
10/01/82	5	2	5	12
11/05/82	7	3	6	16
12/03/82	7	3	3	13
TOTAL	32	40	55	127
AVERAGE (n = 12)	2.7	3.3	4.6	10.6
1/07/83	5	3	6	14
2/04/83	5	4	7	16
3/04/83	6	4	7	17
4/08/83	8	6	6	20
5/06/83	10	4	6	20
6/03/83	10	4	8	22
7/08/83	10	6	7	23
8/05/83	10	4	7	21
9/02/83	10	4	7	21
10/07/83	11	5	8	24
11/04/83	11	4	7	21
12/02/83	9	4	8	20
TOTAL	105	52	84	239
AVERAGE (n = 12)	8.8	4.3	7.0	19.9
1/06/84	9	5	8	22
2/03/84	9	4	6	19
3/02/84	8	4	7	19
TOTAL	26	13	21	60
AVERAGE (n = 3)	8.7	4.3	7.0	20.0

Table 6. The VANCOUVER SUN 1982 - 1984: Escort, Massage and Dating Services Advertised on the First Friday of each Month.

DATE	ESCORTS	MASSAGE	DATING	TOTAL
1/02/70	0	0	3	3
2/06/70	0	0	2	2
	* On strike 2/21/70 - 4/30/70 *			
5/15/70	0	0	3	3
6/05/70	0	0	5	5
7/03/70	0	0	4	4
8/07/70	0	0	5	5
9/04/70	0	0	5	5
10/02/70	0	0	4	4
11/06/70	0	0	4	4
12/04/70	0	0	5	5
TOTAL	0	0	40	40
AVERAGE (n = 10)	0	0	4.0	4.0
1/08/71	0	0	6	6
2/05/71	0	0	4	4
3/05/71	0	0	4	4
4/02/71	0	0	2	2
5/07/71	0	0	2	2
6/04/71	0	0	4	4
7/02/71	0	0	3	3
8/06/71	0	0	3	3
9/03/71	0	2	3	5
10/01/71	0	1	1	2
11/05/71	0	1	1	2
12/03/71	0	1	3	4
TOTAL	0	5	36	41
AVERAGE (n = 12)	0	0.4	3.0	3.4
1/07/72	0	0	1	1
2/04/72	0	1	1	2
3/03/72	0	0	1	1
4/07/72	0	0	1	1
5/05/72	0	1	2	3
6/02/72	0	0	2	2
7/07/72	0	0	2	2
8/04/72	0	0	2	2
9/07/72	0	0	3	3
10/06/72	0	0	3	3
11/03/72	0	0	3	3
12/01/72	0	1	3	4
TOTAL	0	3	24	27
AVERAGE (n = 12)	0	0.3	2.0	2.3

Table 7. The PROVINCE 1970 - 1972: Escort, Massage and Dating Services Advertised on the First Friday of each Month.

DATE	ESCORTS	MASSAGE	DATING	TOTAL
<hr/>				
1/06/78	1	0	1	2
2/03/78	1	0	2	3
3/03/78	0	0	2	2
4/07/78	0	0	3	3
5/05/78	0	0	3	3
6/02/78	0	0	2	2
7/07/78	0	0	2	2
8/04/78	0	0	2	2
9/01/78	0	0	2	2
10/63/78	0	0	5	5
* On strike 11/78 - 6/28/79 *				
<hr/>				
TOTAL	2	0	24	26
AVERAGE (n = 10)	0.2	0	2.4	2.6
<hr/>				
* On strike 11/78 - 6/28/79 *				
7/06/79	0	0	2	2
8/03/79	0	0	3	3
9/07/79	0	0	4	4
10/05/79	0	0	3	3
11/02/79	0	0	3	3
12/07/79	0	0	3	3
<hr/>				
TOTAL	0	0	18	18
AVERAGE (n = 6)	0	0	3.0	3.0
<hr/>				
1/04/80	0	0	3	3
2/01/80	0	0	3	3
3/07/80	0	0	2	2
4/11/80	0	0	2	2
5/02/80	0	0	2	2
6/06/80	0	0	2	2
7/04/80	0	0	2	2
8/01/80	0	0	2	2
9/05/80	0	0	2	2
10/03/80	0	1	2	3
11/07/80	0	1	2	3
12/05/80	0	1	2	3
<hr/>				
TOTAL	0	3	26	29
AVERAGE (n = 12)	0	0.3	2.2	2.5

Table 8. The PROVINCE 1978 - 1980: Escort, Massage and Dating Services Advertised on the First Friday of each Month.

DATE	ESCORTS	MASSAGE	DATING	TOTAL
1/02/81	0	1	2	3
2/06/81	0	2	2	4
3/06/81	0	1	1	2
4/03/81	0	2	2	4
5/01/81	0	2	2	4
6/05/81	0	3	2	5
7/03/81	0	3	2	5
8/07/81	1	2	2	5
9/04/81	0	2	2	4
10/02/81	0	2	2	4
11/06/81	0	3	2	5
12/03/81	0	3	2	5
TOTAL	1	26	23	50
AVERAGE (n = 12)	0.1	2.2	1.9	4.2
1/08/82	0	4	2	6
2/05/82	0	5	2	7
3/05/82	0	4	4	8
4/02/82	1	4	4	9
5/08/82	1	3	4	8
6/04/82	1	3	2	6
7/02/82	1	3	1	5
8/06/82	2	3	2	7
9/03/82	3	3	2	8
10/01/82	4	2	1	7
11/05/82	4	3	4	11
12/03/82	5	3	3	11
TOTAL	22	40	31	93
AVERAGE (n = 12)	1.8	3.3	2.6	7.8
1/07/83	3	1	2	6
2/04/83	4	0	2	6
3/04/83	5	1	2	8
4/08/83	6	2	2	10
5/06/83	6	0	2	8
6/03/83	6	2	4	12
7/08/83	6	2	3	11
8/05/83	6	3	3	12
9/02/83	5	3	3	11
10/07/83	7	3	3	13
11/04/83	7	3	3	13
12/02/83	8	3	4	15
TOTAL	69	23	33	125
AVERAGE (n = 12)	5.8	1.9	2.8	10.4
1/06/84	9	3	4	16
2/03/84	8	3	4	15
3/02/84	7	3	5	15
TOTAL	24	9	13	46
AVERAGE (n = 3)	8.0	3.0	4.3	15.3

Table 9. The PROVINCE 1981 - 1984: Escort, Massage and Dating Services Advertised on the First Friday of each Month.

DATE	E	MS	BR	M	F	C	BM	BF	GM	GF	PH	BP	SB	SP	SC	G	C
8/30-9/13/79	6	3	3	50	4	8	4	2	25	1	0	0	0	0	3	12	22
3/07-3/13/80	4	1	1	27	1	6	3	0	14	0	0	0	0	0	4	11	22
4/07-4/13/80	3	2	1	44	8	5	15	4	17	1	0	0	0	0	4	8	23
5/02-5/08/80	0	2	1	40	12	8	10	3	16	0	0	4	0	36	3	3	19
5/30-6/05/80	4	2	1	42	6	15	10	1	16	0	0	4	8	37	3	9	19
7/04-7/10/80	5	7	2	59	8	12	15	1	14	1	0	4	8	36	4	9	19
10/30-11/05/81	5	2	1	43	6	7	14	4	16	0	0	3	9	35	3	10	18
10/26-12/03/81	4	1	2	50	5	8	23	6	17	0	1	4	8	28	3	10	13
1/07-1/14/82	4	4	3	44	8	6	9	1	14	1	0	4	8	28	3	10	13
1/28-2/04/82	4	2	2	34	7	6	15	1	10	1	0	4	8	28	3	10	13
2/04-2/11/82	4	5	3	32	5	4	16	2	12	0	0	4	8	28	3	10	13
7/02-7/09/82	3	2	3	41	5	10	20	1	11	1	0	4	8	28	3	10	13
7/30-8/06/82	2	0	3	30	18	4	16	2	18	0	0	4	8	28	3	10	13
8/27-9/03/82	2	2	3	28	24	6	17	1	10	0	0	4	8	28	3	9	13
10/01-10/08/82	2	5	3	48	10	9	17	1	22	0	0	4	8	28	2	9	13
10/29-11/05/82	2	4	3	34	14	9	20	2	15	0	0	4	8	28	3	10	13
12/03-12/10/82	1	5	3	42	16	6	21	1	12	0	0	4	8	28	3	10	13
1/31-2/07/83	3	7	3	46	12	6	17	0	12	0	0	4	8	28	3	10	13
2/29-3/07/83	4	4	3	32	9	3	17	2	11	0	0	4	8	28	3	10	13
5/02-5/09/83	5	4	3	40	12	7	25	1	8	0	0	4	8	28	3	10	13
5/30-6/06/83	2	3	3	35	4	2	17	0	12	0	2	4	8	28	3	10	13
8/29-9/06/83	4	9	2	17	15	4	20	4	10	0	2	4	8	28	3	10	13
10/03-10/08/83	3	7	1	35	12	5	11	4	15	0	1	4	8	28	3	10	13
12/26-1/09/83	6	5	1	22	14	2	15	0	9	0	1	4	8	28	3	10	13
1/30-2/06/84	5	5	1	41	15	2	25	2	15	1	0	4	8	28	3	10	13
3/05-3/12/84	4	5	1	42	14	6	12	1	6	0	0	4	8	28	3	10	13
3/26-4/02/84	4	2	2	51	10	7	24	0	10	0	1	4	8	28	3	10	13
4/03-5/07/84	1	1	3	44	18	12	18	0	8	0	0	4	8	28	3	10	13
5/14-5/21/84	0	2	1	41	7	6	18	0	9	0	1	4	8	28	3	10	13
5/28-6/04/84	0	1	1	46	10	8	32	2	11	0	1	4	8	28	3	10	13
-----																	
E = Escort									MS = Massage								
BR = Body Rub									M = Male								
F = Female									C = Couple								
BM = Bi-Sexual Male									BF = Bi-Sexual Female								
GM = Gay Male									GF = Gay Female								
P = Phone									BP = Body Rub Parlour								
SB = Steam Bath									SP = Strip Pubs								
SC = Strip Clubs									G = Gay Clubs								
C = Clubs																	

Table 10. The VANCOUVER STAR - Services Advertised during 1979 - 1984.



SERVICE	1980		1981		1982		1983		1984	
	TOT	AVE	TOT	AVE	TOT	AVE	TOT	AVE	TOT	AVE
	(n = 5)		(n = 2)		(n = 9)		(n = 7)		(n = 6)	
E	16	3.2	9	4.5	24	2.6	27	3.9	14	2.3
MS	14	2.8	3	1.5	29	3.2	39	5.6	16	2.7
BR	6	1.2	3	1.2	26	2.9	16	2.3	9	1.5
M	212	42.4	93	46.5	333	37.0	227	32.4	221	36.8
F	35	7.0	11	5.5	107	11.9	78	11.1	74	12.3
C	46	9.2	15	7.5	60	6.6	29	4.1	41	6.8
BM	53	10.6	37	18.5	151	16.7	122	17.4	129	21.5
BF	9	1.8	10	5.0	12	1.3	11	1.6	5	0.8
GM	77	15.4	33	16.5	124	13.7	77	11.0	48	8.0
GF	2	0.4	0	0	3	0.3	0	0	1	0.2
PH	0	0	1	0.5	0	0	6	0.9	3	0.5
BP	12	2.4	7	4.0	36	4.0	28	4.0	24	4.0
SB	16	3.2	17	8.0	72	8.0	56	8.0	48	8.0
SP	109	21.8	63	28.0	252	28.0	198	28.0	169	28.0
SC	18	3.6	6	3.0	27	8.8	21	3.0	18	3.0
GC	40	8.0	20	8.8	80	10.0	70	10.0	60	10.0
C	102	20.4	31	13.0	117	13.0	91	13.0	78	13.0

E = Escort

BR = Body Rub

F = Female

BM = Bi-Sexual Male

GM = Gay Male

P = Phone

SB = Steam Bath

SC = Strip Clubs

C = Clubs

MS = Massage

M = Male

C = Couple

BF = Bi-Sexual Female

GF = Gay Female

BP = Body Rub Parlour

SP = Strip Pubs

G = Gay Clubs

Table 11. The VANCOUVER STAR: Total and Average Number of Services Advertised per Year in Sample of Newspapers.

DATE	E	MS	M	F	C	BM	BF	GM	GF
8/06-8/20/82	2	0	52	13	9	19	2	12	0
10/01-10/15/82	2	1	38	13	13	13	2	12	0
11/26-12/10/82	1	0	53	37	13	11	0	15	0
12/24/82-									
1/14/83	1	3	43	34	7	6	0	15	2
3/28-4/11/83	2	1	25	15	3	5	1	10	0

E = Escort

MS = Massage

M = Male

F = Female

C = Couple

BM = Bi-Sexual Male

BF = Bi-Sexual Female

GM = Gay Male

GF = Gay Female

Table 12. The VANCOUVER NIGHT TIMES: Services Advertised during 1982 and 1983.

DATE	P	BP	TOTAL		P	BP	TOTAL
1980				1981			
1/07	1	1	2	1/08		2	2
2/07	2		2	2/05		1	1
3/20	3		3	3/05	3	3	6
				4/02		5	5
5/05		2	2	5/07	2	4	6
6/05		3	3	6/04		3	3
7/03		4	3	7/02		4	4
8/07		6	6	8/06		4	4
9/04		4	4	9/03		4	4
10/02		3	3	10/04		4	4
11/06		3	3	11/02		2	2
12/04		4	4	12/03		3	3
TOTAL				5			
AVE (n=11)	0.6	30	36	(n=12)	0.4	39	44
		2.7	3.3			3.3	3.7
1982				1983			
1/07		3	3	1/06		13	13
2/04		5	5	2/03		17	17
3/04	1	4	5	3/03		17	17
4/01		6	6	4/07	2	23	25
5/06	2	6	8	5/05		27	27
6/03		4	4	6/02	1	24	25
7/01		8	8	7/07		24	24
8/05		7	7	8/04	2	23	25
9/02		13	13	9/01		26	26
10/07		13	13	10/06		24	24
11/04		17	17	11/03		28	28
12/02		19	19	12/01		21	21
TOTAL				5			
AVE (n=12)	0.3	105	108	(n=12)	0.4	267	272
		8.8	9.1			22.3	22.7
1984							
1/05		22	22				
2/02		21	21				
3/01		12	12				
4/05	1	18	19				
5/03	3	23	26				
TOTAL							
AVE (n=4)	0.8	96	100				
		19.2	20.0				

P = PERSONALS

BP = BUSINESS PERSONALS

Table 13. The WEST ENDER: Services Advertised during the First Week of each Month, January 1980 - May 1984.



APPENDIX H  
TABLES FOR CHAPTER II  
(OFFICIAL STATISTICS)

CANADA	BH	PR	OTH	TOTAL OFFENCES
1974	778	173	2217	3168
1975	1143	126	2002	3271
1976	786	109	1857	2702
1977	871	149	1684	2704
1978	514	118	1058	1690
1979	444	125	644	1213
1980	421	120	843	1384
1981	681	77	702	1460
1982	308	139	287	734

BRITISH COLUMBIA	BH	PR	OTH	TOTAL OFFENCES
1974	5	11	632	648
1975	26	12	321	359
1976	46	9	128	183
1977	40	2	312	354
1978	15	3	91	109
1979	21	1	66	88
1980	26	0	11	37
1981	12	0	0	12
1982	19	12	19	50

BH = BAWDY HOUSE    PR = PROCURING    OTH = OTHER OFFENCES

Table 1. Prostitution Offences Cleared by Charge.  
Source: Statistics Canada.



CANADA	BH%	PR%	OTH%	TOTAL%
1974	25	6	69	100
1975	35	4	61	100
1976	29	4	67	100
1977	32	6	62	100
1978	30	7	63	100
1979	37	10	53	100
1980	30	9	61	100
1981	47	5	48	100
1982	42	19	39	100

BRITISH COLUMBIA	BH%	PR%	OTH%	TOTAL%
1974	1	2	97	100
1975	7	3	90	100
1976	25	5	70	100
1977	11	1	88	100
1978	14	3	83	100
1979	24	1	75	100
1980	70	0	30	100
1981	100	0	0	100
1982	38	24	38	100

BH = BAWDY HOUSE    PR = PROCURING    OTH = OTHER OFFENCES

Table 2. Percentage Prostitution Offences Cleared by Charge. Source: Statistics Canada.

ALL OFFENCES	B.C.%	CANADA%	TOTAL%
1974	21	79	100
1975	11	89	100
1976	7	93	100
1977	13	87	100
1978	7	93	100
1979	7	93	100
1980	3	97	100
1981	1	99	100
1982	7	93	100

BAWDY HOUSE	B.C.%	CANADA%	TOTAL%
1974	1	99	100
1975	2	98	100
1976	6	94	100
1977	5	95	100
1978	3	97	100
1979	5	95	100
1980	6	94	100
1981	2	98	100
1982	6	94	100

PROCURING	B.C.%	CANADA%	TOTAL%
1974	6	94	100
1975	10	90	100
1976	8	92	100
1977	1	99	100
1978	3	97	100
1979	1	99	100
1980	0	100	100
1981	10	100	100
1982	9	91	100

OTHER OFFENCES	B.C.%	CANADA%	TOTAL%
1974	29	71	100
1975	16	84	100
1976	7	93	100
1977	19	81	100
1978	9	91	100
1979	10	90	100
1980	1	99	100
1981	0	100	100
1982	7	93	100

Table 3. Percentage Prostitution Offences Cleared by Charge - B.C. v. Canada. Source: Statistics Canada.

## CANADA

ALL OFFENCES	M	F	J	TOTAL
1974	630	2382	53	3065
1975	696	2372	50	3118
1976	901	2038	66	3005
1977	958	1927	56	2941
1978	965	867	19	1851
1979	391	921	19	1331
1980	569	960	21	1550
1981	983	851	35	1869

BAWDY HOUSE	M	F	J	TOTAL
1974	295	416	8	719
1975	378	620	5	1003
1976	544	543	6	1093
1977	526	639	8	1173
1978	265	478	7	750
1979	209	428	7	644
1980	247	421	6	674
1981	681	471	7	1159

PROCURING	M	F	J	TOTAL
1974	66	81	3	150
1975	62	33	0	95
1976	54	17	3	74
1977	52	15	2	69
1978	56	21	2	79
1979	57	20	0	77
1980	60	18	8	86
1981	32	3	3	38

OTHER OFFENCES	M	F	J	TOTAL
1974	269	1885	42	2169
1975	256	1719	45	2020
1976	303	1478	57	1838
1977	380	1273	46	1699
1978	644	368	10	1022
1979	125	473	12	610
1980	262	521	7	790
1981	270	377	25	672

M = male

F = Female

J = Juvenile

Table 4. Persons Charged with Prostitution Offences - Canada.  
Source: Statistics Canada.

## BRITISH COLUMBIA

ALL OFFENCES	M	F	J	TOTAL
1974	97	541	11	649
1975	56	294	4	354
1976	51	140	1	192
1977	94	262	2	358
1978	42	76	1	119
1979	26	96	0	122
1980	8	35	2	45
1981	5	15	0	20
<hr/>				
BAWDY HOUSE	M	F	J	TOTAL
1974	2	3	0	5
1975	15	11	0	26
1976	27	28	0	55
1977	24	20	0	44
1978	9	19	0	28
1979	12	39	0	51
1980	6	27	0	33
1981	5	12	0	17
<hr/>				
PROCURING	M	F	J	TOTAL
1974	7	4	0	11
1975	5	3	0	8
1976	7	3	0	10
1977	2	0	0	2
1978	2	4	0	6
1979	6	0	0	6
1980	0	0	1	1
1981	0	0	0	0
<hr/>				
OTHER OFFENCES	M	F	J	TOTAL
1974	88	534	11	633
1975	36	280	4	320
1976	17	109	1	127
1977	68	242	2	312
1978	31	53	1	85
1979	8	57	0	65
1980	2	8	1	11
1981	5	12	0	17

M = male

F = Female

J = Juvenile

Table 5. Persons Charged with Prostitution Offences - B.C.  
Source: Statistics Canada.

## CANADA

ALL OFFENCES	M%	F%	J%	TOTAL%
1974	21	77	2	100
1975	22	76	2	100
1976	30	68	2	100
1977	32	66	2	100
1978	52	47	1	100
1979	29	69	2	100
1980	37	62	1	100
1981	52	46	2	100

BAWDY HOUSE	M%	F%	J%	TOTAL%
1974	41	58	1	100
1975	37	62	1	100
1976	49	50	1	100
1977	44	55	1	100
1978	35	64	1	100
1979	32	67	1	100
1980	36	63	1	100
1981	58	41	1	100

PROCURING	M%	F%	J%	TOTAL%
1974	44	54	2	100
1975	65	35	0	100
1976	73	23	4	100
1977	75	22	3	100
1978	70	27	3	100
1979	74	26	0	100
1980	70	21	9	100
1981	84	8	8	100

OTHER OFFENCES	M%	F%	J%	TOTAL%
1974	12	86	2	100
1975	13	85	2	100
1976	17	80	3	100
1977	22	75	3	100
1978	63	36	1	100
1979	22	76	2	100
1980	33	66	1	100
1981	40	56	4	100

M = male

F = Female

J = Juvenile

Table 6. Percentage Persons Charged with Prostitution Offences - Canada. Source: Statistics Canada.

## BRITISH COLUMBIA

ALL OFFENCES	M%	F%	J%	TOTAL%
1974	15	83	2	100
1975	16	83	1	100
1976	26	73	1	100
1977	26	73	1	100
1978	35	64	1	100
1979	21	79	0	100
1980	18	78	4	100
1981	25	75	0	100

BAWDY HOUSE	M%	F%	J%	TOTAL
1974	40	60	0	100
1975	58	42	0	100
1976	49	51	0	100
1977	55	45	0	100
1978	32	68	0	100
1979	24	76	0	100
1980	18	82	0	100
1981	29	17	0	100

PROCURING	M%	F%	J%	TOTAL
1974	64	36	0	100
1975	63	37	0	100
1976	70	30	0	100
1977	100	0	0	100
1978	33	67	0	100
1979	100	0	0	100
1980	0	0	100	100
1981	0	0	0	100

OTHER OFFENCES	M%	F%	J%	TOTAL
1974	14	84	2	100
1975	11	88	1	100
1976	13	86	1	100
1977	22	77	1	100
1978	37	62	1	100
1979	12	88	0	100
1980	18	73	9	100
1981	29	71	0	100

M = male

F = Female

J = Juvenile

Table 7. Percentage Persons Charged with Prostitution Offences - B.C. Source: Statistics Canada.



## ALL OFFENCES%

	MALES		FEMALES		JUVENILES		ALL OFFENDERS	
	B.C.	CAN	B.C.	CAN	B.C.	CAN	B.C.	CAN
1974	15	85	23	77	21	79	21	79
1975	8	92	12	88	8	92	11	89
1976	6	94	7	93	2	98	6	94
1977	10	90	14	86	4	96	12	88
1978	4	96	9	91	5	95	6	94
1979	7	93	10	90	0	100	9	91
1980	1	99	4	96	10	90	3	97
1981	1	99	2	98	0	100	1	99

## BAWDY HOUSE%

	MALES		FEMALES		JUVENILES		ALL OFFENDERS	
	B.C.	CAN	B.C.	CAN	B.C.	CAN	B.C.	CAN
1974	1	99	1	99	0	100	1	99
1975	4	96	2	98	0	100	3	97
1976	5	95	5	95	0	100	5	95
1977	5	95	3	97	0	100	4	96
1978	3	97	4	96	0	100	4	96
1979	6	94	9	91	0	100	8	92
1980	2	98	6	94	0	100	5	95
1981	1	99	3	97	0	100	2	98

## PROCURING%

	MALES		FEMALES		JUVENILES		ALL OFFENDERS	
	B.C.	CAN	B.C.	CAN	B.C.	CAN	B.C.	CAN
1974	11	89	5	95	0	100	7	93
1975	8	92	9	91	0	0	8	92
1976	13	87	18	82	0	100	14	86
1977	4	96	0	100	0	100	3	97
1978	4	96	19	81	0	100	8	92
1979	11	89	0	100	0	100	8	92
1980	0	100	0	100	13	87	1	99
1981	0	100	0	100	0	100	0	100

## OTHER OFFENCES%

	MALES		FEMALES		JUVENILES		ALL OFFENDERS	
	B.C.	CAN	B.C.	CAN	B.C.	CAN	B.C.	CAN
1974	33	67	28	72	26	74	29	17
1975	14	86	16	84	9	91	16	84
1976	6	94	7	93	2	98	7	93
1977	18	82	19	81	4	96	18	82
1978	5	95	14	86	10	90	8	92
1979	6	94	12	88	0	100	11	89
1980	1	99	2	98	14	86	1	99
1981	2	98	3	97	0	100	3	97

Table 8. Percentage Persons Charged with Prostitution Offences  
- B.C. v. Can. Source: Statistics Canada.

ALL OFFENCES						
	BOYS	(%)	GIRLS	(%)	TOTAL	(%)
1974	13	(25)	40	(75)	53	(100)
1975	12	(24)	38	(76)	50	(100)
1976	16	(24)	50	(76)	66	(100)
1977	9	(16)	47	(84)	56	(100)
1978	1	(5)	18	(95)	19	(100)
1979	-	-	-	-	19	(100)
1980	-	-	-	-	21	(100)
1981	-	-	-	-	35	(100)
BAWDY HOUSE						
	BOYS	(%)	GIRLS	(%)	TOTAL	(%)
1974	5	(63)	3	(37)	8	(100)
1975	1	(20)	4	(80)	5	(100)
1976	2	(33)	4	(67)	6	(100)
1977	1	(13)	7	(87)	8	(100)
1978	1	(14)	6	(86)	7	(100)
1979	-	-	-	-	7	(100)
1980	-	-	-	-	6	(100)
1981	-	-	-	-	7	(100)
PROCURING						
	BOYS	(%)	GIRLS	(%)	TOTAL	(%)
1974	1	(33)	2	(67)	3	(100)
1975	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)
1976	2	(67)	1	(33)	3	(100)
1977	2	(100)	0	(0)	2	(100)
1978	0	(0)	2	(100)	2	(100)
1979	-	-	-	-	0	(0)
1980	-	-	-	-	8	(100)
1981	-	-	-	-	3	(100)
OTHER OFFENCES						
	BOYS	(%)	GIRLS	(%)	TOTAL	(%)
1974	7	(17)	35	(83)	42	(100)
1975	11	(24)	34	(76)	45	(100)
1976	12	(21)	45	(79)	57	(100)
1977	6	(13)	40	(87)	46	(100)
1978	0	(0)	10	(100)	10	(100)
1979	-	-	-	-	12	(100)
1980	-	-	-	-	7	(100)
1981	-	-	-	-	25	(100)

Table 9. Boys and Girls Charged with Prostitution Offences  
- Canada. Source: Statistics Canada.

## ALL OFFENCES

	BOYS	(%)	GIRLS	(%)	TOTAL	(%)
1974	1	(9)	10	(91)	11	(100)
1975	0	(0)	4	(100)	4	(100)
1976	0	(0)	1	(100)	1	(100)
1977	0	(0)	2	(100)	2	(100)
1978	0	(0)	1	(100)	1	(100)
1979	-	-	-	-	0	(0)
1980	-	-	-	-	2	(100)
1981	-	-	-	-	0	(0)

## PROCURING

	BOYS	(%)	GIRLS	(%)	TOTAL	(%)
1974	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)
1975	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)
1976	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)
1977	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)
1978	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)
1979	-	-	-	-	0	(0)
1980	-	-	-	-	1	(100)
1981	-	-	-	-	0	(0)

## OTHER OFFENCES

	BOYS	(%)	GIRLS	(%)	TOTAL	(%)
1974	1	(9)	10	(91)	11	(100)
1975	0	(0)	4	(100)	4	(100)
1976	0	(0)	1	(100)	1	(100)
1977	0	(0)	2	(100)	2	(100)
1978	0	(0)	1	(100)	1	(100)
1979	-	-	-	-	0	(0)
1980	-	-	-	-	1	(100)
1981	-	-	-	-	0	(0)

Note: there were no Bawdy House charges during this time period.  
Only aggregate data is available for 1979-1981.

Table 10. Boys and Girls Charged with Prostitution Offences  
- B.C. . Source: Statistics Canada.

## CITY OF VANCOUVER

	BAWDY HOUSE (%)		PROCURING (%)		OTHER OFFENCES (%)		TOTAL OFFENCES (%)	
1975	20	(6)	6	(2)	320	(92)	346	(100)
1976	45	(26)	5	(3)	123	(71)	173	(100)
1977	40	(12)	0	(0)	310	(98)	352	(100)
1978	15	(14)	0	(0)	90	(85)	105	(100)
1979	20	(23)	1	(1)	66	(76)	87	(100)
1980	26	(70)	0	(0)	11	(30)	37	(100)
1981	12	(67)	0	(0)	6	(33)	18	(100)
1982	11	(61)	2	(11)	5	(28)	18	(100)
1983	7	(47)	0	(0)	8	(53)	15	(100)

Table 11. Total and Percentage Prostitution Offences Reported  
- City of Vancouver. Source: Ministry of the Attorney General.

1975	BAWDY HOUSE	PROCURING	OTHER	TOTAL
JAN	0	0	32	32
FEB	0	0	34	34
MAR	4	1	11	16
APR	0	0	62	62
MAY	0	2	33	35
JUN	0	0	44	44
JUL	0	0	7	7
AUG	11	1	18	30
SEP	1	0	30	31
OCT	3	1	28	32
NOV	1	0	20	21
DEC	0	1	1	2
TOTAL	20	6	320	346

1976	BAWDY HOUSE	PROCURING	OTHER	TOTAL
JAN	0	0	6	6
FEB	13	0	3	16
MAR	5	0	0	5
APR	3	0	0	3
MAY	15	0	13	28
JUN	0	0	27	27
JUL	3	5	20	28
AUG	0	0	10	10
SEP	0	0	9	9
OCT	3	0	14	17
NOV	2	0	14	16
DEC	1	0	7	8
TOTAL	45	5	123	173

1977	BAWDY HOUSE	PROCURING	OTHER	TOTAL
JAN	1	0	26	27
FEB	2	1	14	17
MAR	4	0	5	9
APR	3	0	6	9
MAY	4	0	4	8
JUN	4	0	21	25
JUL	2	1	0	3
AUG	13	0	27	40
SEP	1	0	65	66
OCT	2	0	62	64
NOV	3	0	55	58
DEC	1	0	25	26
TOTAL	40	2	310	352

Table 12. Prostitution Offences Reported 1975-77.  
Source: Ministry of the Attorney General.

1978	BAWDY HOUSE	PROCURING	OTHER	TOTAL
JAN	0	0	51	51
FEB	0	0	17	17
MAR	0	0	0	0
APR	3	0	6	9
MAY	3	0	6	9
JUN	0	0	6	6
JUL	1	0	0	1
AUG	3	0	1	4
SEP	1	0	2	3
OCT	2	0	0	2
NOV	1	0	0	1
DEC	1	0	1	2
TOTAL	13	0	90	105
1979	BAWDY HOUSE	PROCURING	OTHER	TOTAL
JAN	2	0	0	2
FEB	1	0	1	2
MAR	1	0	1	2
APR	6	0	1	7
MAY	1	0	23	27
JUN	0	0	7	7
JUL	1	0	5	6
AUG	3	0	0	3
SEP	1	1	2	4
OCT	1	0	10	11
NOV	2	0	10	12
DEC	1	0	6	7
TOTAL	20	1	66	87
1980	BAWDY HOUSE	PROCURING	OTHER	TOTAL
JAN	0	0	1	1
FEB	1	0	0	1
MAR	1	0	0	1
APR	4	0	0	4
MAY	1	0	0	1
JUN	0	0	2	2
JUL	4	0	2	6
AUG	1	0	5	6
SEP	13	0	0	13
OCT	0	0	0	0
NOV	1	0	0	1
DEC	0	0	1	1
TOTAL	26	0	11	37

Table 13. Prostitution Offences Reported 1978-80.  
Source: Ministry of the Attorney General.



1981	BAWDY HOUSE	PROCURING	OTHER	TOTAL
JAN	3	0	0	3
FEB	0	0	0	0
MAR	0	0	0	0
APR	0	0	0	0
MAY	1	0	0	1
JUN	0	0	6	6
JUL	0	0	0	0
AUG	5	0	0	5
SEP	1	0	0	1
OCT	1	0	0	1
NOV	0	0	0	0
DEC	1	0	0	1
TOTAL	12	0	6	18
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1982	BAWDY HOUSE	PROCURING	OTHER	TOTAL
JAN	6	0	0	6
FEB	0	0	0	0
MAR	0	0	0	0
APR	0	1	2	3
MAY	0	1	0	1
JUN	1	0	0	1
JUL	0	0	0	0
AUG	0	0	1	1
SEP	0	0	2	2
OCT	1	0	0	1
NOV	1	0	0	1
DEC	2	0	0	2
TOTAL	11	2	5	18
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1983	BAWDY HOUSE	PROCURING	OTHER	TOTAL
JAN	1	0	1	2
FEB	1	0	0	1
MAR	1	0	0	1
APR	1	0	2	3
MAY	1	0	0	1
JUN	2	0	2	4
JUL	0	0	1	1
AUG	0	0	2	2
TOTAL	7	0	8	15

Note: data was not available for Sep-Dec 1983.

Table 14. Prostitution Offences Reported 1981-83.  
Source: Ministry of the Attorney General.

















